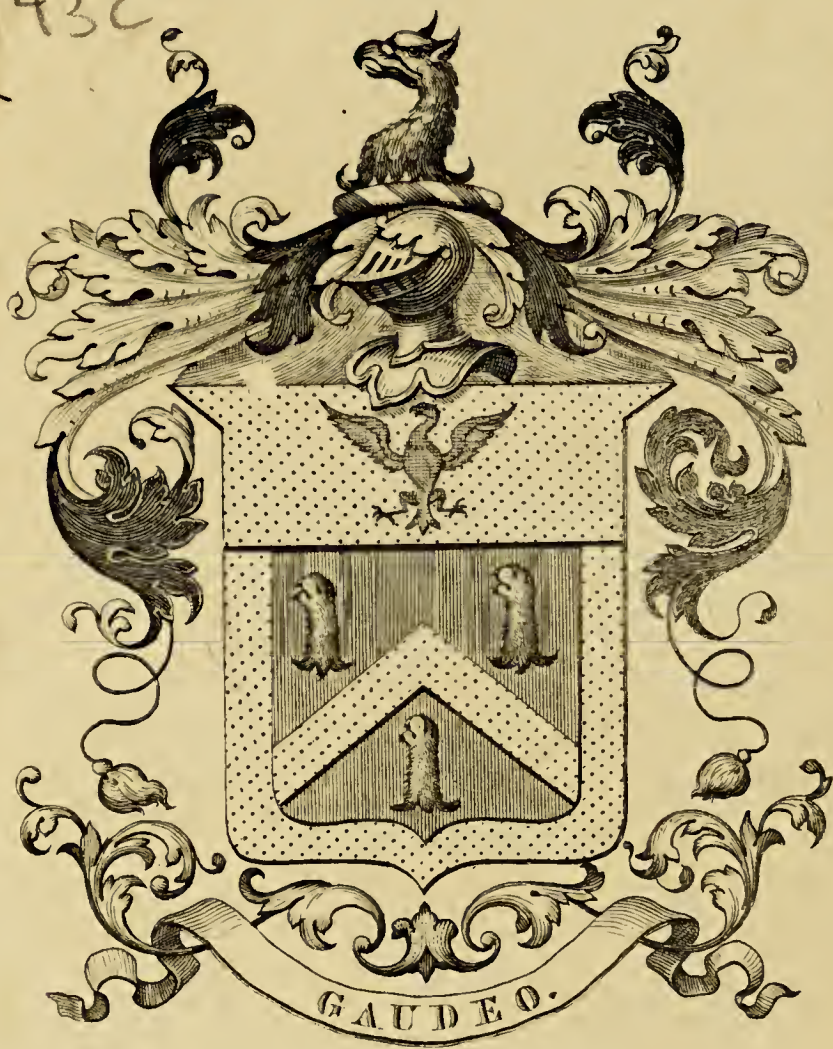
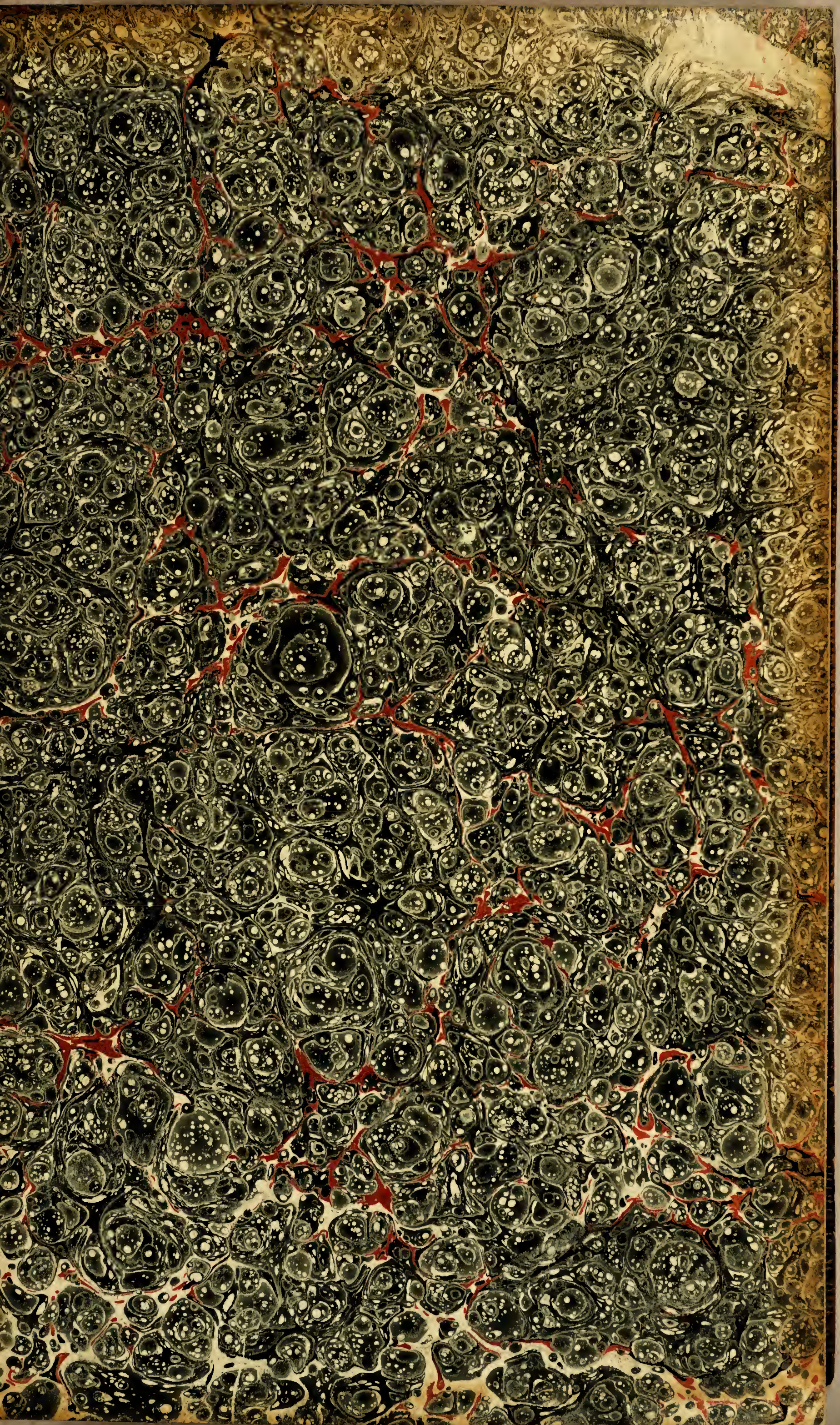
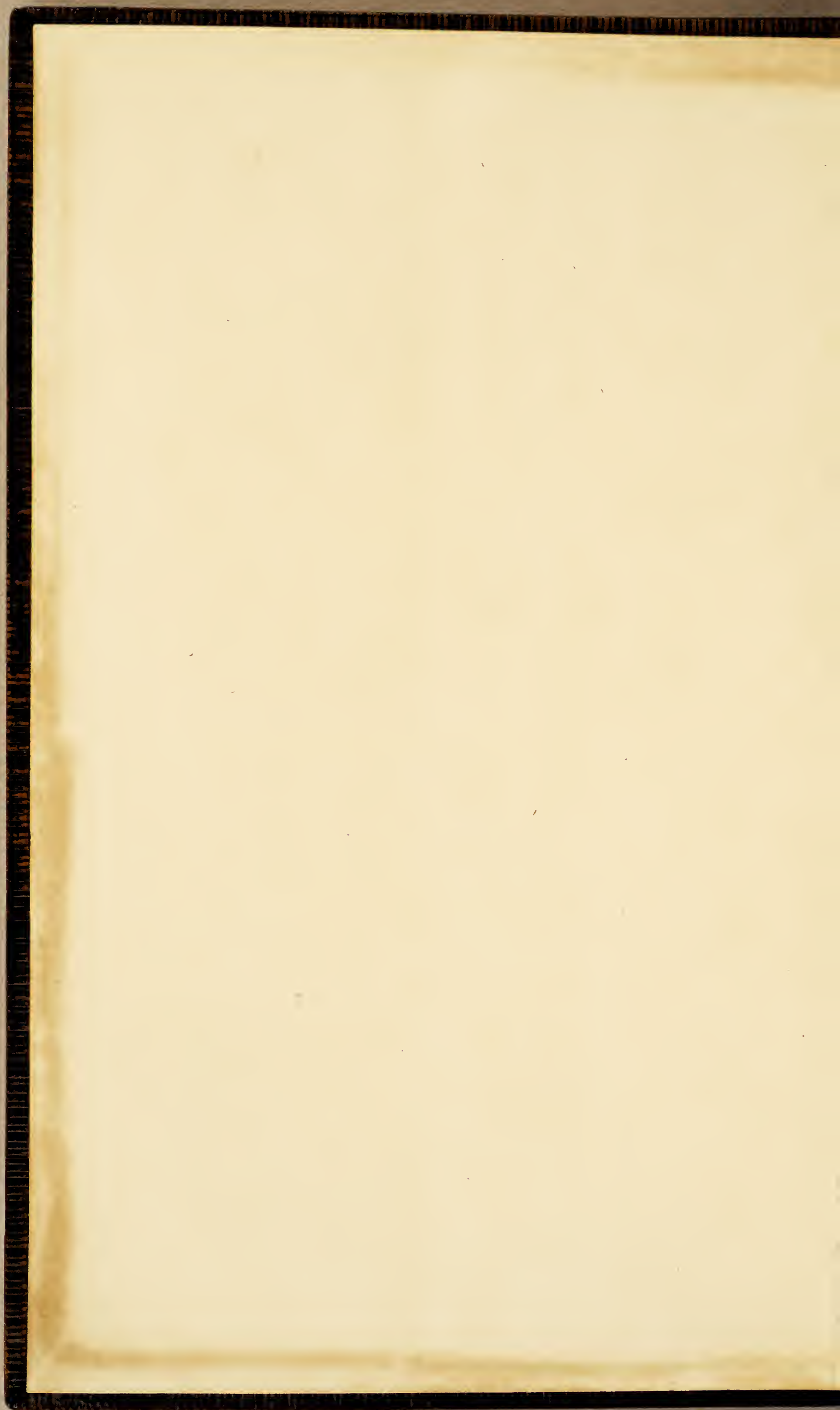


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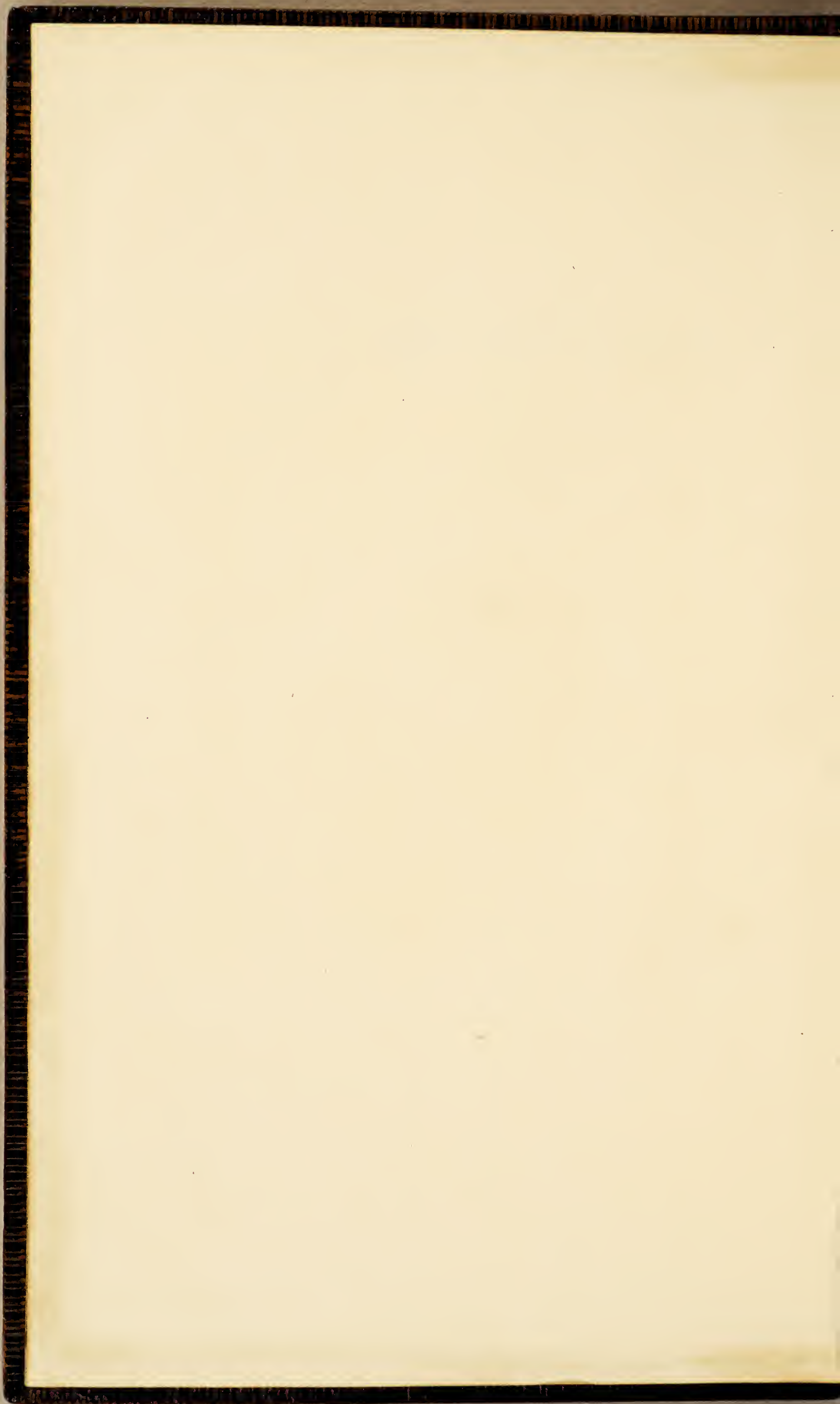


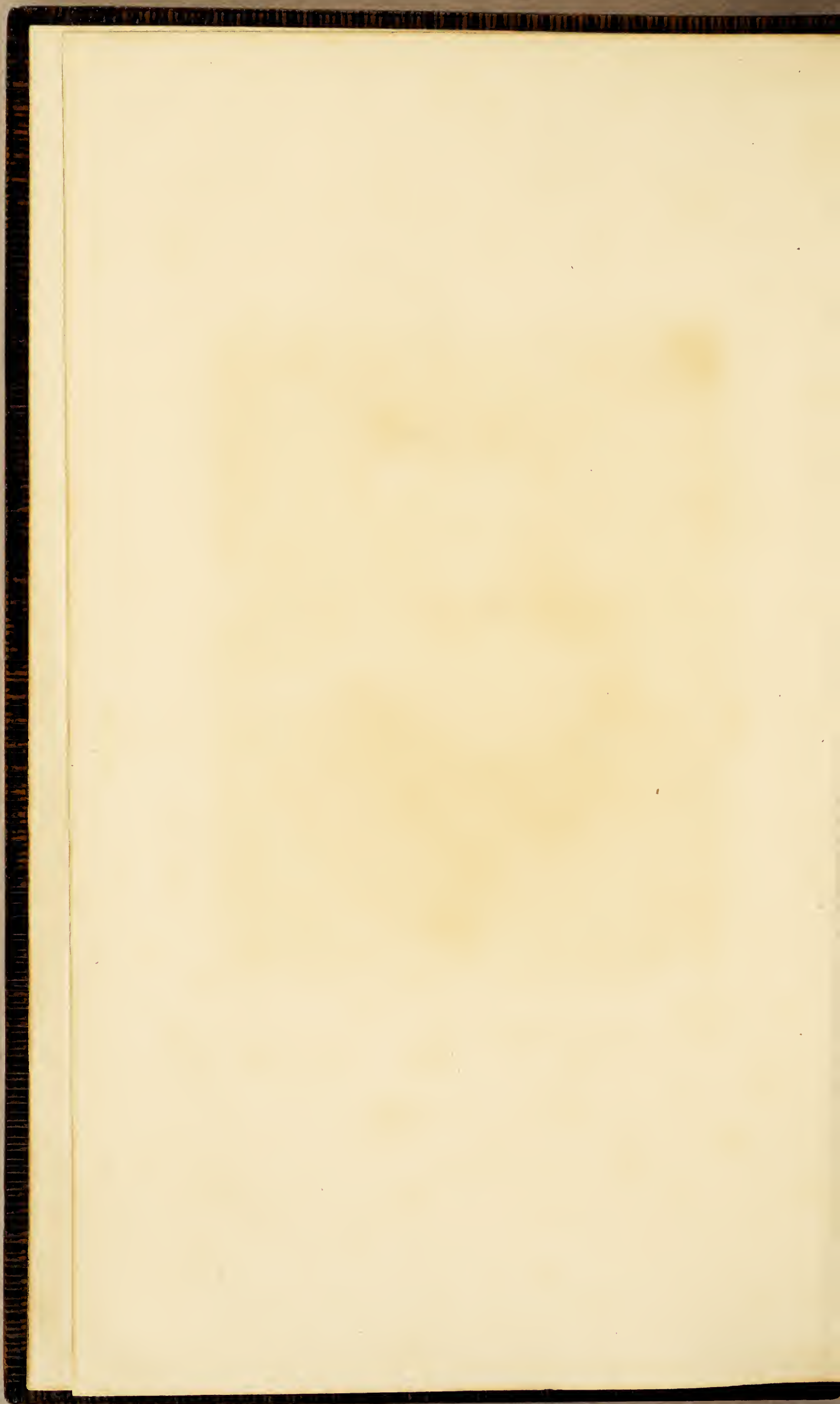
John Carter Brown.





Vide p. 268, 269





RPJCE



R. Newman, sculp.

REV^d. JOHN DOD.

Died 1645. Aged 95.

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R^t. Newman sculp.

REV^d HENRY JESSE, M. A.

THE
HISTORY OF THE PURITANS,

OR,

Protestant Non-Conformists,

FROM THE

DEATH OF KING CHARLES I.

TO THE

DEATH OF KING CHARLES II.

IN THE YEAR 1684-5.

CONHAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

Their Principles; their Attempts for a further Reformation
in the Church; their Sufferings; and the Lives
and Characters of their principal Divines.

VOLUME IV.

By DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,

By JOSHUA TOULMIN, D. D.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

Some Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Author.

This know also, that in the last Days perilous Times shall come.

2 Tim. iii. 1.

*They shall put you out of the Synagogues: yea, the Time cometh, that
whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God Service.*

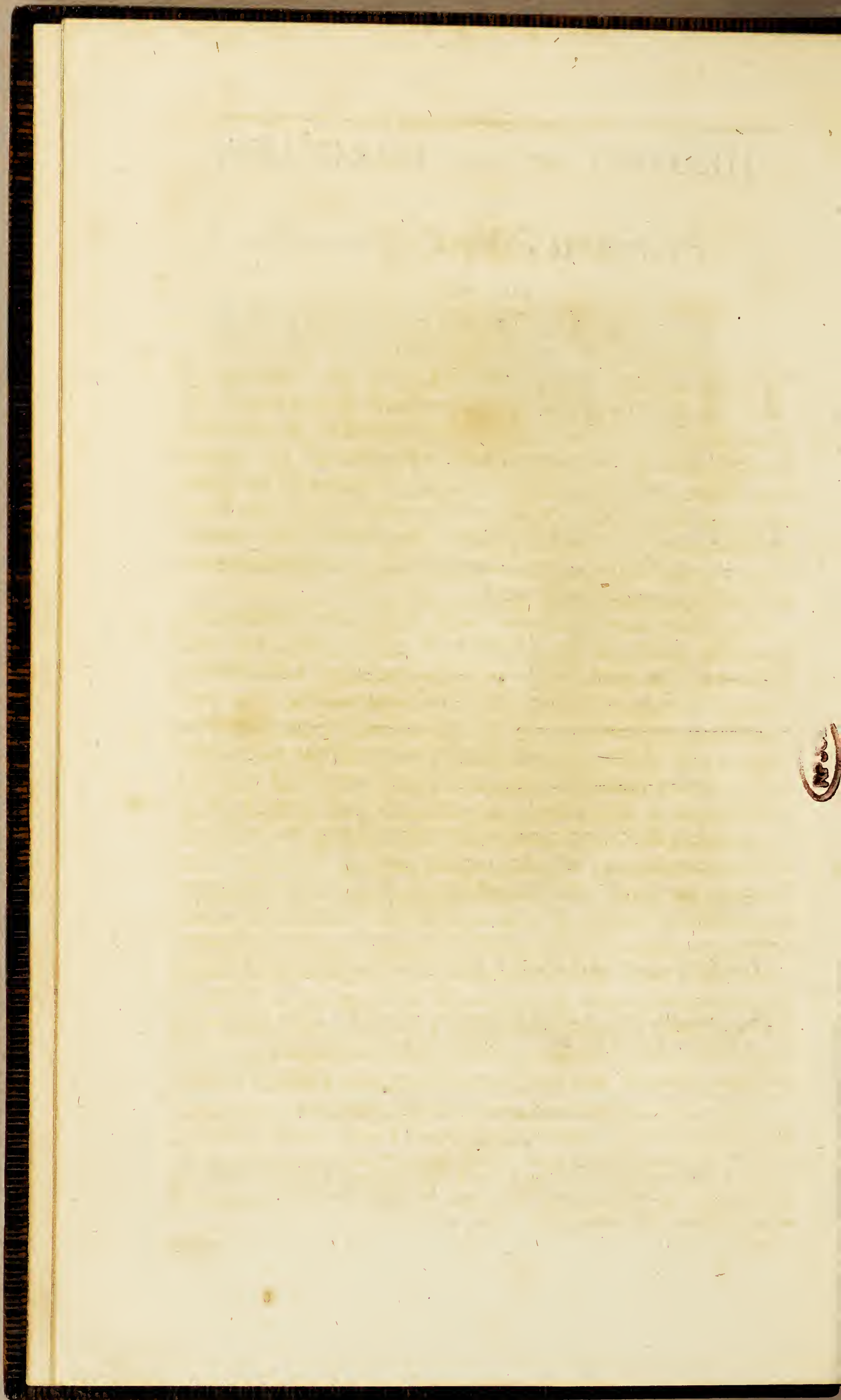
John xvi. 2.

BATH, PRINTED BY R. CRUTTWELL;

AND SOLD BY

C. DILLY, POULTRY; AND J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-
YARD, LONDON; AND J. LLOYD, BRISTOL.

M DCC XCVI.



THE

PREFACE.

THIS volume brings the *History of the Sufferings of the Puritans* down to its period;* for though the protestant dissenters have since complained of several difficulties and discouragements, yet most of the penal laws have been suspended; the prosecutions of the *spiritual courts* have been considerably restrained by the kind interposition of the civil powers, and liberty of conscience enjoyed without the hazard of fines, imprisonments, and other terrors of this world.

The times now in review were stormy and boisterous; upon the death of king *Charles I.* the constitution was dissolved: the men at the helm had no legal authority to change the government into a *commonwealth*, the protectorship of *Cromwell* was an *usurpation*, because grafted only on the military power, and so were all the misshapen forms into which the administration was cast till the restoration of the king. In order to pass a right judgment upon these extraordinary revolutions, the temper and circumstances of the nation are to be duly considered; for those actions which in some circumstances are highly criminal, may in a different situation of affairs become necessary. The parties engaged in the civil wars were yet living, and their resentments against each other so much inflamed, as to cut off all hopes of a reconciliation; each dreaded the other's success, well knowing they must fall a sacrifice to those who should prevail. All present views of the king's recovering his father's throne

* The reader will observe that the period here referred to is the passing the *act of toleration*, with which Mr. *Neal's* Fourth volume concludes. But the additions to the original work, by notes and supplements in this edition, have necessarily extended it to a Fifth volume, which comprehends the Author's two last chapters, the papers that form the Appendix to each of his volumes, and other papers. ED.

were defeated at the battle of Worcester, the loyalists being then entirely broken and dispersed; so that if some such extraordinary genius as *Cromwell's* had not undertaken to steer the nation through the storm, it had not been possible to hold the government together till Providence should open a way for restoring the constitution, and settling it on its legal basis.

The various forms of government (if they deserve that name) which the officers of the army introduced after the death of *Cromwell*, made the nation sick of their frenzies, and turned their eyes towards their banished sovereign; whose restoration, after all, could not be accomplished without great imprudence on one part, and the most artful dissimulation on the other. The *Presbyterians*, like weak politicians, surrendered at discretion, and parted with their power on no other security than the *royal word*, for which they have been sufficiently reproached; though I am of opinion, that, if the king had been brought in by a treaty, the succeeding parliament would have set it aside. On the other hand, nothing can be more notorious than the deep hypocrisy of general *Monk*, and the solemn assurances given by the bishops and other loyalists, and even by the king himself, of burying all past offences under the foundation of the Restoration; but when they were lifted into the saddle, the haste they made to shew how little they meant by their promises, exceeded the rules of decency as well as honour. Nothing would satisfy, till their adversaries were disarmed, and in a manner deprived of the protection of the government; the terms of conformity were made narrower and more exceptionable than before the civil wars, the penal laws were rigorously executed, and new ones framed almost every session of parliament for several successive years; the non-conformist ministers were banished five miles from all the corporations in England, and their people sold for sums of money to carry on the king's unlawful pleasures, and to bribe the nation into popery and slavery; till the House of Commons, awakened at last with a sense of the threatening danger, grew intractable, and was therefore dissolved.

His

His majesty, having in vain attempted several other representatives of the people, determined some time before his death to change the constitution, and govern by his sovereign will and pleasure; that the mischiefs, which could not be brought upon the nation by consent of parliament, might be introduced under the wing of the prerogative; but the *Roman catholicks*, not satisfied with the slow proceedings of a *disguised Protestant*, or apprehending that the discontents of the people and his own love of ease might induce him some time or other to change measures, resolved to have a prince of their own religion, and more sanguine principles, on the throne, which hastened the crisis of the nation, and brought forward that GLORIOUS REVOLUTION of king WILLIAM and queen MARY, which put a final period to all their projects.

The nature of my design does not admit of a large and particular relation of all the civil transactions of these times, but only of such a summary as may give light to the affairs of religion; and I could have wished that the memory of both had been entirely blotted out of the records of time, if the animosities of the several parties, and their unchristian principles, had been buried with them; but as the remembering them may be a warning to posterity, it ought to give no offence to any denomination of christians of the present age, who are no ways answerable for the conduct of their ancestors, nor can otherwise share in a censure of it, than as they maintain the same principles, and imitate the same unchristian behaviour. At the end of each year I have added the characters of the principal *non-conformist ministers* as they died, partly from the historians of those times, but chiefly from the writings of the late reverend doctor *Calamy*, whose integrity, moderation, and industry, deserve a peculiar commendation. My design was to preserve the memory of the reverend *assembly of divines* at *Westminster*, as well as of the little *army of confessors*, who afterwards suffered so deeply in the cause of *non-conformity*.

In passing a judgment on the several parties in church and state, I have carefully distinguished between those who

went into all the arbitrary measures of the court, and such as stood firm by the *protestant religion and the liberties of their country*; for it must be allowed, that in the reign of king *Charles II.* there were even among the clergy some of the worst as well as best of men, as will appear to a demonstration in the course of this history; but I desire no greater stress may be laid upon *facts* or characters than the quality of the *vouchers* in the margin will support. Where *these* have been differently related, I have relied on the best authorities, and sometimes reported from both sides, leaving the reader to choose for himself: for if *facts* are fairly represented, the historian is discharged. I am not so vain as to imagine this history free from errors; but if any mistakes of consequence are made to appear, they shall be acknowledged with thankfulness to those who shall point them out in a civil and friendly manner; and as I aim at nothing but truth, I see no reason to engage in a warm defence of any parties of christians who pass before us in review, but leave their conduct to the censure of the world. Some few *remarks* of my own are here and there interspersed, which the reader will receive according as he apprehends them to follow from the premises; but I flatter myself, that when he has carefully perused the several volumes of this history, he will agree with me in the following conclusions:

First, *That UNIFORMITY of sentiments in religion is not to be attained among christians; nor will a COMPREHENSION within an establishment be of service to the cause of truth and liberty without a TOLERATION of all other dutiful subjects.* Wise and good men, after their most diligent searches after truth, have seen things in a different light, which is not to be avoided as long as they have liberty to judge for themselves. If *Christ* had appointed an infallible judge upon earth; or men were to be determined by an implicit faith in their superiors, there would be an end of such differences; but all the engines of human policy that have been set at work to obtain it have hitherto failed of success. Subscriptions, and a variety of oaths and other tests, have occasioned great mischiefs to the church; by these means men of weak morals, and ambitious views, have

have been raised to the highest preferments, while others of stricter virtue, and superior talents, have been neglected and laid aside; and *power* has been lodged in the hands of those who have used it in an unchristian manner, to force men to an agreement in sounds and outward appearances, contrary to the true conviction and sense of their minds; and thus a lasting reproach has been brought on the christian name, and on the genuine principles of a protestant church.

2dly. *All parties of christians, when in power, have been guilty of persecution for conscience sake.* The annals of the church are a most melancholy demonstration of this truth. Let the reader call to mind the bloody proceedings of the *popish bishops* in queen *Mary's* reign; and the account that has been given of the *Star Chamber* and *High Commission Court* in later times; what numbers of useful ministers have been sequestered, imprisoned, and their families reduced to poverty and disgrace, for refusing to wear a *white surplice*, or to comply with a few indifferent ceremonies! What havock did the *Presbyterians* make with their covenant uniformity; their *jure divino* discipline, and their rigid prohibition of reading the old service book. And though the *Independants* had a better notion of the rights of conscience, how defective was their instrument of government under *Cromwell*! how arbitrary the proceedings of their tryers! how narrow their list of fundamentals! and how severe their restraints of the press! And though the rigorous proceedings of the Puritans of this age did by no means rival those of the prelates before and after the civil wars, yet they are so many species of persecution, and not to be justified even by the confusion of the times in which they were acted.

3dly. *It is unsafe and dangerous to intrust any sort of clergy with the power of the sword; for our Saviour's kingdom is not of this world, if it were (says he) then would my servants fight, but now is my kingdom not from hence.* The church and state should stand on a distinct basis, and their jurisdiction be agreeable to the nature of their crimes; those of the church *purely spiritual*, and those of the state *purely civil*; as the king is *supreme* in the state, he is also head,

head, or guardian, of the *church* in those spiritual rights that Christ has intrusted it with. When the church in former ages first assumed the secular power, it not only rivalled the state, but in a little time lifted up its head above *emperors* and *kings*, and all the *potentates* of the earth: the thunder of its anathemas was heard in all nations, and *in her skirts was found the blood of the prophets and saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.* And whenever it recovers the wound that was given it at the Reformation, it will undoubtedly resume the same absolute coercive dominion. It is therefore the interest of all sovereign *princes* to keep their clergy within the limits that Christ has prescribed them in the *New Testament*, and not to trust them with the power of inflicting corporal pains or penalties on their subjects, which have no relation to the christian methods of conversion,

4thly. *Reformation of religion, or a redress of grievances in the church, has not in fact arisen from the clergy.* I would not be thought to reflect upon that *venerable order*, which is of great usefulness, and deserved honour, when the ends of its institution are pursued; but so strange has been the infatuation, so enchanting the lust of dominion, and the charms of riches and honour, that the propagation of piety and virtue has been very much neglected, and little else thought of but how they might rise higher in the authority and grandeur of this world, and fortify their strong holds against all that should attack them. In the dawn of the *reformation* the clergy maintained the *pope's supremacy* against the king, till they were cast in a *præmunire*. In the reign of queen ELIZABETH there was but one of the whole bench who would join in the consecration of a *protestant bishop*; and when the reformation was established, how cruelly did those *protestant bishops*, who themselves had suffered for religion, vex the *Puritans*, because they could not come up to their standard! How unfriendly did they behave at the Hampton-court conference! At the *restoration* of king Charles II. and at the late *revolution* of king William and queen Mary! when the most solemn promises were broken, and the most hopeful opportunity of accommodating differences among protestants lost, by
the

the perverseness of the clergy towards those very men who had saved them from ruin. So little ground is there to hope for an union among christians, or the propagation of truth, peace, and charity, from *councils, synods, general assemblies, or convocations of the clergy* of any sort whatsoever.

5thly. Upon these principles, it is evident *that freedom of religion, in subordination to the civil power, is for the benefit of society, and no ways inconsistent with a publick establishment.* The king may create *dignitaries*, and give sufficient encouragement to those of the *publick religion*, without invading the liberties of his dissenting subjects. If religious establishments were stripped of their *judicial processes* and *civil jurisdiction*, no harm could be feared from them. And as his majesty is defender of the faith in Scotland as well as England, and equally the guardian of *both churches*, he will, no doubt, hold the balance, and prevent *either* from rising to such a pitch of greatness as to act independantly on the state, or become formidable and oppressive to their neighbours; the former would create *imperium in imperio*; and *there is but one step between the church's being independant on the STATE, and the STATE becoming dependant on the church.* Besides, as freedom of religion is for the true honour and dignity of the CROWN, it is no less for the service of the *community*; for the example of the neighbouring nations may convince us, that *uniformity in the church will always be attended with absolute and despotick power in the STATE.* The *meetings of dissenting protestants* were formerly called *seditions*, because the peace of the publick was falsely supposed to consist in *uniformity of worship*; but long experience has taught us the contrary; for, though the *non-conformists* in those times gave no disturbance to the administration, the nation was far from being at peace; but when things came to a crisis, their joining with the church, against a corrupt court and ministry, saved the religion and liberties of the nation. It must therefore be the interest of a free people to support and encourage liberty of conscience, and not to suffer any one great and powerful religious body to oppress, devour, and swallow up the rest.

Finally,

Finally, *When protestant dissenters recollect the sufferings of their fathers in the last age for the freedom of their consciences, let them be thankful that their lot is cast in more settled times.* The liberties of England are the price of a great deal of blood and treasure; wide breaches were made in the constitution in the four reigns of the male line of the STUARTS; persecution and arbitrary power went hand in hand; the constitution was often in convulsive agonies, when the patrons of liberty appeared boldly in the noble cause, and sacrificed their estates and lives in its defence. The *Puritans* stood firm by the *protestant religion*, and by the liberties of their country in the reigns of king *Charles II.* and king *James II.* and received the fire of the enemy from all their batteries, without moving sedition, or taking advantage of their *persecutors*, when it was afterwards in their power. Some amendments, in my humble opinion, are still wanting to settle the cause of liberty on a more equal basis, and to deliver wise and good men from the fetters of *oaths, subscriptions, and religious tests of all sorts.* But whether such desirable blessings are in reserve for this nation, must be left to the determination of an all-wise providence. In the mean time, may *protestant dissenters* express their gratitude for the protection and ease they enjoy at present, by an undissembled piety towards God! By a firm and unshaken loyalty to his majesty's person, and wise administration! By avoiding every thing that tends to persecution or censoriousness for mere differences in religion! and by the integrity of their own lives and manners! And while they think it their duty to separate from the *national establishment*, may they distinguish themselves by the exercise of all social virtues, and stand fast in the liberty wherewith the providence of God has made them free! By such a conduct they will preserve their characters with all sober persons, and will transmit the blessings of the present age to their latest posterity.

DANIEL NEAL

LONDON, *March 1, 1737-8.*

THE

EDITOR'S ADVERTISEMENT.

THE volume of Mr. *Neal's* "History of the Puritans" now presented to the publick, besides the additions made to it in the form of Notes, is considerably enlarged by Supplements to the different chapters. These comprize the continued history of the English BAPTISTS and QUAKERS; and furnish the reader with the substance of Mr. *Crosby's* history of the former, and a full abstract of Mr. *Gough's* work concerning the latter Sect. The Editor hopes, that in this part of his undertaking he has not only done justice, and shewed respect, to two denominations who, in the last century, were treated neither with humanity or equity, but affrded the reader information and entertainment.

Where he has seen reason to animadvert on and correct Mr. *Neal*, it were sufficient to rest his justification on the plea of impartiality and the love of truth. But to the honour of his author he can add, he has only done what was wished by him; who, in his preface to the first volume has said,* "I shall be always thankful to any
"that will convince me of my mistakes in a friendly man-
"ner;" and in that to the third volume has more fully expressed himself in this manner: "In historical debates,
"nothing is to be received on *trust*, but *facts* are to be
"be examined, and a judgment formed upon the autho-
"rity by which those *facts* are supported; by this method
"we shall arrive at truth, and if it shall appear that, in
"the course of this long history, there are any consider-
"able mistakes, the world may be assured, I will take
"the first opportunity to retract or amend them."†

* P. xiv.

† P. xxiv, xxv.

The Editor can declare, that it has been his own aim to do full justice to the sects and characters of those who have, in this work, come before him in review, and he can boldly appeal to his pen itself to prove the sincerity of his declaration. He scarcely would have thought of making this appeal, if in an early stage of his undertaking it had not been insinuated, that it was his design to make this work a vehicle for conveying particular opinions in theology, and that his own sentiments made him an unfit person for the task. He has, indeed, sentiments of his own; but he can estimate goodness and worth wherever they are found. He has sentiments of his own, but he rejoices in the consciousness of a disposition to grant to others a full liberty to avow, defend, and disseminate *their* sentiments, though opposite to his own; and can give them the praise due to their abilities and characters.

It is a pleasure to him, that the examination of the writers, who have censured Mr. *Neal* with severity, has eventually established the authenticity of the history, and the candour and impartiality of the author, in all the main parts of his work. It reflects high and lasting honour on this ecclesiastical history, that if the author were convicted by a *Warburton*, a *Maddox*, and a *Grey*, of partiality, it could be only such a partiality as might arise from a zeal against tyrants and oppressors. The work has, on the whole, a *liberal* cast; it is on the side of civil and religious liberty; it is in favour of the rights of *Englishmen*, against unconstitutional prerogative; it is in favour of the rights of *conscience*, against an imperious and persecuting hierarchy, whether *episcopal* or *presbyterian*; it is in favour of the great interests of mankind; and, to adopt the words of a most able and liberal writer;* “A history that is written without any regard to the chief privileges of human nature, and without feelings, especially of the moral kind, must lose a considerable part of its instruction and energy.”

* *Dr. Kippis*: Preface to the first volume of the 2d edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, p. 21.

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THE HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS.

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ERRATA IN VOL. III.

- Page 134. Note, l. 2, after *important*, read *truth*.
 175. Note, l. 13, for *Boscaewon's*, read *Boscawen's*.
 185. 2d note, l. 16, for *we*, read *I*.
 229. Note, l. 17, for *attainment*, read *attainments*.
 557. Should be 555.
 562. Note, l. 14, for *supuorted*, read *supported*.

ERRATA IN VOL. IV.

- Page 262. l. 13, before *versities*, put "
 265. l. 10, for *Doctor*, read *Doctors*.
 266. l. 20, for *dextrous*, read *dexterous*.
 268. l. 17, for *meer*, read *mere*.
 273. l. 17, for *Hubberton*, read *Hubberthorn*.
 275. l. 3, from the bottom, for *profess*, read *possess*.
 276. l. 23, dele *to*, before *go*.
 285. l. 7 from the bottom, for *in full*, read *at full*.
 286. l. 4, dele *of spirit*.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PURITANS.

CHAP. I.

*From the Death of King CHARLES I. to the Coronation
of King CHARLES II. in Scotland.*

1648.

UPON the death of the late king, the legal constitution was dissolved, and all that followed till the restoration of king Charles II. was no better than an *usurpation* under different shapes; the house of commons, if it may deserve that name, after it had been purged of a third part of its members,* relying upon the *act of continuation*, called themselves the *supreme authority of the nation*, and began with an act to disinherit the prince of Wales, forbidding all persons to proclaim him king of *England*, on pain of high treason. The house of lords was voted useless; and the office of a king unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous. The form of government for the future was declared to be a free com-

* According to *Eachard*, not above a fifth part of the commons were left. On account of the reduced and mutilated state of the house, they were called the *Rump Parliament*. This name was first given to them by *Walker*, the author of the *History of Independency*, by way of derision, in allusion to a fowl, all devoured but the rump; and they were compared to a man "who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left to make it useful." *Dr. Grey, and Rapin. Ed.*

mon-wealth; the executive power lodged in the hands of a *council of state* of forty persons,† with full powers to take care of the whole administration for one year; new keepers of the *great seal* were appointed, from whom the judges received their commissions, with the name, stile, and title of, *custodes libertatis Angliæ autoritate parliamenti*; i. e. *keepers of the liberties of England by authority of parliament*. The coin was stamped on one side with the arms of England between a *laurel* and a *palm*, with this inscription, *the commonwealth of England*; and on the other, a *cross* and *harp*, with this motto, *God with us*.* The oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abolished, and a new one appointed, called the *ENGAGEMENT*, which was, *to be true and faithful to the government established, without king or house of peers*. Such as refused the oath were declared incapable of holding any place or office of trust in the commonwealth; but as many of the excluded members of the house of commons as would take it, resumed their places.

Such was the foundation of this new constitution, which had neither the consent of the people of England, nor of their representatives in a free parliament. “And if ever
“there was an usurped government, mutilated, and founded
“only in violence, (says *Rapin*§) it was that of this par-
“liament.” But though it was unsupported by any other power than that of the army, it was carried on with the most consummate wisdom, resolution, and success, till the same military power that set it up, was permitted by divine providence with equal violence to pull it down.

The new commonwealth in its infant state met with opposition from divers quarters: the *levellers* in the army gave out, that the people had only changed their yoke, not shaken it off; and that the *RUMP*’s little finger (for so the house of commons was now called) would be heavier than the king’s loins. The agitators therefore petitioned the house to dissolve themselves, that new representatives might be chosen.

† According to *Whitlocke*, who gives their names, the council consisted of thirty-eight persons only. ED.

* On which a man of wit observed, “that God and the commonwealth
“were not both on a side.” Dr. Grey. ED.

§ Vol. ii. p. 573, folio.

The commons, alarmed at these proceedings, ordered their general officers to cashier the petitioners, and break their swords over their heads, which was done accordingly. But when the forces passed under a general review at Ware, their friends in the army agreed to distinguish themselves by wearing something white in their hats;† which *Cromwell* having some intelligence of beforehand, commanded two regiments of horse who were not in the secret, to surround one of the regiments of foot; and having condemned four of the ring-leaders in a council of war, he commanded two of them to be shot to death by their other two associates, in sight of the whole army; and to break the combination, eleven regiments were ordered for Ireland; upon which great numbers deserted, and marched into Oxfordshire; but general *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, having overtaken them at Abingdon, held them in treaty till colonel *Reynolds* came up, and after some few skirmishes dispersed them.

The Scots threatened the *commonwealth* with a formidable invasion, for upon the death of king *Charles I.* they proclaimed the prince of *Wales* king of Scotland, and sent commissioners to the Hague, to invite him into that kingdom, provided he would renounce popery and prelacy, and take the solemn league and covenant. To prevent the effects of this treaty, and cultivate a good understanding with the Dutch, the parliament sent Dr. *Dorilaus*§ an eminent civilian, concerned in the late king's trial, agent to the *States-General*; but the very first night after his arrival, May 3, 1649, he was murdered in his own chamber by twelve desperate cavaliers in disguise, who rushed in upon him while he was at supper, and

† Whitlocke, p. 387, 389.

§ This person was a native of Holland, and doctor of the civil law at Leyden. On his coming to England he was patronised by *Fulk* lord *Brook*, who appointed him to read lectures on history in Cambridge. But, as in the opening of his course he decried monarchy, he was silenced; he then resided sometime near to Maldon in Essex, where he had married an English woman. He was, afterwards, a judge advocate first, in the king's army, and then in the army of the parliament, and at length one of the judges of the court of admiralty. The parliament ordered 250l. for his funeral; settled on his son 200l. per annum for his life, and gave 500l. a-piece to his daughters. Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 228, and Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 390. Ed.

with their drawn swords killed him on the spot.† Both the parliament and states of Holland resented this base action|| so highly, that the young king thought proper to remove into France; from whence he went to the Isle of Jersey, and towards the latter end of the year fixed at Breda; where the Scots commissioners concluded a treaty with him, upon the foot of which he ventured his royal person into that kingdom the ensuing year.

But to strike terror into the *cavaliers*, the parliament erected another *high court of justice*, and sentenced to death three illustrious noblemen, for the part they had acted in the last civil war; duke *Hamilton*, the earl of *Holland*, and lord *Capel*, who were all executed March 9, in the Palace-Yard at Westminster: duke *Hamilton* declared himself a presbyterian; and the earl of *Holland* was attended by two ministers of the same persuasion; but lord *Capel* was a thorough loyalist, and went off the stage with the courage and bravery of a Roman.

But the chief scene of great exploits this year was in Ireland, which *Cromwell*, a bold and enterprizing commander, had been appointed to reduce; for this purpose he was made lord-lieutenant for three years, and having taken leave of the parliament, sailed from Milford-haven about the middle of August, with an army of fourteen thousand men of resolute principles, who before the embarkation observed a day of fasting and prayer; in which, Mr. *Whitlocke* remarks, after three ministers had prayed, lieutenant-general *Cromwell* himself, and the colonels *Gough* and *Harrison*, expounded some parts of scripture excellently well, and pertinently to the oc-

† Whitlocke, p. 386.

|| Dr. *Grey* cannot easily believe that the murder of Dr. *Dorisslaus* was resented by the states of Holland: because they had bravely remonstrated by their two ambassadors against the king's death: he cannot, therefore, be easily induced to think, that, after this, they could resent the death of one of his execrable murderers. But Dr. *Grey* does not consider what was due in this case to the honour of their own police and to the reputation and weight of their own laws. Mr. *Neal* is justified in his representations by *Whitlocke*; who says, "that letters from the Hague reported, that the states
"caused earnest inquisition to be made after the murderers of Dr. *Dorisslaus*;
"promised 1000 guilders to him who should bring any of them; and
"published it death to any who should harbour any one of them." *Memorials*, p. 390. Ed.

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caſion. The army was under a ſevere diſcipline; not an oath was to be heard throughout the whole camp, the ſoldiers ſpending their leiſure hours in reading their bibles, in ſinging pſalms, and religious conferences.

Almoſt all Ireland was in the hands of the royaliſts and Roman catholicks, except Dublin and Londonderry; the former of theſe places had been lately beſieged by the duke of Ormond with twenty thouſand men,* but the garrifon being recruited with three regiments from England, the governor colonel *James*, ſurprized the beſiegers, and after a vigorous ſally ſtormed their camp, and routed the whole army, which diſperſed itſelf into Drogheda, and other fortified places. CROMWELL upon his arrival, was received with the acclamations of a vaſt concourſe of people, to whom he addreſſed himſelf from a riſing ground, with hat in hand, in a ſoldier-like manner, telling them “ he was come to cut
“ down and deſtroy the barbarous and blood-thirſty Iriſh,
“ with all their adherents;§ but that all who were for the
“ proteſtant religion, and the liberties of their country, ſhould

* Dr. *Grey* controverts Mr. *Neal*'s account of the number of the duke of *Ormond*'s army, on the authority of lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Carte*: the former ſays, that *Jones* ſallied out with a body of 6000 foot and 1900 horſe, and that the army encamped at Rathmines was not ſo ſtrong in horſe and foot: the latter, that *Jones*'s forces amounted to only 4000 foot and 1200 horſe, which was a body nearly equal to the whole Iriſh army, if it had been all engaged. Theſe authorities are ſet againſt Mr. *Neal*. On the other hand, *Whitlocke* informs us that, previously to this defeat, letters from Ireland repreſented the duke of *Ormond* as approaching Dublin with 12000 foot and 2400 horſe; and letters from Cheſter reported him 40,000 ſtrong before Dublin. *Ludlow* ſays, that his forces were double in number to thoſe of *Jones*. *Borlaſe* ſays, that *Jones* with very few forces, comparatively, fell on the beſiegers, killed 4000, and took 2517 priſoners. The plunder of the field, we are told, was ſo rich, that the camp was like a fair, preſenting for ſale cloth, ſilk, and all manner of cloaths. The parliament ſettled 1000l. per annum in land on *Jones*, for his ſervices. *Whitlocke*'s Memoirs, p. 393, 401, 404. *Ludlow*'s Memoirs, p. 101, 4to. ed. And *Harris*'s Life of Cromwell, p. 228. ED.

§ Dr. *Grey* ſpends here more than ten pages in detailing, from lord *Clarendon*, various acts of oppreſſion, cruelty, and murder, perpetrated by individuals of *Cromwell*'s army; to ſhew that they were not leſs barbarous and bloodthirſty than the inhuman wretches concerned in the Iriſh maſſacre. Such deeds, undoubtedly, ſhock humanity; and ought to ſhock every party. But the guilt lieth originally at the door of thoſe who were the *fiſt* aggreſſors; whoſe conduct furniſhed the precedent and provoked retaliation. ED.
“ find

“ find suitable encouragement from the parliament of England and himself, in proportion to their merits.” Having refreshed his forces he marched directly to Drogheda, which was garrisoned with 2500 foot and 300 horse, and was therefore thought capable of holding out a month; but the general neglecting the common forms of approach, battered the walls with his cannon, and having made two accessible breaches, like an impetuous conqueror, entered the town in person at the head of colonel *Essex*’s regiment of foot, and put all the garrison to the sword. From thence he marched to Wexford, which he took likewise by storm, and after the example of Drogheda, put the garrison to the sword; the general declaring, that *he would sacrifice all the Irish papists to the ghosts of the English protestants whom they had massacred in cold blood.*|| The conquest of these places struck such a terror into the rest, that they surrendered upon the first summons; the name of *Cromwell* carrying victory on its wings before himself appeared, the whole country was reduced by the middle of May, except Limerick, Galway, and one or two other places, which *Ireton* took the following summer, Lord *Inchequin* deserted the remains of the royal army, and *Ormond* fled into France. Lieutenant-general *Cromwell* being called home to march against the Scots, arrived at London about the middle of May, and was received by the parliament and city with distinguished respect and honour, as a soldier who had gained more laurels, and done more wonders in nine months, than any age or history could parallel.

|| Great reproach, on this account, has fallen on the name of *Cromwell*. He reconciled himself to the execution of such severe orders, for putting to the sword and giving no quarter, by considering them as necessary to prevent the effusion of blood for the future, and as the instrument of the righteous judgment of God upon those barbarous wretches who had imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood. If ever such measures are justifiable, “ it is in such a case as this,” observes Dr. *Harris*, “ where the known disposition and behaviour of the sufferers are remarkably barbarous, inhuman, and cruel.” Such horror, we are told, had the barbarities committed by the Irish, in the beginning of the rebellion and during the course of the war, impressed on every English breast, that even the humane and gentle *Fairfax* expressed in warm and severe terms his disapprobation at granting them quarter. *Harris’s Life of Cromwell*, p. 229, and *Macaulay’s History of England*, vol. v. p. 15, note, 8vo. ed. Ed.

It

It is a remarkable account the lieutenant-general gives in one of his letters, of the behaviour of the army after their arrival in Ireland; “their diligence, courage, and behaviour is such, (says he) through the providence of God, and strict care of the chief officers, that never men did obey orders more chearfully, nor go upon duty more courageously. Never did greater harmony and resolution appear to prosecute this cause of God, than in this army. Such a consent of heart and hands; such a sympathy of affections, not only in carnal but in spiritual bonds, which tie faster than chains of adamant! I have often observed a wonderful consent of the officers and soldiers upon the grounds of doing service to God, and how miraculously they have succeeded. The mind of man being satisfied, and fixed on God, and that his undertaking is for God’s glory, it gives the greatest courage to those men, and profperity to their actions.”*

To put the affairs of Ireland together: the roman catholicks charged the ill success of their affairs upon the duke of *Ormond*, and sent him word, “that they were determined not to submit any longer to his commands, it not being fit that a catholick army should be under the direction of a protestant general; but that if he would depart the kingdom, they would undertake of themselves to drive *Ireton* out of Dublin.” After this they offered the kingdom to the duke of *Lorrain*, a bigotted papist, who was wise enough to decline the offer,|| and then quarrelling among themselves they were soon driven out of all the strong holds of the kingdom, and forced to submit to the mercy of the conqueror. All who had borne arms in the late insurrection, were shipped away into France, Spain, or Flanders, never to return on pain of death. Those who had a hand in murdering the protestants at the time of the massacre, were brought from several parts of the country, and after conviction upon a fair trial were executed. The rest of the natives, who were called

* Whitlocke, p. 434.

|| Dr. Grey insinuates here a reflection on Mr. *Neal*’s veracity; by remarking that he produces no authority for the assertion. But that Ireland was offered to the guardianship of the duke of *Lorrain* has been since mentioned, as an incontrovertible fact, by Dr. *Harris* and Mrs. *Macaulay*. Ed.

Tories,

Tories, were shut up in the most inland counties, and their lands given partly in payment to the soldiers who settled there, and the rest to the first adventurers. || Lord *Clarendon* relates it thus: “Near one hundred thousand of them were transported into foreign parts, for the service of the kings of France and Spain; double that number were consumed by the plague, famine, and other severities exercised upon them in their own country; the remainder were by *Cromwell* transplanted into the most inland, barren, desolate, and mountainous part of the province of Connaught, and it was lawful for any man to kill any of the Irish, that were found out of the bounds appointed them within that circuit. Such a proportion of land was allotted to every man, as the *protector* thought competent for them; upon which they were to give formal releases of all their titles to their lands in any other provinces; if they refused to give such releases, they were still deprived, and left to starve within the limits prescribed them; out of which they durst not withdraw; so that very few refused to sign those releases, or other acts which were demanded. It was a considerable time before these Irish could raise any thing out of their lands to support their lives; but necessity was the spring of industry.” Thus they lived under all the infamy of a conquered nation till the restoration of king *Charles II.* a just judgment of God for their barbarous and unheard-of cruelties to the Irish protestants!

To return to England: the body of the presbyterians acted in concert with the Scots, for restoring the king's family upon the foot of the covenant; several of their ministers carried on a private correspondence with the chiefs of that nation, and instead of taking the engagement to the present powers, called them *usurpers*, and declined praying for them in their churches; they also declared against a general toleration, for which the army and parliament contended.

When lieutenant-general *Cromwell* was embarking for Ireland, he sent letters to the parliament, recommending the removal of all the penal laws relating to religion; upon which the house ordered a committee to make report concerning a method for the ease of tender consciences, and an act to be

|| *Carrington's Life of Cromwell*, p. 155. *Clarendon*, p. 153.
brought

brought in to appoint commissioners in every county, for the approbation of able and well-qualified persons to be made ministers, who cannot comply with the present ordinance for *ordination of ministers*.*

Aug. 16, General *Fairfax* and his council of officers presented a petition to the same purpose, praying “that all penal statutes formerly made, and ordinances lately made, whereby many conscientious people were molested, and the propagation of the gospel hindered, might be removed. Not that they desired this liberty should extend to the setting up popery, or the late hierarchy; or to the countenancing any sort of immorality or prophaneness; for they earnestly desired, that drunkenness, swearing, uncleanness, and all acts of prophaneness, might be vigorously prosecuted in all persons whatsoever.”|| The house promised to take the petition into speedy consideration, and after some time passed it into a law.

But to bring the presbyterian clergy to the test, the *engagement* which had been appointed to be taken by all civil and military officers within a limited time, on pain of forfeiting their places, was now required to be sworn and subscribed by all ministers, heads of colleges and halls, fellows of houses, graduates, and all officers in the universities; and by the masters, fellows, school-masters, and scholars of Eton college, Westminster, and Winchester schools; no minister was to be admitted to any ecclesiastical living, no clergyman to sit as member of the assembly of divines, nor be capable of enjoying any preferment in the church, unless he qualified himself by taking the *engagement* within six months, publickly in the face of the congregation.†

Nov. 9, it was referred to a committee, to consider how the *engagement* might be subscribed by all the people of the nation of eighteen years of age and upwards. Pursuant to which a bill was brought in, and passed, Jan. 2, to debar all who should refuse to take and subscribe it, from the benefit of the law; and to disable them from suing in any court of law or equity.

This was a severe test on the presbyterians, occasioned by the *apprehended rupture* with the Scots; but their clergy in-

* Whitlocke, p. 405.

|| Ibid. p. 404.

† Walker, p. 146.

veighed

weighed bitterly against it in their sermons, and refused to observe the days of humiliation appointed by authority for a blessing upon their arms. Mr. *Baxter* says,† that he wrote several letters to the soldiers, to convince them of the unlawfulness of the present expedition: and in his sermons declared it a sin to force ministers to pray for the success of those who had violated the covenant, and were going to destroy their brethren. That he both spoke and preached against the *engagement*, and dissuaded men from taking it. At Exeter, says Mr. *Whitlocke*, the *ministers* went out of town on the fast-day, and shut up the church doors; and *all the magistrates* refused the *engagement*. At Taunton the fast was not kept by the presbyterian ministers; and at Chester they condemned the *engagement* to the pit of hell; as did many of the London ministers, who kept days of private fasting and prayer, against the present government. Some of them (says *Whitlocke*) joined the royalists, and refused to read the ordinances of parliament in their pulpits, as was usual in those times; nay, when the Scots were beaten, they refused to observe the day of thanksgiving,‡ but shut up their churches and went out of town; for which they were summoned before the committee and reprimanded; but the times being unsettled no further notice was taken of them at present.

Most of the sectarian party (says Mr. *Baxter**) swallowed the *engagement*; and so did the king's old cavaliers, very few of them being sick of the disease of a scrupulous conscience: some wrote for it, but the moderate episcopal men and presbyterians generally refused it. Those of Lancashire and Cheshire published the following reasons against it:

- (1.) "Because they apprehended the oath of allegiance, and the solemn league and covenant, were still binding.
- (2.) "Because the present powers were no better than *usurpers*.

† Life, p. 64, 66.

‡ Lord Grey, at the desire of some who were zealously attached to the parliament, complained, in a letter to the lord president of the council of state, of the neglect of the ministers, in Leicestershire and another county, in this instance: and urged the importance of noticing their contempt of the thanksgiving day, expressed by their non-observance of it. Dr. Grey's Appendix, No. 8. Ed.

* Life, p. 64, 65.

(3.) "Because

(3.) “Because the taking of it was a prejudice to the right heir of the crown, and to the ancient legal constitution.”

To which it was answered, “that it was absurd to suppose the oath of allegiance, or the solemn league and covenant to be in force after the king’s death; for how could they be obliged to preserve the king’s person, when the king’s person was destroyed, and the kingly office abolished; and as to his successor, his *right* had been forfeited and taken away by parliament.” With regard to the *present powers*, it was said, “that it was not for private persons to dispute the rights and titles of their supreme governors. Here was a government *de facto*, under which they lived; as long therefore as they enjoyed the protection of the government, it was their duty to give all reasonable security that they would not disturb it, or else to remove.” The body of the common people being weary of war, and willing to live quiet under any administration, submitted to the engagement, as being little more than a promise not to attempt the subversion of the present government, but many of the presbyterian clergy chose rather to quit their preferments in the church and university, than comply; which made way for the promotion of several independant divines, and among others, of Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly, who by order of parliament, Jan. 8, 1749-50, was appointed president of Magdalen college, Oxford, with the privilege of nominating fellows and demies in such places as should become vacant by death, or by the possessors refusing to take the *engagement*.*

The parliament tried several methods to reconcile the presbyterians to the present administration; persons were appointed to treat with them, and assure them of the protection of the government, and of the full enjoyment of their ecclesiastical preferments according to law; when this could not prevail, an order was published, that ministers in their pulpits should not meddle with state affairs. After this the celebrated *Milton* was appointed to write for the government, who rallied the seditious preachers with his satyrical pen in a severe manner; at length, when all other methods failed, a committee was chosen to receive informations against such ministers as in their pulpits vilified and aspersed the au-

* Whitlocke, p. 453.

thority

thority of parliament, and an act was passed, that all such should be sequestered from their ecclesiastical preferments.†

The presbyterians supported themselves under these hardships by their alliance with the Scots, and their hope of a speedy alteration of affairs by their assistance; for in the remonstrance of the general assembly of that kirk, dated July 27, they declare, that “the spirit which has acted in the
“councils of those who have obstructed the work of God,
“despised the covenant, corrupted the truth, forced the parliament, murdered the king, changed the government, and
“established such an unlimited toleration in religion, cannot
“be the spirit of righteousness and holiness. They therefore warn the subjects of Scotland against joining with them,
“and in case of an invasion to stand up in their own defence.
“The English have no controversy with us, (say they) but
“because the kirk and state have declared against their unlawful *engagement*; because we still adhere to our covenant,
“and have borne our testimony against their *toleration*, and
“taking away the king’s life.”* But then they warn their people also against *malignants*, “who value themselves upon
“their attachment to the young king, and if any from that
“quarter should invade the kingdom, before his majesty has
“given satisfaction to the parliament and kirk, they exhort
“their people to resist them, as abettors of an absolute and
“arbitrary government.”

About two months after this, the parliament of England published a declaration on their part, wherein they complain of the revolt of the English and Scots presbyterians, and of their taking part with the enemy, because their discipline was not the exact standard of reformation. “But we are still
“determined (say they||) not to be discouraged in our endeavours to promote the purity of religion, and the liberty
“of the commonwealth; and for the satisfaction of our
“presbyterian brethren, we declare, that *we will continue all
“those ordinances which have been made for the promoting a
“reformation of religion, in doctrine, worship, and discipline,
“in their full force*; and will uphold the same, in order to
“suppress popery, superstition, blasphemy, and all kinds of
“prophaneness. Only we conceive ourselves obliged to take

† Whitlocke, p. 387. * Vol. Pamph, No. 34, p. 6. || Ibid. No. 34.

“away

“away all such acts and ordinances as are penal and coercive
“in matters of conscience. And because this has given so
“great offence, we declare as in the presence of God, that
“by whomsoever this liberty shall be abused, we will be
“ready to testify our displeasure against them, by an effec-
“tual prosecution of such offenders.”

The Scots commissioners were all this while treating with the king in Holland, and insisting on his subscribing the solemn league and covenant; his establishing the Westminster *confession*, the directory, and the presbyterian government in both kingdoms. The king being under discouraging circumstances, consented to all their demands with regard to Scotland, and as to England referred himself to a free parliament: but the Scots not satisfied with his majesty's exceptions as to England, replied, that “such an answer as this would grieve
“the whole kirk of Scotland, and all their covenanting brethren in England and Ireland, who under pain of the most
“solemn perjury stand bound to God and one another, to
“live and die by their *covenant*, as the chief security of their
“religion and liberties, against popish and prelatical malignants. *Your majesty's father* (say they) *in his last message
“to our kirk offered to ratify the solemn league and covenant.
“He offered likewise at the Isle of Wight to confirm the direc-
“tory, and the presbyterial government in England and Ire-
“land, till he and his parliament should agree upon a settled
“order of the church.* Besides, your majesty having offered
“to confirm the abolishing of episcopacy, and the service
“book in Scotland, it cannot certainly be against your conscience to do it in England.” But the king would advance no farther till he had heard from the queen mother, who sent him word, that it was the opinion of the council of France, that he should agree with the Scots upon the best terms he was able, which he did accordingly, as will be related the next year.

The fifth provincial assembly of London met the beginning of May [1649] at Sion college, the reverend Mr. *Jackson*, of St. Michael Wood-street, moderator. A committee was appointed to prepare materials for proof of the *divine right* of presbyterial church government. The proofs were examined and approved by this, and the assembly that met in November following,

following, of which Mr. *Walker* was moderator, Mr. *Calamy* and Mr. *Jackson* assessors, and Mr. *Blackwell* scribe. The treatise was printed, and asserts,

(1.) That there is a church government of divine institution.

(2.) That the civil magistrate is not the origin or head of church government. And,

(3.) That the government of the church by synods and classes is the government that Christ appointed. It maintains separation from their churches to be *schism*; that ministers formerly ordained by bishops need not be re-ordained: And for private christians in particular churches to assume a right of sending persons forth to preach, and to administer the sacraments, is in their opinion insufferable.

The parliament did all they could to satisfy the malecontent presbyterians, by securing them in their livings, and by ordering the dean and chapter lands to be sold,* and their names to be extinct, except the deanry of Christ church, and the foundations of Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton schools. The bishops lands, which had been sequestered since the year 1646, were now by an ordinance of June 8, 1649, vested in the hands of new trustees, and appropriated to the augmentation of poor livings in the church. § The first-fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical livings, formerly payable to the crown, were vested in the same hands, free from all incumbrances, on trust, that they should pay yearly all such salaries, stipends, allowances and provisions, as have been settled and confirmed by parliament, for preaching ministers, school-masters, or professors in the universities; provided the assignment to any one do not exceed one hundred pounds. It is further provided, that the maintenance of all incumbents shall not be less than one hundred pounds a year, and the commissioners of the great seal are empowered to

* The money raised by the sale of those lands amounted to a very considerable sum. The return of the value of the lands, contracted for to the 29th of August 1650, made to the committee for the sale of them, fixed it at the sum of 948,409l. 18s. 2½d. of which, on the 31st of August, the total of the purchasers' acquittances amounted to 658,501l. 2s. 9d. Dr. Grey, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 18. Ed.

§ Scobel, p. 41, 113.

enquire into the yearly value of all ecclesiastical livings, to which any cure of souls is annexed; and to certify into the court of Chancery, the names of the present incumbents who supply the cure, with their respective salaries; how many chapels belong to parish churches, and how the several churches and chapels are supplied with preaching ministers; that so some course may be taken for providing for a better maintenance where it is wanting. Dr. *Walker* says,* the value of bishops lands forfeited and sold amounted to a million of money; but though they sold very cheap, they that brought them had a very dear bargain in the end.

Upon debate of an ordinance concerning publick worship, and church government, the house declared, that the presbyterial government should be the established government. And upon the question, whether tithes should be continued, it was resolved, that they should not be taken away, till another maintenance equally large and honourable should be substituted in its room.

The inhabitants of the principality of Wales were destitute of the means of christian knowledge, their language was little understood, their clergy were ignorant and idle; so that they had hardly a sermon from one quarter of a year to another. The people had neither bibles nor catechisms; nor was there a sufficient maintenance for such as were capable of instructing them. The parliament taking the case of these people into consideration, passed an act, Feb. 22, 1649, *for the better propagation and preaching of the gospel in Wales, for the ejecting scandalous ministers and school-masters, and redress of some grievances*; to continue in force for three years. What was done in pursuance of this ordinance will be related hereafter; but the parliament were so intent upon the affair of religion at this time, that Mr. *Whitlocke* says, they devoted Friday in every week to consult ways and means for promoting it.

Dor did they confine themselves to England, but as soon as lieutenant-general *Cromwell* had reduced Ireland, the parliament passed an ordinance, March 8, 1649, for the encouragement of religion and learning in that country; “they
“invested all the manors and lands late of the archbishop of

* P. 14.

“ Dublin,

“ Dublin, and of the dean and chapter of *St. Patrick*, to-
 “ gether with the parsonage of *Trym* belonging to the bishop-
 “ rick of *Meath*, in the hands of trustees, for the mainte-
 “ nance and support of *Trinity college* in *Dublin*; and for
 “ the creating, settling, and maintaining another college in
 “ the said city, and of a master, fellows, scholars, and pub-
 “ lick professors: and also for erecting a free-school, with
 “ a master, usher, scholars, and officers, in such manner as
 “ any five of the trustees, with the consent of the lord-lieu-
 “ tenant, shall direct and appoint. The lord-lieutenant to
 “ nominate the governor, masters, &c. and to appoint them
 “ their salaries; and the trustees, with the consent of the lord-
 “ lieutenant, shall draw up statutes and ordinances, to be
 “ confirmed by the parliament of *England*.”

The university of *Dublin* being thus revived, and put upon
 a new foot, the parliament sent over six of their most accept-
 able preachers to give it reputation, appointing them two
 hundred pounds a year out of the bishop's lands; and till
 that could be duly raised, to be paid out of the publick re-
 venues: and for their further encouragement, if they died
 in that service, their families were to be provided for. By
 these methods learning began to revive, and in a few years
 religion appeared with a better face than it had ever done
 before in that kingdom.

A prospect being opened for spreading the Christian reli-
 gion among the *Indians*, upon the borders of *New-England*,
 the parliament allowed a general collection throughout *Eng-
 land*, and erected a corporation for this service, who pur-
 chased an estate in land of between five and six hundred pounds
 a year; but on the restoration of king *Charles II.* the charter
 became void, and colonel *Bedingfield*, a roman catholick of-
 ficer in the king's army, of whom a considerable part of the
 land was purchased, seized it for his own use, pretending he
 had sold it under the real value, in hopes of recovering it
 upon the king's return. In order to defeat the colonel's
 design, the society solicited the king for a new charter, which
 they obtained by the interest of the lord chancellor. It bears
 date Feb. 7, in the 14th year of his majesty's reign, and dif-
 fers but little from the old one. The honourable *Robert
 Boyle*, esq; was the first governor. They afterwards reco-
 vered

vered colonel *Bedingfield's* estate, and are at this time in possession of about five hundred pounds a year, which they employ for the conversion of the Indians in America.

But all that the parliament could do was not sufficient to stop the mouths of the loyalists and discontented presbyterians; the pulpit and press founded to sedition; the latter brought forth invectives every week against the government; it was therefore resolved to lay a severe fine upon offenders of this kind, by an ordinance bearing date Sept. 20, 1649, the preamble to which sets forth, that "Whereas divers
"scandalous and seditious pamphlets are daily printed, and
"dispersed with officious industry by the malignant party
"both at home and abroad, with a design to subvert the present government, and to take off the affections of the people from it, it is therefore ordained,

"THAT the author of every seditious libel or pamphlet shall be fined ten pounds, or suffer forty days imprisonment. The printer five pounds, and his printing-press to be broken. The bookseller forty shillings; the buyer twenty shillings, if he conceals it, and does not deliver it up to a justice of peace. It is further ordained, that
"no news-paper shall be printed, or sold without licence, under the hand of the clerk of the parliament, or the secretary of the army, or such other person as the council of state shall appoint. No printing-presses are to be allowed but in London, and in the two universities. All printers
"are to enter into bonds of three hundred pounds, not to print any pamphlet against the state without licence, as
"aforesaid, unless the author's or licenser's name, with the place of his abode be prefixed. All importers of seditious
"pamphlets are to forfeit five pounds for every such book or pamphlet. No books are to be landed in any other
"port but that of London, and to be viewed by the master and wardens of the company of *Stationers*. This act to
"continue in force for two years."*

But the pulpit was no less dangerous than the press; the presbyterian ministers in their publick prayers and sermons, especially on fast-days, keeping alive the discontents of the

* Scobel, p. 88. Cap. 60.

people. The government therefore, by an ordinance, abolished the monthly fast, which had subsisted for about seven years, and had been in a great measure a fast for strife and debate; but declared at the same time, that they should appoint occasional fasts, from time to time for the future, as the providences of God should require.*

In the midst of all these disorders, there was a very great appearance of sobriety both in city and country; the indefatigable pains of the presbyterian ministers in catechizing, instructing, and visiting their parishioners, can never be sufficiently commended. The whole nation was civilized, and considerably improved in sound knowledge, though bishop Kennet and Mr. Eachard are pleased to say, *that heresies and blasphemies against heaven were swelled up to a most prodigious height.* “I know (says Mr. Baxter§) you may meet
 “with men who will confidently affirm, that in these times
 “all religion was trodden under foot, and that heresy and
 “schism were the only piety; but I give warning to all ages,
 “that they take heed how they believe any, while they are
 “speaking for the interest of their factions and opinions
 “against their real or supposed adversaries.” However, the parliament did what they could to suppress and discountenance all such extravagancies; and even the officers of the army, having convicted one of their *quarter-masters* of blasphemy in a council of war, sentenced him to have his tongue bored through with an hot iron, his sword broke over his head, and to be cashiered the army.

But bishop Kennet says, *even the Turkish alcoran was coming in; that it was translated into English, and said to be licensed by one of the ministers of London.* Sad times! Was his lordship then afraid that the *alcoran* should prevail against the bible? or that the doctrines of Christ could not support themselves against the extravagant follies of an impostor? But the book did no harm, though the commons immediately published an order for suppressing it; and since the restitution of *monarchy* and *episcopacy*, we have lived to see the life of *Mahomet* and his *Koran* published without mischief or offence.

* Whitlocke, p. 383.

§ Life, p. 86.

His lordship adds, that the papists took advantage of the liberty of the times, *who were never more numerous and busy*; which is not very probable, because the parliament had banished all papists twenty miles from the city of London, and excepted them out of their acts of indulgence and toleration; the spirit of the people against popery was kept up to the height; the mob carried the pope's effigies in triumph, and burnt it publickly on queen *Elizabeth's* birth-day; and the ministers in their pulpits pronounced him antichrist; but such is the *zeal* of this right reverend historian!†

The beginning of this year, the marquis of *Montrose* was taken in the north of Scotland by colonel *Straughan** with a small

† In this place we may notice, that colonel *Lilburne*, who in the reign of *Charles I.* felt the severe effects of regal and episcopal anger, now incurred the displeasure of a republican government. On October 26, 1646, he was tried for transgressing the new statute of treasons enacted by the commonwealth. He was acquitted by the jury; and Westminster-hall, on the verdict being given, resounded with the acclamations of the people. A print was struck on the occasion, representing him, standing at the bar on his trial: at the top of it was a medal of his head with this inscription, "*John Lilburne, saved by the power of the Lord, and the integrity of his jury, who are judges of law as well as fact, October 6, 1646.*" On the reverse were the names of the jury. He was a very popular character; as appears from the many petitions presented to the house in his favour, during his imprisonment; one of which came from a number of women. When some were sent to seize his books, he persuaded them "to look to their own liberties, and let his books alone;" and on his trial, he behaved with singular intrepidity. After he was discharged by the jury, he was, by the order of parliament, committed to the Tower. He seems to have been a bold and consistent oppugner of tyranny, under whatever form of government it was practised. He died a quaker, at Eltham, August 28, 1658. The following character was given of him by Sir *Thomas Wortley*, in a song, at the feast kept by the prisoners in the Tower, in August 1647.

"*John Lilburne* is a stirring blade,
And understands the matter;
He neither will king, bishops, lords,
Nor th' house of commons flatter.
John loves no power prerogative,
But that deriv'd from Sion;
As for the mitre and the crown,
Those two he looks awry on."

Granger's History of England, vol. iii. p. 78, 8vo. Whitlocke's Mem. p. 383, 384, and 405. Dr. Grey, vol. i. p. 167, and vol. iii. p. 17. Ed.

* This is not accurate. Colonel *Straughan's* forces in conjunction with others, fell on lord *Montrose's* party, routed them, and took 600 prisoners:

a small body of troops, and hanged at Edinburgh on a gallows thirty feet high; his body was buried under the gallows, and his quarters set upon the gates of the principal towns in Scotland; but his behaviour was great and firm to the last. The marquis appeared openly for the king in the year 1643, and having routed a small party of covenanters in Perthshire, acquired considerable renown; but his little successes were very mischievous to the king's affairs, being always magnified beyond what they really were:† His vanity was the occasion of breaking off the treaty of Uxbridge, and his fears lest king *Charles II.* should agree with the Scots, and revoke his commission before he had executed it, now hurried him to his own ruin.

The young king being in treaty with the Scots covenanters at Breda, was forced to stifle his resentments for the death of the marquis, and submit to the following hard conditions:

(1.) “ That all persons excommunicated by the kirk
“ should be forbid the court.

(2.) “ That the king by his solemn oath, and under his
“ hand and seal, declare his allowance of the covenant.

(3.) “ That he confirm those acts of parliament which
“ enjoin the covenant. That he establish the presbyterian
“ worship and discipline, and swear never to oppose, or en-
“ deavour to alter them.

(4.) “ That all civil matters be determined by parliament;
“ and all ecclesiastical affairs by the kirk.

but the marquis himself escaped, though with difficulty, for his horse, pistols, belt, and scabbard, were seized: and two or three days after the fight, he was taken sixteen miles from the place of engagement, in a disguise, and sorely wounded: having been betrayed, some say by lord *Aston*, but, according to bishop *Burnet*, by *Mackland*, of Affin. Dr. Grey, and Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 438, 9. ED.

† If his successes were magnified beyond the truth, his character has also been handed down with the highest eulogiums. The marquis of *Montrose*, “ says Mr. *Granger*,” was comparable to the greatest heroes of antiquity. We meet with many instances of valour in this active reign; but *Montrose* is the only instance of heroism. Amongst other circumstances of indignity, which accompanied his execution, the book of his exploits, a small octavo written in elegant Latin, which is now very scarce, was tied appendant to his neck. Dr. Grey, and *Granger's History of England*, vol. ii. p. 245, 6. 8vo. ED.

(5.) “ That

(5.) “ That his majesty ratify all that has been done in
“ the parliament of Scotland in some late sessions, and sign
“ the covenant upon his arrival in that kingdom, if the kirk
“ desired it.”*

The king arrived in Scotland June 23, but before his landing the commissioners insisted on his signing the covenant, and upon parting with all his old counsellors, which he did, and was then conducted by the way of Aberdeen and St. Andrews to his house at Faulkland. July 11, his majesty was proclaimed at the cross at Edinburgh, but the ceremony of his coronation was deferred to the beginning of the next year. In the mean time the English commonwealth was providing for a war which they saw was unavoidable, and general *Fairfax* refusing to act against the Scots, his commission was immediately given to *Cromwell*, with the title of *Captain-general in chief of all the forces raised, and to be raised by authority of parliament, within the commonwealth of England*. Three days after, (viz.) June 29, he marched with eleven thousand foot, and five thousand horse, towards the borders of Scotland, being resolved not to wait for the Scots invading England, but to carry the war into their country. The Scots complained to the English parliament of this conduct, as a breach of the act of pacification, and of the covenant; but were answered, that they had already broken the peace by their treaty with *Charles Stuart*, whom they had not only received as their king, but promised to *assist in recovering the crown of England*. Their receiving the king was certainly their right as an independant nation; but whether their engaging to assist him in recovering the crown of England, was not declaring war, must be left to the reader.

July 22, the general crossed the Tweed, and marched his army almost as far as Edinburgh without much opposition, the country being deserted by reason of the terror of the name of *Cromwell*, and the reports that were spread of his

* Besides taking the covenant, it was enacted of the king also to acknowledge twelve articles of repentance, in which were enumerated the sins of his father and grandfather, and the idolatry of his mother; and in which were declarations, that he sought the restitution of his rights for the sole advantage of religion, and in subordination to the kingdom of Christ. Mrs. Macaulay's History of England, vol. v. p. 62, 8vo. Ed.

cruelty in Ireland. Not a Scotsman appeared under sixty, nor a youth above six years old, to interrupt his march. All provisions were destroyed, or removed, to prevent the subsistence of the army, which was supplied from time to time by sea; but the general having made proclamation, that no man should be injured in his person or goods who was not found in arms, the people took heart and returned to their dwellings.

The Scots army, under the command of general *Lesley*, stood on the defensive, and watched the motions of the English all the month of August; the main body being intrenched within six miles of Edinburgh, to the number of thirty thousand of the best men that ever Scotland saw; general *Cromwell* did every thing he could to draw them to a battle, till by the fall of rain, and bad weather, he was obliged to retreat to Muffelborough, and from thence to Dunbar, where he was reduced to the utmost straits, having no way left but to conquer or die.|| In this extremity he summoned the officers to prayer; after which he bid all about him take heart, for God had heard them; then walking in the earl of *Roxborough's* gardens, that lay under the hill upon which the Scots army was encamped, and discovering by perspective glasses that they were coming down to attack him, he said *God was delivering them into his hands*. That night proving very rainy, the general refreshed his men in the town, and ordered them to take particular care of their firelocks, which the Scots neglected, who were all the night coming down the hill. Early next morning Sept. 3, the general with a strong party of horse beat their guards, and then advancing with his whole army, after about an hour's dispute, entered their camp and carried all before him; about four thousand Scots fell in battle, ten thousand were made prisoners, with fifteen hundred arms, and all their artillery and ammunition; the loss of the English amounting to no more than about three hundred men.

It is an odd reflection lord *Clarendon*§ makes upon this victory: “Never was victory obtained (says his lordship) with less lamentation; for as *Cromwell* had great argument of

|| Life of Cromwell, p. 178. Burnet's Hist. vol. i. p. 74, Edinb. edit.

§ Vol. III. p. 377.

“triumph,

“ triumph, so the king was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a body of his enemies.” || Such was the encouragement the Scots had to fight for their king!

Immediately after this action, the general took possession of Edinburgh, which was in a manner deserted by the clergy; some having shut themselves up in the castle, and others fled with their effects to Sterling, the general, to deliver them from their fright, sent a trumpet to the castle, to assure the governor that the *ministers* might return to their churches, and preach without any disturbance from him, for he had no quarrel with the Scots nation on the score of religion. § But the ministers replied, that having no security for their persons, they thought it their duty to reserve themselves for better times. Upon which the general wrote to the governor,

“ THAT his kindness offered to the ministers in the castle, was without any fraudulent reserve; that if their master’s service was their principal concern, they would not be so excessively afraid of suffering for it. That those divines had misreported the conduct of his party, when they charged them with persecuting the ministers of Christ in England; for *the ministers in England* (says he) *are supported, and have liberty to preach the gospel, though not to rail at their superiors at discretion; nor under a pretended*

|| Dr. Grey adds the reason which lord Clarendon assigns for the king’s rejoicing in this victory; which was, his apprehension that if the Scots had prevailed, they would have shut him up in prison the next day: whereas, after this defeat, they looked upon the king as one they might stand in need of, gave him more liberty than they had before allowed, permitted his servants to wait on him, and began to talk of a parliament and of a time for his coronation. ED.

§ It is a proof of this, that while *Oliver Cromwell* was at Edinburgh, he attended divine worship in the great church there, when Mr. *William Derham* preached, and called *Oliver* an usurper to his face. He was so far from resenting this, that he invited Mr. *Derham* to visit him in the evening, when they supped together in great harmony. *Oliver* observed, however, “ that it was well known to him, how much he and his brethren disliked him: but they might assure themselves that, if any of the *Stewart* line came to the throne, they would find their little fingers greater than his loins.” Dr. Gibbons’s Account of the Cromwell Family, annexed to his Funeral Sermon for William Cromwell, esq.—p. 47. ED.

“ privilege

“ *privilege of character to over-top the civil powers, or debase*
 “ *them as they please.*—No man has been disturbed in Eng-
 “ land or Ireland for preaching the gospel; nor has any mi-
 “ nister been molested in Scotland since the coming of the
 “ army hither—speaking truth becomes the ministers of
 “ Christ; but when ministers pretend to a glorious reforma-
 “ tion, and lay the foundation thereof in getting to them-
 “ selves *power*, and can make worldly mixtures to accomplish
 “ the same, such as the late agreement with their king; they
 “ may know that the *Sion* promised is not to be built with
 “ such *untempered mortar*. And for the unjust invasion they
 “ [the ministers] mention, time was when an army out of
 “ Scotland came into England, not called by the supreme
 “ authority—we have said in our papers, with what hearts,
 “ and upon what account we came, and the Lord has heard
 “ us, though you would not, upon as solemn an appeal as
 “ any experience can parallel—I have nothing to say to you,
 “ but that I am,

“ *Sir, your humble servant,*

“ O. CROMWELL.”†

The Scots ministers, in their reply to this letter, objected
 to the general *his opening the pulpit doors to all intruders, by*
which means a flood of errors was broke in upon the nation.
 To which the general replied, “ we look on ministers as
 “ helpers of, not lords over the faith of God’s people: I
 “ appeal to their consciences, whether any denying of their
 “ doctrines, or dissenting from them, will not incur the cen-
 “ sure of a SECTARY; and what is this but to deny christians
 “ their liberty, and assume the infallible chair? where do
 “ you find in scripture that preaching is included within your
 “ function? though an approbation from men has order in
 “ it, and may be well, yet he that hath not a better than
 “ that, hath none at all.

“ I hope he that ascended up on high may give his gifts
 “ to whom he pleases; and if those gifts be the seal of mis-
 “ sion, are not you envious, though *Eldad* and *Medad* pro-
 “ phesy? You know who has bid us covet earnestly the best

† Life of Cromwell, p. 182.

“ gifts,

“ gifts, but chiefly, that we may *prophecy*; which the apostle
 “ explains to be a speaking to instruction, edification, and
 “ comfort, which the instructed, edified, and comforted, can
 “ best tell the energy and effect of.

“ Now, if this be evidence, take heed you envy not for
 “ your own sakes, lest you be guilty of a greater fault than
 “ *Moses* reprov'd in *Joshua*, when he envied for his sake.
 “ Indeed you err through mistake of the scriptures. Ap-
 “ probation is an act of convenience in respect of order, not
 “ of necessity, to give faculty to preach the gospel.

“ Your pretended fear, lest error should step in, is like
 “ the man that would keep all the wine out of the country
 “ lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and
 “ unwise jealousy, to deny a man the liberty he hath by
 “ nature, upon a supposition he may abuse it. When he
 “ doth abuse it, then judge.”§

The governor complained to the *general*, that *the parliament at Westminster had fallen from their principles, not being true to the ends of the covenant*. And then adds with the ministers, *that men of secular employments had usurped the office of the ministry, to the scandal of the reformed churches*.

In answer to the first part of this expostulation, general *Cromwell* desired to know, whether their bearing witness to themselves, was a good evidence of their having prosecuted the ends of the covenant? “ to infer this (says he) is to have
 “ too favourable an opinion of your own judgment and
 “ impartiality. Your doctrines and practice ought to be
 “ tried by the word of God, and other people must have a
 “ liberty of examining them upon these heads, and of giving
 “ sentence.”||

As to the charge of indulging the use of the pulpit to the laity, the *general* admits it, and adds, “ are ye troubled that
 “ Christ is preached? does it scandalize the reformed churches,
 “ and Scotland in particular? is it against the covenant? away
 “ with the covenant if it be so. I thought the *covenant* and
 “ these men would have been willing, that any should speak
 “ good of the name of Christ; if not, it is no covenant of
 “ God’s approving; nor the kirk you mention so much the
 “ spouse of Christ.”

§ Whitlocke, p. 458. Collier’s Ecclesiastical History, p. 863.

|| Collier’s Ecclesiastical History, p. 864.

The

The *general*, in one of his letters, lays considerable stress upon the success of their arms, after a most solemn appeal to God on both sides. To which the Scots governor replied, *we have not so learned Christ, as to hang the equity of a cause upon events.* To which *Cromwell* answers, “We
 “ could wish that blindness had not been upon your eyes
 “ to those marvellous dispensations which God has lately
 “ wrought in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and
 “ pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not we and you
 “ to think with fear and trembling on the hand of the great
 “ God in this mighty and strange appearance of his, and not
 “ slightly call it an event? Were not your expectations and
 “ ours renewed from time to time, whilst we waited on God
 “ to see how he would manifest himself upon our appeals?
 “ And shall we after all these our prayers, fastings, tears, ex-
 “ pectations, and solemn appeals, call these bare events? The
 “ Lord pity you—”

From this correspondence the reader may form a judgment of the governing principles of the Scots and English at this time; the former were so inviolably attached to their covenant, that they would depart from nothing that was inconsistent with it. The English, after seeking God in prayer, judged of the goodness of their cause by the appearance of providence in its favour; most of the officers and soldiers were men of strict devotion, but went upon this mistaken principle, that God would never appear for a bad cause after a solemn appeal to him for decision. However, the Scots lost their courage, and surrendered the impregnable castle of Edinburgh into the hands of the conqueror December 24, the garrison having liberty to march out with their baggage to Burnt-Island in Fife; and soon after the whole kingdom was subdued.

The provincial assembly of London met this year as usual, in the months of May and November, but did nothing remarkable; the parliament waited to reconcile them to the *engagement*, and prolonged the time limited for taking it; but when they continued inflexible, and instead of submitting to the present powers were plotting with the Scots, it was resolved to clip their wings, and make some examples, as a terror to the rest. June 21, the committee for regulating the

the universities was ordered to tender the *engagement* to all such officers, masters, and fellows, as had neglected to take it, and upon their refusal to displace them. Accordingly in the university of Cambridge, Mr. *Vines*, Dr. *Rainbow*, and some others, were displaced, and succeeded by Mr. *Sydrach Sympson*, Mr. *Jo. Sadler*, and Mr. *Dell*. In the university of Oxford, Dr. *Reynolds* the vice-chancellor refused the engagement, but after some time offered to take it, in hopes of saving his deanery of Christ church; but the parliament resenting the example, took advantage of his forfeiture, and gave the deanery to Dr. *John Owen* an independant divine, who took possession of it March 18, 1650-1. §

Upon the resignation of the vice-chancellor, Dr. *Daniel Greenwood*, principal of Brazen-Nose college, and a presbyterian divine, was appointed his successor, October 12, and on the 15th of January following, OLIVER CROMWELL, now in Scotland, was chosen unanimously, in full convocation, *chancellor of the university* in the room of the earl of *Pembroke* lately deceased. † When the doctors and masters who were sent to Edinburgh, acquainted him with the choice, he wrote a letter to the university, in which after a modest refusal of their favour, he adds, “if these arguments prevail not, “and that I must continue this honour till I can personally “serve you, you shall not want my prayers, that piety and “learning may flourish among you, and be rendered useful “and subservient to that great and glorious kingdom of our “Lord Jesus Christ; of the approach of which, so plentiful “an effusion of the holy spirit upon those hopeful plants “among you is one of the best presages—.” When the general’s letter was read in convocation, the house resounded with chearful acclamations. Dr. *Greenwood* continued vice-chancellor two years, but was then displaced for his disaffection to the government, and the honour was conferred on Dr. *Owen*. Thus by degrees, the presbyterians lost their influence in the universities, and delivered them up into the hands of the independants.

To strengthen the hands of the government yet further, the parliament, by an ordinance bearing date Sept. 20, took

§ Baxter’s Life, p. 64.

† Wood’s Fasti, p. 92, or Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 772.

away all the penal statutes for religion.* The preamble sets forth, “ that divers religious and peaceable people, well-affected to the commonwealth, having not only been molested and imprisoned, but brought into danger of abjuring their country, or in case of return to suffer death as felons, by sundry acts made in the times of former kings and queens of this nation, against recusants not coming to church, &c. they therefore enact and ordain,

“ THAT all the clauses, articles, and proviso’s, in the ensuing acts of parliament, viz. 1st *Eliz.* 23d *Eliz.* 35th *Eliz.* and all and every branch, clause, article, or proviso, in any other act or ordinance of parliament, whereby any penalty or punishment is imposed, or meant to be imposed on any person whatsoever, for not repairing to their respective parish churches; or for not keeping of holy days; or for not hearing common-prayer, &c. shall be, and are hereby wholly repealed and made void.

“ And to the end that no prophane or licentious persons may take occasion, by the repeal of the said laws, to neglect the performance of religious duties, it is further ordained, that all persons not having a reasonable excuse, shall on every Lord’s day, and day of publick thanksgiving or humiliation, resort to some place of publick worship; or be present at some other place, in the practice of some religious duty, either of prayer or preaching, reading or expounding the scriptures—”

By this law the doors were set open, and the state was at liberty to employ all such in their service as would take the oaths to the civil government, without any regard to their religious principles.

Sundry severe ordinances were made for suppressing of vice, error, and all sorts of prophaneness and impiety. May 10, it was ordained, “ that *incest* and *adultery* should be made felony; and that *fornication* should be punished with three months imprisonment for the first offence; and that the second offence should be *felony* without benefit of clergy. Common *bawds*, or persons who keep lewd houses, are to be set in the pillory; to be whipped, and marked in

* Scobel, p. 131.

“ the forehead with the letter B, and then committed to the
 “ house of correction for three years for the first offence;
 “ and for the second to suffer death, provided the prosecution
 “ be within twelve months.”§

June 28, it was ordained, “ that every *nobleman* who shall
 “ be convicted of prophane cursing and swearing, by the
 “ oath of one or more witnesses, or by his own confession,
 “ shall pay for the first offence thirty shillings to the poor of
 “ the parish; a *baronet*, or *knight*, twenty shillings; an *esquire*
 “ ten shillings; a *gentleman* six shillings and eight pence; and
 “ and all inferior persons three shillings and four pence. For
 “ the second offence they are to pay double, according to
 “ their qualities above-mentioned. And for the tenth of-
 “ fence they are to be judged common swearers and cursers,
 “ and to be bound over to their good behaviour for three
 “ years. The like punishment for women, whose fines are
 “ to be determined according to their own or their husbands’
 “ quality.”||

August 9, an ordinance was passed, for *punishing blasphemous and execrable opinions*. The preamble takes notice, that “ though severall laws had been made for promoting re-
 “ formation in doctrines and manners, yet there were divers
 “ men and women who had lately discovered monstrous opi-
 “ nions, even such as tended to the dissolution of human so-
 “ ciety; the parliament therefore, according to their decla-
 “ ration of Sept. 27, 1649, in which they said, they should
 “ be ready to testify their displeasure against such offenders, by
 “ strict and effectual proceedings against them who should abuse
 “ and turn into licentiousness, the liberty given in matters of
 “ religion, do therefore ordain and enact,

“ THAT any persons not distempered in their brains,
 “ who shall maintain any *meer creature to be God*, or to be
 “ *infinite, almighty, &c.* or that shall deny the holiness of God;
 “ or shall maintain, that all acts of wickedness and unrigh-
 “ teousness are not forbidden in holy scripture; or that God
 “ approves them. Any one who shall maintain, that acts of
 “ drunkenness, adultery, swearing, &c. are not in themselves
 “ shameful, wicked, sinful, and impious; or that there is not

§ Scobel, p. 121.

|| Ibid. p. 123.

“ any

“ *any real difference between moral good and evil, &c.* all such
 “ persons shall suffer six months imprisonment for the first
 “ offence; and for the second shall be banished; and if they
 “ return without licence shall be treated as felons.” §

Though several ordinances had been made heretofore for the strict observation of the Lord’s day, the present house of commons thought fit to enforce them by another, dated April 19, 1650, in which they ordain, “ that all goods cried,
 “ or put to sale on the Lord’s day, or other days of humi-
 “ liation and thanksgiving appointed by authority, shall be
 “ seized. No waggoner or drover shall travel on the Lord’s
 “ day on penalty of ten shillings for every offence. No
 “ persons shall travel in boats, horses, or coaches, except to
 “ church, on penalty of ten shillings. The like penalty for
 “ being in a tavern. And where distress is not to be made,
 “ the offender is to be put into the stocks six hours. All
 “ peace-officers are required to make diligent search for dis-
 “ covering offenders; and in case of neglect, the justice of
 “ peace is fined five pounds, and every constable twenty
 “ shillings.” Such was the severity of these times. †

The parliament having ordered the sale of bishops lands, and the lands of deans and chapters, and vested the money in the hands of trustees, as has been related, appointed this year April 5, part of the money to be appropriated for the support and maintenance of such late bishops, deans, prebendaries, singing men, choristers, and other members, officers, and persons destitute of maintenance, whose respective offices, places, and livelihoods, were taken away, and abolished, distributing and proportioning the same according to their necessities. How well this was executed I cannot determine; but it was a generous act of compassion, and more than the church of England would do for the nonconformists at the restoration.*

A motion being made in the house about translating all law books into the English language, Mr. *Whitlocke* made a learned speech on the argument, wherein he observes, that
 “ *Moses* read the law to the Jews in the Hebrew language;
 “ that the laws of all the Eastern nations were in their mo-

§ Scobel, p. 124.

† Ibid. p. 119.

* Ibid. p. 111.

“ ther

“ther tongue; the laws of *Constantinople* were in Greek; at
 “Rome they were in Latin; in France, Spain, Germany,
 “Sweden, Denmark, and other places, their laws are pub-
 “lished in their native language. As for our own country,
 “(says he) those who can read the Saxon character may
 “find the laws of our ancestors in that language. Pursuant
 “to this regulation, *William* duke of *Normandy*, commonly
 “called the *Conqueror*, commanded the laws to be published
 “in English, that none might pretend ignorance. He ob-
 “serves further, that by 36 *Eliz. cap. 3*, it was ordered,
 “that all pleadings should be in English; and even in the
 “reigns of those princes, wherein our statutes were enrolled
 “in French, the sheriffs were obliged to proclaim them in
 “English, because the people were deeply concerned to
 “know the laws of their country, and not to be kept in ig-
 “norance of the rule by which their interests and duty were
 “directed.”§

The arguments in this speech were so forcible, that the
 house agreed unanimously to a bill, wherein they ordain,
 “that all books of law be translated into English; and all
 “proceedings in any court of justice, except the court of
 “*Admiralty*, after *Easter* term 1651, shall be in English
 “only; and all writs, &c. shall be in a legible hand, and
 “not in court-hand, on forfeiture of twenty pounds for the
 “first offence, half to the commonwealth, and the other half
 “to them that will sue for the same.”† And though this
 regulation ceased at the restoration, as all other ordinances
 did that were made in these times, the late parliament has
 thought fit to revive it.

From this time we may date the rise of the people called
 QUAKERS, in whom most of the enthusiasts of these times
 centered: Their first leader was GEORGE FOX, born at
 Drayton in Lancashire 1624; his father being a poor weaver,||
 put

§ Whitlocke, p. 460.

† Scobel, p. 155.

|| It is to be wished, that Mr. *Neal* had not used this epithet, poor. It
 is not in the author, whom he quotes, was needless, and has the appearance
 of contempt. The parents of *Fox* were truly respectable: his father,
Christopher Fox, of such a virtuous life, that his neighbours called him
righteous Christer; his mother, of the stock of martyrs, and a woman of
 qualifications superior to the generality of her circumstances in life: They
 were

put him apprentice to a country shoe-maker, but having a peculiar turn of mind for religion, he went away from his master, and wandered up and down the country like an hermit, in a leathern doublet; at length his friends hearing he was at London, persuaded him to return home, and settle in some regular course of employment; but after he had been some months in the country, he went from his friends a second time, in the year 1646, and threw off all further attendance on the publick service in the churches: The reasons he gave for his conduct were, because it was revealed to him, that a learned education at the university was no qualification for a minister, but that all depended on the anointing of the Spirit, and that God who made the world did not dwell in temples made with hands. In the year 1647, he travelled into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, walking through divers towns and villages, which way soever his mind turned, in a solitary manner. He fasted much, (says my author) and walked often abroad in retired places, with no other companion but his bible: He would sometimes set in an hollow tree all day, and frequently walked about the fields in the night, like a man possessed with deep melancholy; which the writer of his life calls the *time of the first working of the Lord upon him.* || Towards the latter end of this year, he began first to set up for a teacher of others,

were both members of the national church, distinguished by piety, and cherished the religious turn of mind which their son discovered in his earliest years. Virtuous and sober manners, a peculiar stayedness of mind and gravity of demeanor marked his youth. His chief employment under his master, who also dealt in wool and cattle, was to keep sheep, which was well suited to his disposition both for innocence and solitude. He acquitted himself with a fidelity and diligence, that conduced much to the success of his master's affairs. It was a custom with him to ratify his dealing with the word, *verily*; to which he so firmly and conscientiously adhered, that those who knew him would remark, "if George says *verily*, there is no altering." Mr. Neal's expression, "he went away from his master," may be understood as intimating a clandestine and dishonourable leaving his master's service: which was not the case. He did not begin his solitary travels, till after his apprenticeship was finished, and he had returned home to his parents. The leathern dress was adopted by him, on account of its simplicity and its durableness, as it required little repairing, which was convenient to him in his wandering and unsettled course of life. Sewel's Hist. p. 6, 12; and Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 60. ED.

|| Sewel's History of the Quakers, p. 6—12.

about

about Duckinfield and Manchester; the principal argument of his discourse being, *that people should receive the inward divine teachings of the Lord, and take that for their rule.*

In the year 1648, there being a dissolution of all government both civil and ecclesiastical, *George Fox* waxed bold,* and travelled through the counties of Leicester, Northampton, and Derby, speaking to the people in market-places, &c. about the *inward light of Christ within them.*|| At this time (says my author†) he apprehended the Lord had forbid him *to put off his hat to any one*, high or low; he was required also to speak to the people without distinction in the language of THOU and THEE. He was not to bid people good-morrow, or good-night; neither might he bend his knee to the chief magistrate in the nation; the women|| that followed him would not make a courtesy to their superiors, nor comply with the common forms of speech. Both men and women affected a plain and simple dress, distinct from the fashion of the times. They neither gave nor accepted any titles of respect or honour, nor would they call any man master on earth. They refused to take an oath on the most solemn occasion. These and the like peculiarities, he supported by such passages of scripture as these, *Swear not at all; how can ye believe who receive honour one*

* The circumstances of this period, as stated by *Gough*, will shew the propriety of our author's language here, and preclude the suspicion that has fallen on him, of intending to insinuate that the boldness of *George Fox* was criminal, and that the dissolution of government had rendered him licentious. At this time the independants and republicans had accomplished their purpose: regal dominion, the peculiar privileges of the nobility, and the office of bishops, were abolished. Their professed principles were in favour of civil and religious liberty. The places of publick worship seem, for a season, to have been open to teachers of different denominations, and not uncommonly appropriated to theological discussion and disputation between the teachers or members of various sects. These propitious circumstances furnished *Fox* and others with opportunities of disseminating their opinions: and a fair opportunity, naturally, inspires and emboldens to any undertaking. *Gough's History*, vol. i. p. 72. ED.

† *History of the Quakers*, p. 18.

|| The words of *Sewel* are, "That every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ." The term used, by this historian, for the followers of *Fox*, is *fellow-believers*, without any reference to their sex; nor does his narrative shew, that they consisted more of women than men; which *Mr. Neal's* expression seems to intimate. ED.

of another, and seek not the honour which comes from God only? But these marks of distinction which George Fox and his followers were so tenacious of, unhappily brought them into a great deal of trouble, when they were called to appear before the civil magistrate.

In the year 1649, he grew more troublesome, and began to interrupt the publick ministers in time of divine service: His first essay of this kind was at Nottingham, where the minister preaching from these words of St. Peter, *We have a more sure word of prophecy, &c.* told the people, that they were to try all doctrines, opinions, and religions, by the holy scriptures. Upon which George Fox stood up in the midst of the congregation and said, *Oh no! it is not the scripture, but it is the holy spirit, by which opinions, and religions, are to be tried; for it was the spirit that led people into all truth, and gave them the knowledge of it.* And continuing his speech to the disturbance of the congregation, the officers were obliged to turn him out of the church, and carry him to the sheriff's house; next day he was committed to the castle, but was quickly released without any other punishment.† After this he disturbed the minister of Mansfield in

† Mr. Neal's account of this imprisonment of George Fox is censured by a late historian, as not strictly true, nor supported by his authority, Sewel, and through a partial bias a very palliative narration. The fact more exactly and fully stated is this: that Fox was not taken immediately from the church to the sheriff's house, but to prison, and put into a place so filthy and intolerably noisome, that the smell thereof was very grievous to be endured. At night he was carried before the mayor, aldermen and sheriffs of the town, and after examination was recommitted. But one of the sheriffs, whose name was *Reckless*, being much affected with the sentiments he had advanced, removed him to his own house. During his residence there, Mr. Fox was visited by persons of considerable condition; the sheriff, as well as his wife and family, was greatly affected with his doctrine; insomuch that he and several others exhorted the people and the magistrates to repentance. This provoked the latter to remove Fox back to the common prison, where he lay till the assizes. When he was to have been brought before the judge, the officer was so dilatory in the execution of his business, that the court was broken up before he was conducted to it. He was, on this, again ordered into the common jail, and detained there some time longer. As far as appears, he was imprisoned, detained in prison and released at the mere will and pleasure of the magistrates of Nottingham, without any legal cause assigned. "Such arbitrary exertion of power," well observes my author, "ill agrees with a regard for chartered privileges and equal liberty."—Gough's Hist. of the Quakers, vol. i. 83, 4. Sewel's Hist. p. 21, 22. Ed. time

time of divine service; for which he was set in the stocks, and turned out of the town.† The like treatment he met with at Market-Bosworth, and several other towns.§ At length the magistrates of Derby confined him six months in prison, for uttering divers blasphemous opinions,|| pursuant to

† Mr. *Neal* is considered as passing over this treatment of *Fox* in too “curfory a manner:” and is blamed for placing his conduct in the most invidious light it would bear, disturbing the minister. But, surely, if Mr. *Fox* spoke while the minister was preaching, without waiting till he had finished his discourse, it was *disturbing* him by an unseasonable interruption. But this circumstance is not to be clearly ascertained by *Sewel*. The treatment which *Fox* met with was iniquitous and violent to an extreme degree. The hearers of the minister “converted the place of divine worship into a “scene of lawless riot, and the time set apart for the service of God into “an enormous abuse of a fellow-creature; manifesting their religion to be “such,” observes Mr. *Gough* with great propriety, “at the time when it “should most affect their minds, as admitted of injury, revenge, and violating the peace and order of society. For they assaulted Mr. *Fox* in a “furious manner, struck him down, and beat him cruelly with their hands, “bibles, and sticks, whereby he was grievously bruised. After they had “thus vented their rage, they haled him out, and put him into the stocks, “where he sat some hours: and then they took him before a magistrate, “who, seeing how grossly he had been abused, after much threatening, set “him at liberty. But still the rude multitude, insatiate in abuse, stoned “him out of the town, though hardly able to go, or well to stand, by reason of their violent usage.” It should be remarked here, that the magistrate’s conduct was extremely culpable, in not inflicting a *punishment* on these disturbers of the peace, for this unjust and violent attack on a man who had done them no harm, but meant to do them good; and in not affording to him his *protection*. *Gough’s Hist.* vol. i. p. 84—86. Ed.

§ Sewel, p. 22.

|| This was the language of the mittimus, by which *Fox* and another were committed to the house of correction: we regret that Mr. *Neal* should have adopted it, without giving his reader the grounds on which the severe epithet was applied to their opinions. After the service of a lecture, at which Mr. *Fox* had attended, was finished, he spoke what was on his mind, and was heard without molestation: when he had done, an officer took him by the hand, and carried him before the magistrates. Being asked, “why “he came thither? he answered, that “God had moved him to it:” and added, that “God did not dwell in temples made with hands; and that all “their preaching, baptism, and sacrifices, would never sanctify them; but “that they ought to look unto Christ in them, and not unto men, for it is “Christ that sanctifies.” As they were very full of words sometime disputing, and sometime deriding, he told them, “they were not to dispute of “God and Christ, but to obey him.” At last they asked him, “if he “was sanctified?” he replied, “yes:” “if he had no sin?” his answer was, “Christ my Saviour hath taken away my sin, and in him there is no

to a late act of parliament for that purpose. By this time there began to appear some other visionaries, of the same make and complexion with *George Fox*, who spoke in places of publick resort; being moved (as they said) by the Holy Ghost; and even some women, contrary to the modesty of their sex, went about streets, and entered into churches, crying down the *teachings of men*, and exhorting people to attend to the light within themselves.

It was in the year 1650, that these wandering lights first received the denomination of QUAKERS, upon this ground, that their speaking to the people was usually attended with convulsive agitations, and shakings of the body. All their speakers had these *tremblings*, which they gloried in, asserting it to be the character of a good man *to tremble before God*. When *George Fox* appeared before *Gervas Bennet*, esq; one of the justices of Derby, October 30, 1650, he had one of his agitations, or fits of *trembling* upon him, and with a loud voice and vehement emotion of body, bid the justice and those about him *tremble at the word of the Lord*; whereupon the justice gave him and his friends, the name of QUAKERS, which, being agreeable to their common be-

“sin.” To the next question, “How he and his friends knew Christ was “in them?” he replied, “by his spirit, which he hath given us.” Then they were asked, “if any of them were Christ?” to which insidious query he answered, “nay, we are nothing; Christ is all.” He was next interrogated, “If a man steal, is it no sin?” to which his reply was, “All un-
“righteousness is sin.” With what candour, with what propriety, with what truth, could the charge of *blasphemy* be grounded on these declarations, especially by the magistrates who examined and committed him? The names to the mittimus were *Ger. Bennet* and *Nath. Barton*: both of them were independants, the latter an officer and preacher: men whose own tenets implied a supernatural influence, and admitted no interference of the civil magistrate in spiritual concerns, but were pointed in favour of universal toleration: one of whom could himself have no commission to preach but on the ground of *God’s moving him to it*. These were the men who accused *Fox* of *blasphemy*, and imprisoned him: “a remarkable instance,” observes *Mr. Gough*, “of the inconsistency of men with themselves in different stations of life:” a remarkable instance, it may be added, how the law may be wrested and justice perverted by passion and prejudice. *Mr. Neal’s* manner of relating this transaction, unhappily, conceals the criminal conduct of these magistrates, and is too much calculated to perpetuate the prejudice which misled and governed them. *Sewel’s History*, p. 24, and *Gough’s History*, vol. i. p. 90—94. Ed.

haviour,

haviour, quickly became the distinguishing *denomination* of this people.*

At length they disturbed the publick worship by appearing in ridiculous habits, with emblematical or typical representations of some impending calamity; they also took the liberty of giving ministers the reproachful names of *hirelings, deceivers of the people, false prophets, &c.* Some of them went through divers towns and villages *naked*, denouncing judgments and calamities upon the nation. Some have famished and destroyed themselves by deep melancholy; and others have undertaken to raise their friends from the dead. Mr. *Baxter* says, § many *franciscan friars* and other papists have been disguised speakers in their assemblies; but little credit is to be given to such reports.† It

* The above paragraph has given great offence, and is severely censured by Mr. *Gough*, as “an opprobrious description approaching to scurrility.” The plain fact, as it stands in *Sewel*, has none of those circumstances of agitations, a loud voice and vehement emotions, with which Mr. *Neal* has described it, and for which he has quoted no authority. *Fox*, according to *Sewel*, having bid the justice and those about him to “tremble at the word of the Lord,” Mr. *Bennet* took hold of this weighty saying with such an airy mind, that from thence he took occasion to call him, and his friends, scornfully, QUAKERS. This name was eagerly taken up and spread among the people. As to the convulsive emotions with which, it is said, the preaching of these christians, was accompanied, it is but fair to hear their advocate. “We readily admit,” says Mr. *Gough*, “these promulgators of primitive christianity had no university education, were not trained in schools of oratory. It was plain truth and righteousness they sought to follow and recommend in a plain simple way, without the studied decorations of fine language, or the engaging attractions of a graceful motion; they spoke not to the head, or to the eye, but to the hearts of their auditors. Being themselves animated, and deeply affected in spirit with the inward feeling of the power of that truth, to the knowledge of which they aimed to bring others, that thereby they might be saved; an unaffected warmth of zeal in recommending righteousness, and testifying against vice and wickedness might produce a warmth of expression and action also, which to an invidious eye might appear convulsive: but their convulsions did not bereave them of understanding; they spake with the spirit and with the understanding also, of things which they knew, and testified of things which they had seen. And their doctrine was often effectual to open the understanding of their hearers, to see clearly the state of their minds, both what they were and what they ought to be.” *Gough's Hist.* vol. i. p. 96, note. *Ed.*

§ *Baxter's Life*, p. 77.

† If but little credit is to be given to such reports, it may be asked, why are they introduced: when, if not refuted, they tend to mislead the reader.

It cannot be expected that such an unsettled people should have an uniform system of rational principles. Their first and chief design, if they had any, was to reduce all revealed religion to allegory; and because some had laid too great stress upon rites and ceremonies, these would have neither order nor regularity, nor stated seasons of worship, but all must arise from the inward impulse of their spirits. Agreeable to this rule, they declared against all sorts of clergy, or settled ministers; against people's assembling in *steeple houses*; against fixed times|| of publick devotion, and consequently against the observation of the sabbath. Their own meetings were occasional,|| and when they met, one or another spake as they were *moved from within*, and sometimes they departed without any one's being moved to speak at all.

reader, and to fix a reproach on an innocent people? Is it becoming the candour and dignity of an historian, by recording, to appear to give them a sanction? As to the case in hand, Mr. *Baxter*, on whose authority Mr. *Neal* speaks, though he was a great and excellent man, was not entirely exempt from the influence of prejudice and credulity. In general, stories to the discredit of a new, despised and hated sect are, often, eagerly adopted and spread with circumstances of aggravation. So it happened to the first christians. This has befallen the methodists in our own times. And the quakers, being particular objects of priestly indignation, had reason to complain of this. They were often confounded with an ephemeron sect, whose principles were totally incompatible with theirs, called *ranters*, and whose practices outraged all decency and order. An active preacher amongst the quakers, Mr. *Edward Burroughs*, and the celebrated *Barclay*, wrote against the practices of these people. Gough's History, vol. i. p. 128, 9, note: and vol. iii. p. 15. Ed.

|| This is not accurate, or is applicable only to the infancy of the sect. For, though they did not esteem one house more holy than another, and believed all times equally the Lord's, and that all days should be sabbaths or times of continual rest and abstinence from evil; yet as soon as their numbers were sufficient for the purpose, they held fixed and regular meetings for worship, particularly on the first day of the week, which they chose as more convenient, because more generally accepted than any other. In 1654, meetings were settled in many places in the north, and also in the city of London, which were held in private houses, till the body growing too large to be accommodated in them, a house known by the name of "Bull-and-Mouth, in Martin's-Le-Grand" near Aldersgate-street, was hired for a meeting-house. And no body of christians were more open, steady, and regular, than they have been in their publick associations for worship or discipline. Sewel's History, p. 80, 84. Gough's Hist. vol. i, p. 144 and 509. Ed.

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The doctrines they delivered were as vague and uncertain|| as the principle from which they acted. They denied the holy scriptures to be the only rule of their faith, calling it a *dead letter*, and maintaining that every man had a *light* within himself, which was a sufficient rule. They denied the received doctrine of the trinity and incarnation. They disowned the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper; nay, some of them proceeded so far as to deny a Christ *without them*; or at least, to place more of their dependance upon a Christ *within*. They spake little or nothing (says Mr. *Baxter**) about the depravity of nature; about the covenant of grace; about pardon of sin and reconciliation with God; or about moral duties.† But the disturbance they gave

|| The account which Mr. *Neal* gives of the sentiments and practices of the quakers in this and the preceding paragraph, is not drawn up with the accuracy and precision, not to say, candour, which should mark the historick page. It has too much the appearance of the loose, desultory representation, which those who had not investigated their principles, nor looked into their writings, would exhibit of this sect. It is, I think, introduced at an improper place, in too early a period of their history; when Mr. *Neal* himself has related only what concerned *George Fox*, and before his followers were formed into a body. At that time it was not to be expected, that their principles should be made into a system; and their doctrines being delivered as the assertions of individuals only, and deriving their completion from their different tastes, capacities, and views, would to the publick eye wear the aspect of variety and uncertainty. But long before Mr. *Neal* wrote, their principles had assumed a systematic form. *Penn* had published his key, and *Robert Barclay* his "Catechism and Confession of Faith," and that elaborate work his "Apology." The propositions illustrated and defended in this treatise exhibit a concise view of the chief principles of the quakers; and that they may speak for themselves we will give them in the Appendix No. xii. Ed.

* *Baxter*, p. 77.

† This quotation is not correct. Mr. *Baxter*'s words, concerning the strain of their preaching, are these. "They speak much for the dwelling and working of the spirit in us; but little of justification, and the pardon of sin, and our reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ." Here is nothing said about their neglecting to insist on "moral duties." The great object of *Fox*'s zeal, we are told, was a heavenly temper and a life of righteousness: and his endeavours to propagate true religion and righteousness were not confined to publick or private meetings, but exerted in other places as occasion offered; particularly, in courts of judicature, to admonish to justice, and caution against oppression: In markets, to recommend truth, candour, and fair dealings, and to bear his testimony against fraud and deceitful merchandise: At publick houses of entertainment,

gave to the publick religion for a course of years was so insufferable, that the magistrates could not avoid punishing them as disturbers of the peace; though of late they are become a more sober and inoffensive people; and by the wisdom of their managers, have formed themselves into a sort of body politick, and are in general very worthy members of society.

[Though Mr. *Neal*, here and in the sequel of his history, calls that body of christians, of whom he has written in the preceding pages, QUAKERS; and this is the denomination by which they are, to the present day, distinguished from other religious societies: yet it should be noticed, that, as this name was given them in scorn, they do not assume it, but through necessity and for distinction's sake. The name which they adopt amongst themselves, and by which they speak of their own party, is that of *Friends*. A title undoubtedly to be preferred, as conveying no ludicrous idea in it, and expressive of union, affection, and a common interest. In the use of this term they think themselves sanctioned by the example of the primitive christians; as Acts xxvii. 3; where it is said, that “*Julius*, the centurion, courteously entreated *Paul*, and gave him liberty to go unto “the friends:” *προς τους φιλους*: and 3 John 14, “The “friends, *οι φιλοι*, salute thee and greet the friends, *τας “φιλους*, by name.”†

About this time arose a sect, not noticed by Mr. *Neal*, called *Muggletonians*, from their founder *Lodowick Muggleton*, who was by trade a taylor. Mr. *Granger* calls him

ment, to warn against indulging intemperance, by supplying their guests with more liquor than would do them good: At schools and in private families, to exhort to the training up of children and servants to sobriety, in the fear of their Maker; to testify against vain sports, plays, and shews, as tending to draw people into vanity and libertinism, and from that state of circumspection and attentive consideration, wherein our salvation is to be wrought out, forewarning all of the great day of account for all the deeds done in the body. This was certainly insisting on moral duties, and bringing home the principles of righteousness to the various circumstances of human life, with much propriety and energy. Gough's History, vol. i. p. 67, 75. Ed.

† Sewel's History, p. 696.

a notorious schismatick. His pretensions were, that he and one *John Reeves* were the two witnesses spoken of Rev. xi. 3; and though the latter died soon after, the former still advanced his claims to a prophetick character; asserting, in a paper which he published, “that he was the chief judge
“in the world, in passing sentence of eternal death and
“damnation upon the souls and bodies of men: that in obedience to his commission he had already cursed and damned
“many hundreds to all eternity: that, in doing this, he
“went by as certain a rule as the judges of the land do
“when they pass sentence according to law: and that no
“infinite spirit of Christ, nor any God, could or should be
“able to deliver from his sentence and curse.” *Richard Farnsworth*, a convert of *George Fox*, and an active, intelligent minister amongst the *quakers*, remonstrated with *Muggleton*, from the press, on the profaneness and criminality of these extravagant claims, but without effect. He is also said to have regarded himself as above ordinances of every kind, not excepting prayer and preaching: to have rejected creeds and all church-discipline and authority; and to have acknowledged but one person in the godhead. He met with followers, who recorded many of his prophecies: but incurred the pillory and six months imprisonment by his writings, which were burnt by the common hangman. He died March 12, 1697, 8, aged 90.[]

|| Sewel's History of the Quakers, p. 399, 400; and Granger's History of England, vol. iv. p. 209, 10.



CHAP. II.

*From the Coronation of King CHARLES II. in Scotland,
to the Protectorship of OLIVER CROMWELL.*

1651.

THE coronation of king *Charles* by the Scots, which had been deferred hitherto, being now thought necessary to give life to their cause, was solemnized at Scone on *New-years-day* 1651, with as much magnificence as their circumstances would admit;§ when his majesty took the following oath: “I *Charles*, king of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure and declare by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, my allowance and approbation of the national covenant, and of the solemn league and covenant; and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling; and that I myself and successors, shall consent and agree to all the acts of parliament enjoining the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant, and fully establish presbyterian government, the directory of worship, confession of faith, and catechisms, in the kingdom of Scotland, as they are approved by the general assembly of this kirk, and parliament of this kingdom; and that I will give my royal assent to all acts of parliament passed, or to be passed, enjoining the same in my other dominions; and that I shall observe these in my own practice and family, and shall never make opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof.” This oath was annexed to the covenant itself, drawn up in a fair roll of parchment, and subscribed by him in the presence of the nobility and gentry.*

His majesty also signed a declaration, in which he acknowledged the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous

§ The ceremonial of this coronation is given at length by Dr. Grey, vol. iii. p. 111—124. Ed.

* Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, p. 391.

family;

family; and that the blood shed in the late wars lay at his father's door.† He expressed a deep sense of his own ill education, and of the prejudices he had drunk in, against the cause of God, of which he was now very sensible. He confessed all the former parts of his life to have been a course of enmity to the word of God. He repented of his *commission* to *Montross*. He acknowledged his own sins, and the sins of his father's house, and says, he will account them his enemies who oppose the *covenants*, both which he had taken without any sinister intention of attaining his own ends. He declares his detestation and abhorrence of all popery, superstition, idolatry, and prelacy, and resolves not to tolerate them in any part of his dominions. He acknowledges his great sin in making peace with the Irish *rebels*, and allowing them the liberty of their religion, which he makes void, resolving for the future rather to choose affliction than sin; and though he judges charitably of those who have acted against the covenant, yet he promises not to employ them for the future till they have taken it. In the conclusion, his majesty confesses over again his own guilt; and tells the world, the state of the question was now altered, in as much as he had obtained mercy to be on God's side, and therefore hopes the Lord will be gracious, and countenance his own cause, since he is determined to do nothing but with advice of the kirk.

Our historians, who complain of the prevarication of *Cromwell*, would do well to find a parallel to this in all history; the king took the covenant three times with this tremendous oath, *by the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I will observe and keep all that is contained herein*. Mr. *Baxter* admits,* that the Scots were in the wrong in tempting the young king to speak and publish that, which

† History of the Stuarts, p. 387. Burnet, vol. i. p. 78, Edingb. edit.

* "It seemed to me and many others," says Mr. *Baxter*, "that the Scots miscarried divers ways: 1. In imposing laws upon their king, for which they had no authority: 2. In forcing him to dishonour the memory of his father by such confessions: 3. In tempting him to speak and publish that which they might easily know was contrary to his heart, and so to take God's name in vain: 4. And in giving *Cromwell* occasion to charge them all with dissimulation." *Baxter's Life*, p. 66. Ed.

they

they might easily know was contrary to the thoughts of his heart; but surely his majesty was no less to blame, to trample upon the most sacred bonds of religion and society. He complied with the rigours of the Scots discipline and worship: He heard many prayers and sermons of great length. "I remember (says bishop *Burnet**) in one fast day, there were six sermons preached without intermission. He was not allowed to walk abroad on Sundays; and if at any time there had been any gaiety at court, as dancing, or playing at cards, he was severely reproved for it, which contributed not a little to beget in him an aversion to all strictness in religion." And the Scots were so jealous that all this was from necessity, that they would suffer none of his old friends to come into his presence and councils, nor so much as to serve in the army.

While the Scots were raising forces for the king's service, a private correspondence was carried on with the English presbyterians; letters were also written, and messengers sent from London to the king and queen-mother in France, to hasten an accommodation with the Scots, assuring them, that the English presbyterians would then declare for him the first opportunity. Considerable sums of money were collected privately to forward an expedition into England; but the vigilance of the commonwealth discovered and defeated their designs. The principal gentlemen and ministers concerned in the correspondence, were some disbanded officers who had served the parliament in the late wars; as major *Adams*, *Alford*, and *Huntington*; colonel *Vaughan*, *Sowton*, *Titus*, *Jackson*, *Bains*, *Barton*; captain *Adams*, *Potter*, *Far*, *Massey*, *Starks*; and Mr. *Gibbons*. The ministers were Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Cafe*, *Watson*, *Heyrick*, *Jenkins*, *Jackson*, *Jacquel*, *Robinson*, *Cawton*, *Nalson*, *Haviland*, *Blackmore*, and Mr. *Love*. These had their private assemblies at major *Adams*'s, colonel *Barton*'s, and at Mr. *Love*'s house, and held a correspondence with the king, who desired them to send commissioners to Breda to moderate the Scots demands, which service he would reward when God should restore him to his kingdoms.

But so numerous a confederacy was hardly to be concealed from the watchful eyes of the new government, who had

their spies in all places. Major *Adams*, being apprehended on suspicion, was the first who discovered the conspiracy to the *council of state*. On his information warrants were issued out, for apprehending most of the gentlemen and ministers abovementioned; but several absconded, and withdrew from the storm. The ministers who were apprehended were Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Jenkins*, *Jackson*, *Robinson*, *Watson*, *Blackmore*, and *Haviland*, who after some time were released on their petition for mercy, and promising submission to the government for the future; but Mr. *Love* and *Gibbons* were made examples, as a terror to others. Mr. *Jenkins's* petition being expressed in very strong terms* was ordered to be printed; it was entitled, *The humble petition of William Jenkins, prisoner, declaring his unfeigned sorrow for all his late miscarriages, and promising to be true and faithful to the present government; with three queries, being the ground of his late petition, and submission to the present powers.*

The reverend Mr. *Love* was brought before a new *high court of justice* erected for this purpose, as was the custom of these times for *state criminals*, when Mr. attorney-general *Prideaux*, June 20, exhibited against him the following charge of high treason; “that at several times in the years 1649, 1650, and 1651, and in several places, he, with the persons abovementioned, had maliciously combined, and contrived to raise forces against the present government—that they had declared and published *Charles Stuart*, eldest son of the late king, to be king of England, without consent of parliament—that they had aided the Scots to invade this commonwealth—that the said *Christopher Love*, at divers times between the 29th of March 1650, and the first of June 1651, at London and other places, had traite-

* The most remarkable positions in this petition were: That the parliament, without the king, were the supreme authority of the nation: that God's providences are antecedent declarations of his will and approbation; and appeared as evidently in removing the king and investing their honours with the government, as in taking away and bestowing any government in any history of any age of the world: that the refusal of subjection to their authority was such an opposing the government set up by the sovereign Lord of heaven and earth, as none can have peace either in acting or suffering for: and that it was a duty to yield to this authority all active and chearful obedience, in the Lord, *for conscience sake.* Dr. Grey's Remarks, vol. iii. p. 127. ED.

“ rously and maliciously maintained correspondence and intelligence by letters and messages with *Charles Stuart*, son of the late king, and with the queen his mother, and with fundry of his council—that he did likewise hold correspondence with divers of the Scots nation, and had assisted them with money, arms, and other supplies in the present war, as well as colonel *Titus*, and others of the English nation, in confederacy with them, to the hazard of the publick peace, and in breach of the laws of the land.—”

To this charge Mr. *Love*, after having demurred to the jurisdiction of the court, pleaded *not guilty*. The witnesses against him were eight of the above-mentioned gentlemen. The reverend Mr. *Jackson* was summoned, but refused to be sworn, or give evidence, because he looked on Mr. *Love* to be a good man; saying, he should have a hell in his conscience to his dying day, if he should speak any thing that should be circumstantially prejudicial to Mr. *Love*’s life. The court put him in mind of his obligation to the publick, and that the very safety of all government depended upon it. But he refused to be sworn, for which the court sent him to the Fleet, and fined him five hundred pounds.

But it appeared by the other witnesses, that Mr. *Love* had carried on a criminal correspondence both with the king and the Scots. With regard to the king it was sworn, that about a month after his late majesty’s death, several of them met at a tavern at Dowgate, and other places, to concert measures to forward the king’s agreement with the Scots, for which purpose they applied by letters to the queen, and sent over colonel *Titus* with one hundred pounds to defray his expences. The colonel, having delivered his message, sent back letters by colonel *Alsford*, which were read in Mr. *Love*’s house; with the copy of a letter from the king himself, Mr. *Love* being present. Upon these and such like facts, the council for the commonwealth insisted, that here was a criminal correspondence to *restore the king*, contrary to the ordinance of Jan. 30, 1648, which says, “ that who-
“ soever shall proclaim, declare, publish, or any ways pro-
“ mote *Charles Stuart*, or any other person, to be king of
“ *England*, without consent of parliament, shall be adjudged
“ a traytor, and suffer the pains of death as a traytor.”

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The other branch of the charge against Mr. *Love*, was his correspondence with the Scots, and assisting them in the war against the parliament. To support this article, captain *Potter*, *Adams*, and Mr. *Jacquel*, swore, that letters came from Scotland to colonel *Bamfield* with the letter *L* upon them, giving a large narrative of the fight at Dunbar, and of the Scots affairs for three months after till Christmas. There came also letters from the earl of *Argyle*, *Lothian*, and *Lou-don*, who proposed the raising ten thousand pounds to buy arms, and to hire shipping, in order to land five thousand men in England. The letters were read at Mr. *Love*'s house; but the proposals being disliked, only forty pounds was raised for the expences of the messenger. At another time a letter was read from general *Massey*, in which he desires them to provide arms, and mentions his own and colonel *Titus*'s necessities; upon which it was agreed to raise two or three hundred pounds by way of contribution, and every one present wrote down what he would lend, among whom was Mr. *Love*, who not only contributed himself, but carried about the paper to encourage others. This was construed by the council for the commonwealth, sufficient to bring Mr. *Love* within the ordinance of July 1, 1649, which says, "that if any shall procure, invite, aid, or assist, any foreigners
" or strangers to invade England or Ireland; or shall adhere
" to any forces raised by the enemies of the parliament, or
" commonwealth, or keepers of the liberties of England, all
" such persons shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of high
" treason."

Mr. *Love*, in his defence, behaved with a little too much freedom and boldness; he set too high a value upon his sacred character, which the court was inclined to treat with neglect. He objected to the witnesses, as being forced into the service to save their lives. He observes, that to several of the facts there was only one witness; and that some of them had sworn falsely, or at least their memories had failed them in some things; which might easily happen at so great a distance of time. He called no witnesses to confront the evidence, but at the close of his defence confessed ingenuously, that there had been several meetings of the above-named persons at his house, that a commission was read, but
that

that he had dissented from it. He acknowledged further, that he was present at the reading of letters, or of some part of them, “but I was ignorant (says he) of the danger “that I now see I am in. The act of Aug. 2, 1650, makes “it treason to hold any correspondence with Scotland, or to “send letters thither though but in a way of commerce, the “two nations being at war; now here my council acquaints “me with my danger, that I being present when letters were “read in my house, am guilty of a concealment, and therefore as to that, I humbly lay myself at your feet and “mercy.”

And to move the court to shew mercy to him, he endeavoured to set out his own character in the most favourable light; “I have been called a *malignant and apostate*, (says he) “but, God is my witness, I never carried on a malignant interest; I shall retain my covenanting principles, from which “by the grace of God I will never depart; neither am I an “*incendiary* between the two nations of England and Scotland, but I am grieved for their divisions; and if I had as “much blood in my veins as there is water in the sea, I “could account it well spent to quench the fire that our sins “have kindled between them. I have all along engaged “my life and estate in the parliament’s quarrel, against the “forces raised by the late king, not from a prospect of advantage, but from conscience and duty; and I am so far “from repenting, that were it to do again, upon the same “unquestionable authority, and for the same declared ends, “I should as readily engage in it as ever; though I wish from “my soul, that the ends of that just war had been better “accomplished.

“Nor have my sufferings in this cause been inconsiderable; “when I was a scholar in Oxford, and *M. A.* I was the “first who publicly refused to subscribe the canons imposed “by the late archbishop, for which I was expelled the convocation house. When I came first to London, which was “about twelve years ago, I was opposed by the bishop of “London, and it was about three years before I could obtain so much as a lecture. In the year 1640, or 1641, I “was imprisoned in Newcastle, for preaching against the “service-book, from whence I was removed hither by *habeas*

“ *beas corpus*, and acquitted. In the beginning of the war
“ between the late king and parliament, I was accused for
“ preaching treason and rebellion, merely because I main-
“ tained, in a sermon at Tenterden in Kent, the lawfulness
“ of a defensive war. I was again complained of by the
“ commissioners at Uxbridge for preaching a sermon, which
“ I hear is lately reprinted; and if it be printed according to
“ the first copy, I will own every line of it. After all this,
“ I have been three times in trouble since the late change of
“ government. Once I was committed to custody, and twice
“ cited before the committee for plundered ministers, but
“ for want of proof was discharged. And now last of all,
“ this great trial is come upon me; I have been kept several
“ weeks in close prison, and am now arraigned for my life,
“ and like to suffer from the hands of those for whom I have
“ done and suffered so much, and who have lift up their
“ hands with me in the same covenant; and yet I am not
“ conscious of any personal act proved against me, that brings
“ me within any of your laws as to treason.

“ Upon the whole, though I never wrote nor sent letters
“ into Scotland, yet I confess their proceedings with the
“ king are agreeable to my judgment, and for the good of
“ the nation; and though I disown the commission and in-
“ structions mentioned in the indictment, yet I have desired
“ an agreement between the king and the Scots, agreeably
“ to the covenant; for they having declared him to be their
“ king, I have desired and prayed as a private man, that they
“ might accomplish their ends upon such terms as were
“ consistent with the safety of religion and the covenant.”

He concludes with beseeching the court, that he may not
be put to death for state reasons. He owns he had been
guilty of a *concealment*, and begs the mercy of the court for
it, promising for the future to lead a quiet and peaceable
life. He puts them in mind, that when *Abiathar* the priest
had done an unjustifiable action, king *Solomon* said, he would
not put him to death at that time, *because he bore the ark of
the Lord God before David his father; and because he had
been afflicted in all wherein his father had been afflicted.*—

“ Thus (says he) I commit myself and my all to God, and
“ to your judgments and consciences, with the words of

“*Jeremiah* to the rulers of *Israel*, *As for me, behold I am*
 “*in your hands, do with me as seemeth good and meet to you;*
 “*but know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall*
 “*surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves.* But I hope
 “better things of you, though I thus speak.”

The court allowed Mr. *Love* the benefit of council learned in the law, to argue some exceptions against the indictment; but after all that Mr. *Hales* could say for the prisoner, the court after six days hearing, on the 5th of July, pronounced sentence of death against him as a traitor.

Great intercessions* were made for the life of this reverend person, by the chief of the presbyterian party in London; his wife presented several moving petitions; and two were presented from himself, in one of which he acknowledges the justice of his sentence, according to the laws of the commonwealth; in the other he petitions, that if he may not be pardoned, his sentence may be changed into banishment; and that he might do something to deserve his life, he presented with his last petition a narration of all that he knew relating to the plot, which admits almost all that had been objected to him at his trial.

But the affairs of the commonwealth were now at a crisis, and king *Charles II.* having entered England at the head of sixteen thousand Scots, it was thought necessary to strike some terror into the presbyterian party, by making an example of one of their favourite clergymen. Mr. *Whitlocke* says, † that colonel *Fortescue* was sent to general *Cromwell* with a petition on behalf of Mr. *Love*, but that both the general and the rest of the officers declined meddling in the affair; bishop *Kennet* and Mr. *Eachard* say, the general sent word in a private letter to one of his confidants, that he was content that Mr. *Love* should be reprieved, and upon giving security for his future good behaviour pardoned; but that the post-boy being stopped upon the road by some cavaliers belonging to the late king's army, they searched his packet, and finding this letter of reprieve for Mr. *Love*, they tore it

* Not only by his wife and friends, says Mr. *Granger*, but by several parishes in London and by fifty-four ministers. *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 43, 8vo. Ed.

† *Memoirs*, p. 474.

with indignation, as thinking him not worthy to live, who had been such a firebrand at the treaty of Uxbridge.† If this story be true, Mr. *Love* fell a sacrifice to the ungovernable rage of the cavaliers, as Dr. *Dorilaus* and Mr. *Ascham* had done before.

The mail arriving from Scotland, and no letter from *Cromwell* in behalf of Mr. *Love*, he was ordered to be executed upon Tower-hill, August 22, the very day the king entered Worcester at the head of his Scots army. Mr. *Love* mounted the scaffold with great intrepidity and resolution, and taking off his hat two several times to the people, made a long speech, wherein he declares the satisfaction of his mind in the cause for which he suffered; and then adds, “ I am for a regulated, “ mixed monarchy, which I judge to be one of the best governments in the world. I opposed in my place the forces “ of the late king, because I am against screwing up monarchy into tyranny, as much as against those who would “ pull it down into anarchy. I was never for putting the “ king to death, whose person I did promise in my covenant “ to preserve; and I judge it an ill way of curing the body “ politick, by cutting off the political head. I die with my “ judgment against the *engagement*; I pray God forgive them “ that impose it, and them that take it, and preserve them that “ refuse it. Neither would I be looked upon as owning this “ present government; I die with my judgment against it. “ And *lastly*, I die cleaving to all those oaths, vows, covenants, and protestations, that were imposed by the two “ houses of parliament. I bless God I have not the least “ trouble on my spirit, but I die with as much quietness of “ mind as if I was going to lie down upon my bed to rest. “ I see men thirst after my blood, which will but hasten my “ happiness and their ruin; for though I am but of mean parentage, yet my blood is the blood of a christian, of a “ minister, of an innocent man, and (I speak it without “ vanity) of a martyr—I conclude with the speech of the “ apostle: *I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my “ departure is at hand, but I have finished my course, I have “ kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown “ of righteousness—and not for me only, but for all them that*

† Compl. Hist. p. 202. Fachard, p. 689.

“*love the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ*, through whose blood I expect salvation, and remission of sins. And so the Lord bless you all.”

After this he prayed with an audible voice for himself and his fellow-sufferer Mr. *Gibbon*, for the prosperity of England, for his covenanting brethren in Scotland, and for an happy union between the two nations, *making no mention of the king*. He then rose from his knees, and having taken leave of the ministers, and others who attended him, he laid his head upon the block, which the executioner took off at one blow, before he had attained the age of forty years.† Mr. *Love* was a zealous presbyterian, a popular preacher, and highly esteemed by his brethren. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. *Manton*, and published under the title of *The Saints triumph over death*; but his memory has suffered very much by lord *Clarendon*'s character,* who represents him as guilty of as much “treason against the late king as the pulpit could contain; and delighting himself with the recital of it to the last, as dying with false courage, or (as he calls it) in a raving fit of satisfaction, for having pursued the ends of the sanctified obligation the *covenant*, without praying for the king, any further than he propagated the covenant.”

To return to more publick affairs. After the battle of Dunbar, general *Cromwell*, through the inclemency of the weather, and his great fatigues, was seized with an ague which hung upon him all the spring, but as the summer advanced he recovered, and in the month of July marched his army towards the king's at Sterlin; but not thinking it adviseable to attempt his camp, he transported part of his forces

† Mr. *Love* was born at Cardiff in Glamorganshire: became a servitor of New-Inn, Oxford, 1635, aged 17. In 1642 he proceeded master of arts. He was, at the beginning of his ministry, preacher to the garrison of Windsor, then under the command of colonel *John Venn*, and was called by the royalists *VENN's principal fireman* at Windsor. He was, afterwards, successively minister of St. Ann's near Aldersgate, and St. Lawrence-Jewry, in London. He was the author of sermons and some pieces of practical divinity, which gained him a considerable reputation. He was buried with great lamentation on the north side of the chancel of St. Lawrence-Jewry. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 74, and Granger's *History*, vol. iii. p. 43, 8vo. Ed.

* Vol. iii. p. 434.

over the Frith into Fife, who upon their landing defeated the Scots, killing two thousand, and taking twelve hundred prisoners. After that, without waiting any longer on the king, he reduced Johnstown, and almost all the garrisons in the north."

While the general was employed in these parts, the Scots committee, that directed the marches of their army, fearing the storm would quickly fall upon themselves, resolved to march their army into England, and try the loyalty of the English presbyterians; for this purpose colonel *Masse*y was sent before into Lancashire, to prepare them for a revolt; and the king himself entered England by the way of Carlisle, August 6, at the head of sixteen thousand men; but when the *committee of ministers* that attended the army, observed that the king and his friends, upon their entering England, were for dropping the *covenant*, they sent an express to *Masse*y without the king's knowledge, (says lord *Clarendon**) requiring him to publish a declaration, to assure the people of their resolution to prosecute the ends of the covenant. The king had no sooner notice of this, but he sent to *Masse*y, forbidding him to publish the declaration, and to behave with equal civility towards all men who were forward to serve him; "but before this inhibition, (says his lordship) "the matter had taken air in all places, and was spread over "the whole kingdom, which made all men fly from their "houses, or conceal themselves, who wished the king well." But his lordship is surely mistaken, for the king's chief hopes under *Masse*y were from the presbyterians, who were so far from being displeased with his majesty's declaring for the covenant, that it gave them all the spirit he could wish for; but when it was known that the covenant was to be laid aside, *Masse*y's measures were broken, many of the Scots deserted and returned home; and not one in ten of the English would hazard his life in the quarrel.† Mr. *Baxter*,‡ who was a much better judge of the temper of the people than his lordship, says, "the English knew that the Scots "coming into England was rather a flight than a march. "They considered likewise, that the implacable cavaliers had

* Vol. iii. p. 400, 406.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 585, folio.

‡ Life, p. 68.

“ made no preparation of the people’s minds, by proposing
 “ any terms of a future reconciliation. That the prelatical
 “ divines were gone further from the presbyterians by Dr.
 “ *Hammond*’s new way, than their predecessors; and that
 “ the cause they contended for being not concord but go-
 “ vernment, they had given the presbyterian clergy and peo-
 “ ple no hopes of finding any abatement of their former
 “ burthens; and it is hard to persuade men to venture their
 “ lives in order to bring themselves into a prison or banish-
 “ ment.” However, these were the true reasons, says Mr.
Baxter, that no more came into the king at present; and
 had the presbyterians observed them at the restoration, they
 had made better terms for themselves than they did.

The parliament at Westminster were quickly advised of
 the king’s march, and by way of precaution expelled all de-
 linquents out of the city; they raised the militia; they mus-
 tered the trained bands, to the number of fourteen thousand;
 and in a few weeks had got together an army of near sixty
 thousand brave soldiers. Mr. *Eachard* represents the par-
 liament as in a terrible panic, and projecting means to escape
 out of the land; whereas, in reality, the unhappy king was
 the pity of his friends, and the contempt of his enemies.
 General *Cromwell* sent an express to the parliament, to have
 a watchful eye over the presbyterians, who were in confede-
 racy with the Scots, and told them, that the reason of his
 not interposing between the enemy and England was, because
 he was resolved to reduce Scotland effectually before winter.
 He desired the house to collect their forces together, and
 make the best stand they could till he could come up with
 the enemy, when he doubted not but to give a good account
 of them. At the same time he sent major-general *Lambert*
 with a strong body of horse to harass the king’s forces,
 whilst himself with the body of the army, hastened after,
 leaving lieutenant-general *Monk* with a sufficient force to
 secure his conquests, and reduce the rest of the country,
 which he quickly accomplished. Bishop *Burnet* says, || there
 was an order and discipline among the English, and a face of
 gravity and piety that amazed all people; most of them were
 independants and baptists, but all gifted men, and preached

* P. 689.

|| Burnet, p. 80.

as they were moved, but never above once disturbed the publick worship.

The earl of *Derby* was the only nobleman in England who raised 1500 men for the young king, who before, he could join the royal army, was defeated by colonel *Lilburn*, near *Wigan* in Lancashire, and his forces entirely dispersed. The earl being wounded retired into Cheshire, and from thence got to the king, who had marched his army as far as Worcester, which opened its gates, and gave him an honourable reception; from thence his majesty sent letters to London, commanding all his subjects between the age of sixteen and sixty to repair to his royal standard; but few had the courage to appear, the parliament having declared all such rebels, and burnt the king's summons by the hands of the common hangman. His majesty's affairs were now at a crisis. *Lambert* was in his rear with a great body of horse, and *Cromwell* followed with ten thousand foot, which, together with the forces that joined him by order of parliament, made an army of thirty thousand men. The king, being unable to keep the field, fortified the city of Worcester, and encamped almost under the walls. September 3, *Cromwell* attacked Powick bridge, within two miles of the city, which drew out the king's forces and occasioned a general battle, in which his majesty's army was entirely destroyed; four thousand being slain, seven thousand taken prisoners, with the king's standard, and one hundred and fifty-eight colours. Never was a greater rout and dispersion, nor a more fatal blow to the royal cause. The account which the general gave to the parliament was, "that the battle was fought
" with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on
" our part, and in the end became an absolute victory, the
" enemy's army being totally defeated, and the town in our
" possession, our men entering at the enemy's heels, and
" fighting with them in the streets, took all their baggage
" and artillery. The dispute was long and very often at
" push of pike from one defence to another. There are
" about six or seven thousand prisoners, among whom are
" many officers and persons of quality. This, for ought I
" know, may be a crowning mercy." All possible diligence was used to seize the person of the king; it was declared
high

high treason to conceal him, and a reward of a thousand pounds was set upon his head; but providence ordained his escape, for after he had travelled up and down the country six or seven weeks, under various disguises, in company with one or two confidants, and escaped a thousand dangers, he got a passage cross the channel at Brighthelmston in Suffex, and landed at Dieppe in Normandy, Oct. 21, the morning after he embarked; from whence he travelled by land to Paris, where his mother maintained him out of her small pension† from the court of France.

The hopes of the royalists were now expiring, for the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, with all the British plantations in America, were reduced this summer to the obedience of the parliament, in so much that his majesty had neither fort nor castle, nor a foot of land in all his dominions. The liturgy of the church of England was also under a total eclipse, the use of it being forbid not only in England, but even to the royal family in France, which had hitherto an apartment in the Louvre separated to that purpose; but after the battle of Worcester an order was sent from the queen regent to shut up the chapel, it being the king's pleasure not to permit the exercise of any religion but the roman catholic in any of his houses; nor could chancellor *Hyde* obtain more than a bare promise, that the queen of England would use her endeavours, that the protestants of the family should have liberty to exercise their devotions in some private room belonging to the lodgings.

Upon the king's arrival in France, he immediately threw off the mask of a presbyterian, and never went once to the protestant church at Charenton, though they invited him in the most respectful manner; but lord *Clarendon* dissuaded him, because the *hugonots* had not been hearty in his interest, and because it might look disrespectful to the old church of

† This must be understood only of the king's first arrival: for her pension was so small and so ill paid, that when cardinal *de Retz* visited her on a time, in the month of January, the princess *Henrietta* could not rise for want of a fire. When her son arrived, she had not money enough to buy him a change of linen for the next day. The French court was obliged to provide for his necessities, and settled on him a pension of 6000 livres per month. Dr. Grey, vol. iii. p. 134, 5. Clarendon's History, vol. iii. p. 441. Ed.

England. In truth, there being no further prospect of the king's restoration by the presbyterians, the eyes of the court were turned to the Roman catholicks, and many of his majesty's retinue changed their religion, as appears by the *Legenda Ligneæ*, published about this time, with a list of fifty-three new converts, among whom were the following names in red capitals; the *Countess of Derby*, *Lady Kilmichin*, *Lord Cottington*, *Sir Marm. Langdale*, *Sir Fr. Doddington*, *Sir Theoph. Gilby*, *Capt. Tho. Cook*, *Tho. Vane*, *D. D. De Cressy*, *preb. of Windsor*, *Dr. Bayley*, *Dr. Cosins*, *jun. D. Goffe*, and many others; not to mention the *king himself*, of whom father *Huddleston* his confessor writes in his treatise, intitled, *A short and plain way to the faith of the Church*, published 1685, that he put it into the king's hands in his retirement, and that when his majesty had read it, he declared he could not see how it could be answered.* Thus early, says a reverend prelate of the church of England, was the king's advance towards popery, of which we shall meet with a fuller demonstration hereafter.||

General Monk, whom *Cromwell* left in Scotland with six thousand men, quickly reduced that kingdom, which was soon after united to the commonwealth of England, the deputies of the several counties consenting to be governed by authority of parliament, without a king or house of lords.§ The power of the kirk was likewise restrained within a narrow compass; for though they had liberty to excommunicate offenders, or debar them the communion, they might not seize their estates, or deprive them of their civil rights and privileges. No oaths or covenants were to be imposed but by direction from Westminster; and as all fitting encouragement was to be given to the ministers of the established kirk, so others not satisfied with their form of church government had liberty to serve God after their own manner; and all who would live peaceably, and yield obedience to the commonwealth, were protected in their several persuasions. This occasioned a great commotion among the clergy, who complained of the loss of their covenant, and church discipline;

* Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 444.

|| Kennet, p. 200, 210. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 586, folio.

§ Whitlocke, p. 503, 504, 498.

and

and exclaimed against the toleration, as opening a door to all kinds of error and heresy: but the English supported their friends against all opposition.

The laird of *Drum*, being threatened with excommunication for speaking against the kirk, and for refusing to swear that its discipline was of *divine authority*, fled to the English for protection, and then wrote the assembly word, that their oppression was equal to that of the late bishops, but that the commonwealth of England would not permit them to enslave the consciences of men any longer. The presbytery would have proceeded to extremities with him, but *Monk* brandished his sword over their heads, and threatened to treat them as enemies to the state, upon which they desisted for the present.* Soon after this, commissioners chiefly of the independent persuasion were sent into Scotland, to visit the universities, and to settle liberty of conscience in that kingdom, against the coercive claim of the kirk, by whose influence a declaration was presented to the assembly at Edinburgh, July 26, in favour of the *congregational discipline, and for liberty of conscience*; but the stubborn assembly-men, instead of yielding to the declaration, published a paper called a *Testimony against the present encroachments of the civil power upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction*, occasioned by a proclamation of the English commissioners appointing a committee for visiting their universities, which they take to be a special flower of the kirk prerogative. The synod of Fife also protested against the publick resolutions of the civil power; but the sword of the English kept them in awe; for when the synod of Perth cited before them several persons for slighting the admonitions of the kirk, Mr. *Whitlocke* says,† that upon the day of appearance, their wives, to the number of about one hundred and twenty, with clubs in their hands, came and besieged the church where the synod sat; that they abused one of the ministers who was sent out to treat with them, and threatened to excommunicate them; and that they beat the clerk and dispersed the assembly; upon which thirteen of the ministers met at a village about four miles distant, and having agreed that no more synods should be held in that place, they pronounced the village accursed. When the

* Whitlocke, p. 500, 505, 515.

† P. 511, 512.

general assembly met again at Edinburgh next summer, and were just entering upon business, lieutenant-colonel *Cotterel* went into the church, and standing up upon one of the benches, told them that no ecclesiastical judicatories were to sit there, but by authority of the parliament of England; and without giving them leave to reply, he commanded them to retire, and conducted them out of the west gate of the city with a troop of horse and a company of foot; and having taken away the commissions from their several classes, enjoined them not to assemble any more above three in a company.

But with all these commotions, bishop *Burnet* observes,* that the country was kept in great order; the garrisons in the Highlands observed an exact discipline, and were well paid, which brought so much money into the kingdom, that it continued all the time of the usurpation in a flourishing condition; justice was carefully administered, and vice was suppressed and punished; there was a great appearance of devotion; the sabbath was observed with uncommon strictness; none might walk the streets in time of divine service, nor frequent publick-houses; the evenings of the Lord's days were spent in catechising their children, singing psalms, and other acts of family devotion, in so much that an acquaintance with the principles of religion, and the gift of prayer, increased prodigiously among the common people.

The war being now ended, the parliament published an act of indemnity for all crimes committed before June 30, 1648, except pirates, Irish rebels, the murderers of Dr. *Doristlaus* and Mr. *Ascham*, and some others, provided they laid hold of it, and took the engagement before Feb. 1, 1652. In the close of the year they chose a new council of state out of their own body for the next year, and continued themselves, instead of dissolving and giving way to a new parliament; the neglect of which was their ruin.

On the 26th of Sept. lieutenant-general *Ireton* died at Limerick in Ireland, after he had reduced that city to the obedience of the commonwealth. He was bred to the law, and was a person of great integrity, bold and intrepid in all his enterprizes, and never to be diverted from what he thought just and right by any arguments or persuasions. He was a

* History, vol. i. p. 84, Edin. edition.

thorough

thorough commonwealth's man. Bishop *Burnet* says, he had the principles and temper of a *Cassius*,* and was most liberal in employing his purse and hazarding his person in the service of the publick. He died in the midst of life of a burning fever,§ after ten days sickness. His body being brought over into England was laid in state at Somerset-House, and buried in Westminster-Abbey with a pomp and magnificence suited to the dignity of his station; but after the restoration of the royal family, his body was taken out of the grave with *Cromwell's*, and buried under the gallows.

About the same time died Mr. *Francis Woodcock*, born in Chester 1613, and educated in Brazen-Nose college, Oxford, where he took a degree in arts, entered into orders, and had a cure of souls bestowed upon him.† In the beginning of the civil wars he sided with the parliament, and was one of the assembly of divines, being then lecturer of St. Lawrence-

* History, vol. i. p. 63, Edin. edition.

§ Lord *Clarendon* ascribes the death of Ireton to the infection of the plague, which was gotten into his army. He was of Trinity college in Oxford, and on leaving the university he studied at the Middle-Temple. He and *Lambert* distinguished themselves at the battle of Naseby, and were both concerned in drawing up the remonstrance of the army to the parliament. *Ireton* had the greatest hand in preparing the ordinance for the king's trial, and the precept for proclaiming the high court of justice, in which he sat as a judge. His authority was so great, that he was entirely submitted to in all the civil as well as martial affairs: though his parts were considered by some as more fitted for modelling a government, than for the conduct of an army. The Oxford historian describes him as of a turbulent and saucy disposition, nurtured to mischief, and a profound thorough-paced dissembler under the mask of religion. His corpse was carried from the ship, in which it was brought to Bristol, in a hearse of velvet, attended by the mayor, aldermen, and council in their formalities, and the governor and officers, to the Castle: from whence it was removed to London with great pomp. The parliament settled on his widow and children 2000l. per ann. out of the lands belonging to *George* duke of *Bucks*. His daughter, who married *Thomas Bendish*, esq; of Gray's-inn, was a most singular character, and bore a greater resemblance, in countenance and dispositions, to her grandfather, *Oliuer Cromwell*, than did any of his descendants. A curious sketch of her character, drawn by the Rev. *Samuel Say*, is preserved in the second volume of "Letters" published by Mr. *Duncombe*. Dr. Grey, vol. iii. p. 141, &c. Lord *Clarendon's* History, vol. iii. p. 467. Wood's Athen. Oxon. p. 81, 82. Whitlocke's Mem. p. 491, 494. and Granger's History, vol. ii. p. 259, and vol. iii. p. 16, 17. Ed.

† Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 81, 82.

Jewry.

Jewry. He was afterwards, by ordinance of parliament dated July 10, 1646, made parson of St. Olave's, Southwark; having the esteem of being a good scholar, and an excellent preacher. He died in the midst of his days and usefulness, *ætatis* 38.

Mr. *George Walker* proceeded *B. D.* in St. John's college, Cambridge. He was famous for his skill in the oriental languages, and was an excellent *logician* and *theologist*; being very much noted for his disputations with the jesuit *Fisher*, and others of the Romish church; and afterwards for his strict sabbatarian principles. He was a member of the assembly of divines, where he gained great reputation by his munificent and generous behaviour.

Mr. *Thomas Wilson* was born in Cumberland 1601, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, where he proceeded in arts. He was first minister of Capel in Surry, and after several other removes fixed at Maidstone in Kent, where he was suspended for refusing to read the book of sports, and not absolved till the Scots troubles in 1639. In 1643, he was appointed one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, being reputed a good linguist, and well read in ancient and modern authors. He was of a robust constitution, and took vast pains in preaching and catechising; he had a great deal of natural courage, and was in every respect a chearful and active christian, but he trespassed too much upon his constitution, which wore him out when he was little more than fifty years old. He died comfortably and chearfully towards the end of the year 1651. Sir *Edward Deering* gave him this character in the house of commons; "Mr. *Wilson* is as orthodox in doctrine, and laborious in preaching, as any we have, and of an unblemished life."

The terms of conformity in England were now lower than they had been since the beginning of the civil wars; the covenant was laid aside, and no other civil qualification for a living required, but the *engagement*, so that many episcopal divines complied with the government; for though they might not read the liturgy in form, they might frame their prayers as near as it they pleased. Many episcopal assemblies were connived at, where the liturgy was read, till they were found plotting against the government; nor would they have
been

been denied an open toleration, if they would have given security for their peaceable behaviour, and not meddling with politicks.

The parliament having voted, in the year 1649, that *tithes should be taken away* as soon as another maintenance for the clergy could be agreed upon, several petitions came out of the country, praying the house to bring this affair to an issue: One advised, that all the tithes over the whole kingdom might be collected into a treasury, and that the ministers might be paid their salaries out of it. Others looking upon tithes unlawful, would have the livings valued, and the parish engaged to pay the minister. This was suspected to come from the sectaries, and awakened the fears of the established clergy. Mr. *Baxter* printed the *Worcester petition* on the behalf of the ministers,* which was presented to the house by colonel *Bridges* and Mr. *Foley*; and Mr. *Boreman*, B. D. and fellow of Trinity-college, Cambridge, published *The Country-man's Catechism, or the Church's Plea for Tithes*, dedicated to the nobility, gentry, and commons of the realm; in which he insists upon their *divine right*. But the clergy were more afraid than hurt; for though the commons were of opinion with Mr. *Selden*, that tithes were abolished with the old law, yet the committee not agreeing upon an expedient to satisfy the lay-impropriators, the affair was dropt for the present.

Upon complaint of *the expence and tediousness of law-suits*, it was moved in the house, that courts of justice might be settled in every county, and maintained at the publick charge; and that all controversies between man and man might be heard and determined free, according to the laws of the land; and that clerks of all courts and committees might do their duty without delay, or taking any thing more than their settled fees. Accordingly, a committee was appointed to consider of the inconveniencies and delays of law-suits, and how they might be remedied. The committee came to several resolutions upon this head; but the dissolution of the parliament, which happened the next year, prevented their bringing it to perfection.

An act had passed in the year 1649, for *propagating the gospel in Wales*; and commissioners were appointed for eject-

* *Baxter's Life*, p. 115.

ing ignorant and scandalous ministers, and placing others in their room; pursuant to which, Mr. *Whitlocke* writes, § “ that
 “ by this time there were one hundred and fifty good preach-
 “ ers in the thirteen Welch counties, most of whom preached
 “ three or four times a week; that in every market-town
 “ there was placed one, and in most great towns two school-
 “ masters, able, learned, and university men; that the tithes
 “ were all employed to the uses directed by act of parlia-
 “ ment; that is, to the maintenance of godly ministers; to
 “ the payment of taxes and officers; to school-masters; and
 “ the fifths to the wives and children of the ejected clergy:”
 Of which we shall meet with a more particular relation in its proper place.

The commonwealth was now very powerful, and the nation in as flourishing a condition (says Mr. *Rapin**) as under queen *Elizabeth*. The form of government indeed was altered contrary to law, and without consent of the people, the majority of whom were disaffected, preferring a mixed monarchy to an absolute commonwealth; but the administration was in the hands of the ablest men England had beheld for many years; all their enemies were in a manner subdued, and the two kingdoms incorporated into one commonwealth: but still there were two things that gave them uneasiness; one was the growing power of the army, who were now at leisure, and expected rewards suitable to their successes; the other, the necessity they were under to dissolve themselves in a little time, and put the power into other hands.

With regard to the army, it was resolved to reduce the land forces, and augment the fleet with them, in order to secure the nation against the Dutch; for the parliament having a desire to strengthen their hands, by uniting with the commonwealth of Holland, sent over *Oliver St. John*, and *Sir Walter Strickland*, with proposals for this purpose; but the Dutch treated them with neglect, || as their younger sister, which

§ *Memoirs*, p. 518.

* Vol. ii. p. 586, folio edition.

|| Dr. *Grey*, evidently with a view to controvert Mr. *Neal*'s representation, as well as from prejudice against these ambassadors and the power from whom they received their commission, says, “ the states of Holland treated them

which the parliament resenting, demanded satisfaction for the damages the English had sustained at Amboyna, and other parts of the East-Indies; and to cramp them in their trade, passed the famous act of navigation, *prohibiting the importing goods of foreign growth in any but English bottoms; or such as were of the country from whence they came.* Upon this the Dutch sent over ambassadors, desiring a clause of exception for themselves, who were the carriers of Europe; but the parliament in their turn treated them coldly, and put them in mind of the murder of their envoy Dr. *Dorilaus*. Both commonwealths being dissatisfied with each other, prepared for war; and *Van Trump* the Dutch admiral, with a convoy of merchant-men, meeting admiral *Blake* in the channel, and refusing him the flag, an engagement ensued May 17, which continued four hours till the night parted them. The Dutch excused the accident, as done without their knowledge; but the parliament was so enraged, that they resolved to humble them. In these circumstances it was thought reasonable to augment the fleet out of the land forces, who had nothing to do, and would in a little time be a burthen to the nation.

CROMWELL, who was at the head of the army, quickly discovered that the continuance of the war must be his ruin, by disarming him of his power, and reducing him from a great general to the condition of a private gentleman. Besides, Mr. *Rapin* observes, that he had secret information of a conspiracy against his life; and without all question, if the army had not agreed to stand by their general, his ruin had been unavoidable; the officers therefore determined to combine together, and not suffer their men to be disbanded or

them with much more regard and civility than was due to them:" and gives, as proofs of this, two of their own letters, in his Appendix, No. 50, and 51. But all which these letters prove is, that the first reception given to these gentlemen was both respectful and pompous. Mr. *Neal* is to be understood of the attention paid to their proposals: with respect to which the conduct of the Dutch was cold and evasive. And even the persons of the ambassadors did not escape insults, which the states did not properly resent. Mr. *Strickland*'s life was threatened. A plot was formed to assassinate Mr. *St. John*: and an affront was offered to him by prince *Edward*, one of the palatinate, as he was passing the streets. Mrs. Macaulay's History, vol. v. p. 83, 4, note, and Ludlow's Memoirs, 4to. 1771, p. 148. Ed.

sent

sent to sea, till the arrears of the whole army were paid; for this purpose they presented a petition to the house, which they resented, and instead of giving them soft language, and encouragement to hope for some suitable rewards for their past services, ordered them to be reprimanded, for presuming to meddle in affairs of state that did not belong to them. But the officers proving as resolute as their masters, instead of submitting, presented another petition, in which, having justified their behaviour, they boldly strike *at the parliament's continuance*, and put them in mind how many years they had sat; that they had engrossed all preferments and places of profit to themselves and their friends; that it was a manifest injury to the gentlemen of the nation, to be excluded the service of their country, and an invasion of the rights of the people, to deprive them of the right of frequent choosing new representatives; they therefore insist upon their settling a new council of state for the administration of publick affairs; and upon their fixing a peremptory day for the choice of a new parliament.

This was a new and delicate crisis; the civil and military powers being engaged against each other, and resolved to maintain their respective pretensions: If *Cromwell*, with the sword in his hand, had secured the election of a free representative of the people, and left the settlement of the nation to them, all men would have honoured and blessed him, for the people were certainly weary of the parliament. But when the *officers* had destroyed this form of government, they were not agreed what to establish, whether a *monarchy*, or a *new republick*; the general, being for a mixed monarchy, had no doubt, some ambitious views to himself, and therefore called together some select friends of several professions to advise on the affair, when Sir *Tho. Widdrington*, lord chief justice *St. John*, and the rest of the lawyers, declared for monarchy, as most agreeable to the old constitution, and proposed the duke of *Gloucester* for king; but the officers of the army then present declared for a republick. *Cromwell* himself, after much hesitation, gave his opinion for something of a monarchical power, as most agreeable to the genius of the English, if it might be accomplished with safety to their rights and privileges as Englishmen and christians.

Some time after *Cromwell* desired Mr. *Whitlocke*'s opinion upon the present situation of affairs: "My lord, (says he) it is time to consider of our present danger, that we may not be broken in pieces by our particular quarrels after we have gained an entire conquest over the enemy." *Whitlocke* replied, "that all their danger was from the army, who were men of emulation, and had now nothing to do." *Cromwell* answered, "that the officers thought themselves not rewarded according to their deserts; that the parliament had engrossed all places of honour and trust among themselves; that they delayed the publick business, and designed to perpetuate themselves; that the officers thought it impossible to keep them within the bounds of justice, law, or reason, unless there was some authority or power to which they might be accountable." *Whitlocke* said, "he believed the parliament were honest men, and designed the publick good, though some particular persons might be to blame, but that it was absurd for the officers who were private men, and had received their commissions from the parliament, to pretend to controul them." "But, says *Cromwell*, what if a man should take upon him to be king?" *Whitlocke* answered, "that the remedy was worse than the disease; and that the general had already all the power of a king without the envy, danger, and pomp of the title." "But, says he, the title of KING would make all acts done by him legal; it would indemnify those that should act under him at all events, and be of advantage to curb the insolence of those whom the present powers could not controul." *Whitlocke* agreed to the general's reasons, but desired him to consider, "Whether the title of KING would not lose him his best friends in the army, as well as those gentlemen who were for settling a free commonwealth; but if we must have a king, (says he) the question will be, whether it shall be *Cromwell* or *Stuart*?"† The general asking his opinion upon this, *Whitlocke* proposed a private treaty with the king of Scots, with whom he might make his own terms, and raise his family to what pitch of greatness he pleased; but *Cromwell* was so apprehensive of the danger of this proposal, that he broke off the conversa-

† *Whitlocke*, p. 523, &c.

tion with some marks of dissatisfaction, and never made use of *Whitlocke* with confidence afterwards.

Thus things remained† throughout the whole winter; the army having little to do after the battle of Worcester drew near to London, but there was no treaty of accommodation between them and the parliament; *one* would not disband without their full pay; nor the *other* dissolve by the direction of their own servants, but voted the expedience of filling up their numbers, and that it should be high treason to petition for their dissolution. When the *general* heard this, he called a council of officers to Whitehall, who all agreed that *it was not fit the parliament should continue any longer*. This was published in hopes of frightening the house to make some advances towards a dissolution; but when colonel *Ingoldsby* informed the general next morning, that they were concluding upon an act to prolong the session for another year, he rose up in a heat, and with a small retinue of officers and soldiers marched to the parliament-house April 20, and having placed his men without doors, went into the house, and heard the debates. After some time he beckoned to colonel *Harrison*, on the other side of the house, and told him in his ear, that he thought the parliament was ripe for dissolution, and that this was the time for doing it. *Harrison* replied, that the work was dangerous, and desired him to think better of it. Upon this he sat down about a quarter of an hour, and then said, *this is the time, I must do it*; and rising up in his place, he told the house, that he was come to put an end to their power, of which they had made so ill an use; that some of them were whore-masters, looking towards *Harry Martin* and *Sir Peter Wentworth*; others were

† Here may be inserted, from *Whitlocke*, two anecdotes, which afford a pleasing specimen of the temper of the *quakers* under ill-treatment. Feb. 3, 1653, they were assaulted and beaten by some people in the north. Feb. 13, 1654, a similar outrage was offered to others of them, at Haslington in Northumberland, for speaking to the ministers on the sabbath-day: so that one or two of them were almost killed. The *quakers* fell on their knees and prayed to God to forgive the people, as those who knew not what they did; and remonstrated with them so as to convince them of the evil of their conduct, on which they ceased from their violence, and began to reproach each other with being the occasions of it: and, in the last instance, beat one another more than they had before the *quakers*. Memorials, p. 564, 599. Ed.

drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, who had not at heart the publick good, but were only for perpetuating their own power. Upon the whole, he thought they had sat long enough, and therefore desired them to retire and go away. When some of the members began to reply, he stepped into the middle of the house, and said, *Come, come, I will put an end to your prating; you are no parliament; I say you are no parliament;* and stamping with his foot, a file of musqueteers entered the house; one of whom he commanded to take away that fool's bauble the mace. And major *Harrison* taking the speaker by the arm, conducted him out of the chair. *Cromwell* then seizing upon their papers obliged them to walk out of the house; and having caused the doors to be locked upon them, returned to Whitehall.

In the afternoon the general went to the *council of state*, attended by major-general *Lambert* and *Harrison*, and as he entered the room, said, "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons you shall not be disturbed, but if as a council of state, this is no place for you; and since you cannot but know what was done in the morning, so take notice the parliament is dissolved." Serjeant *Bradshaw* replied, "Sir, we have heard what you did in the morning, but you are mistaken to think the parliament is dissolved, for no power can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take you notice of that." But the general not being terrified with big words, the council thought it their wisest way to rise up and go home.

Thus ended the commonwealth of England, after it had continued four years, two months, and twenty days, which, though no better than an *usurpation*, had raised the credit of the nation to a very high pitch of glory and renown; and with the commonwealth ended the remains of the long parliament for the present; an assembly famous throughout all the world for its undertakings, actions, and successes: * "the
" acts

* Mrs. *Macaulay*, after quoting the high eulogiums made on the government of this parliament, adds, "it is to be remembered, that to them is due the singular praise of having pursued the true interest of their country in attending particularly to its maritime strength, and carrying on its foreign wars by its naval power. This example, which raised England to so great an height of glory and prosperity, has never yet been followed,
" and

“ acts of this parliament (says Mr. *Coke**) will hardly find be-
 “ lief in future ages; and to say the truth, they were a race
 “ of men most indefatigable and industrious in business, al-
 “ ways seeking men fit for it, and never preferring any for
 “ favour or importunity: you hardly ever heard of any revolt
 “ from them; no soldiers or seamen being ever pressed. And
 “ as they excelled in civil affairs, so it must be confessed, they
 “ exercised in matters ecclesiastical no such severities as others
 “ before them did upon such as dissented from them.”

But their foundation was bad, and many of their actions highly criminal; they were a packed assembly, many of their members being excluded by force, before they could be secure of a vote to put the late king to death—they subverted the constitution, by setting up themselves, and continuing their sessions after his majesty's demise—by erecting high courts of justice of their own nomination for capital offences—by raising taxes, and doing all other acts of sovereignty without consent of the people; all which they designed to perpetuate among themselves, without being accountable to any superior, or giving place to a new body of representatives. If then it be enquired, what right or authority general *Cromwell* and his officers had to offer violence to this parliament, it may be replied, 1. The right of self-preservation, the ruin of one or the other being unavoidable. 2. The right that every Englishman has to put an end to an usurpation when it is in his power, provided he can substitute something better in its room; and if *Cromwell* could by this method have restored the constitution, and referred the settlement of the government to a free and full representative of the people, no wise man would have blamed him. It was not therefore his turning out the old parliament that was criminal, but his not summoning a new one, by a fair and free election of the people; and yet Mr. *Rapin*† is of opinion, that even this was

“ and in all probability never will, by the succeeding monarchs. The aim
 “ of princes is to make conquests on their subjects, not to enlarge the em-
 “ pire of a free people. A standing army is a never-failing instrument of
 “ domestick triumph; and it is very doubtful, whether a naval force could be
 “ rendered useful in any capacity but that of extending the power and prof-
 “ perity of the country.” Hist. of England, vol. v. p. 106, note, 8vo. Ed.

* Detect. p. 363.

† Vol. ii. p. 289, folio edition.

impracticable,

impracticable, there being three opposite interests in the nation; the *republicans*, who were for an absolute commonwealth; the *presbyterians*, who were for restoring things to the condition they were in, in 1648; and the *cavaliers*, who were for setting the king upon the throne, as before the civil wars; it was by no means possible (says he*) to reconcile the three parties, and if they had been let loose they would have destroyed each other, and thrown the whole nation into blood and confusion; nothing therefore but giving a forcible superiority to *one*, was capable to hold the *other* two in subjection. The king was no way interested in the change, for it was not *Charles Stuart*, but a *republican usurpation* that was dispossessed of the supreme power. If the *general* had failed in his design, and lost his life in the attempt, the king would have received no manner of advantage, for the nation was by no means disposed to restore him at this time. Supposing then it was not practicable to choose a free parliament, nor fit to let the *old one* perpetuate themselves, *Oliver Cromwell* had no other choice, but to abandon the state, or to take the administration upon himself; or put it into the hands of some other person who had no better title. How far private ambition took place of the publick good in the choice, must be left to the judgment of every reader; but if it was necessary that there should be a *supreme authority*, capable of enforcing obedience, it cannot be denied, but that general *Cromwell* was more capable of governing the state in such a storm, than any man then living. No objection can be raised against him, which might not with more justice have been urged against any other single person, or body of men in the nation, except the *right heir*. However, all the three parties of *cavaliers*, *presbyterians*, and *republicans*, were displeased with his conduct, loaded him with invectives, and formed conspiracies against his person, though they could never agree in any other scheme, which in the present crisis was more practicable.

The parliament being thus violently dispersed, the sovereign power devolved on the council of officers, of which *Cromwell* was head, who published a declaration, justifying his dissolution of the late parliament, and promising to put

* Rapin, p. 149.

the administration into the hands of persons of approved fidelity and honesty, and leave them to form it into what shape they pleased. Accordingly, April 30, another declaration was published, signed by *Oliver Cromwell*, and thirty of his officers, nominating a new council of state to take care of the government, till a new representative body of men could be called together; and June 8, the general, by the advice of his council, sent the following summons to one hundred and forty select persons, out of the several counties of England, to meet at Westminster, in order to settle the nation: “ I *Oliver Cromwell*, captain-general, &c. do hereby
“ summon, and require you —— being one of the persons no-
“ minated by myself, with the advice of my council, person-
“ ally to appear at the council-chamber at Whitehall, upon
“ the fourth of July next ensuing the date hereof, to take
“ upon you the trust of the affairs of the commonwealth;
“ to which you are hereby called and appointed to serve as
“ a member for the county of ——; and hereof you are not
“ to fail. Given under my hand this 8th of June 1653.

“ O. CROMWELL.”

These were high acts of sovereignty, and not to be justified but upon the supposition of *extreme necessity*. The dissolution of the long-parliament was an act of violence, but not unacceptable to the people, as appeared by the numerous addresses from the army, the fleet, and other places, approving the general's conduct and promising to stand by him and his council in their proceedings; but then for the general himself, and thirty officers, to chuse representatives for the whole nation, without interesting any of the counties or corporations of England in the choice, would have deserved the highest censure under any other circumstances.

About one hundred and twenty of the new representatives appeared at the time and place appointed, when the *general*, after a short speech, delivered them an *instrument* in parchment under his hand and seal, resigning into their hands, or the hands of any forty of them, the supreme authority and government of the commonwealth, limiting the time of their continuance to November 3, 1654, and empowering them, three months before their dissolution, to make choice of others

to succeed them for a year, and they to provide for a future succession. It was much wondered, says *Whitlocke*,|| that these gentlemen, many of whom were persons of fortune and estate,* should accept of the supreme authority of the nation, upon such a summons, and from such hands. Most of them were men of piety, but no great politicians, and were therefore in contempt called sometimes the *little parliament*; and by others, *Barebone's parliament*, from a *leatherseller* of that name,† who was one of the most active members. When the general

|| Memoirs, p. 534.

* Dr. Grey, after Lord *Clarendon* and others, and Mr. *Hume* since them, have spoken in severe and contemptuous terms of this assembly and their proceedings. "The major part of them," says his lordship, "consisted of inferior persons, of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest name, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching." But many of *Cromwell's* after counsellors, many of the chief officers of the army, were in this assembly. They were treated as the supreme authority of the nation by sovereign princes, and had the most humble applications made to them by the chief cavaliers, as by the Earls of *Worcester*, *Derby*, and *Shrewsbury*, Lord *Mansfield* and the Countess of *Derby*; and they were, during their short session, employed about points of the highest national concernment; such as, abolishing the court of chancery on account of its expensiveness and delays, the forming a new body of the law, the union of Scotland with England, the regulation of marriages, and the investing the solemnization and cognizance of them in the civil magistrate, with other matters of moment. Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 335—337. Ed.

† There were three brothers of this family, each of whom had a sentence for his name, viz. "Praise God Barebone; Christ came into the world to save Barebone; and, if Christ had not died thou had'st been damned Barebone." In this style were the christian names of very many persons formed in the times of the civil wars. It was said, that the genealogy of our Saviour might be learnt from the names in *Cromwell's* regiments; and that the muster-master used no other list than the first chapter of *Matthew*. A jury was returned in the county of *Sussex* of the following names:

Accepted, Trevor of Northam.
Redeemed, Compton of Battle.
Faint not, Hewet of Heathfield.
Make peace, Heaton of Hare.
God-reward, Smart of Fivehurst.
Stand fast on High, Stringer of Crowhurst.
Earth, Adams of Warbleton.
Called, Lower of Warbleton.
Kill Sin, Pimple of Witham.

Return, Spelman of Watling.
Be Faithful, Joyner of Britling.
Fly Debate, Robert of Britling.
Fight the good Fight of Faith, White of Emer.
More Fruit, Fowler of East-Hadley.
Hope for, Bending of ditto.
Graceful, Harding of Lewes.
Weep not, Billings, ditto.
Meek, Brewer of Okeham.

Granger's

general was withdrawn, they chose Mr. *Rouse* an aged and venerable man, member in the late parliament for Truro in Cornwall, their speaker, and then voted themselves the parliament of the commonwealth of England. Mr. *Baxter*§ places them in a contemptible light, and says, “they intended
 “to eject all the parish ministers, and to encourage the gathering independant churches; that they cast out all the
 “ministers in Wales, which, though bad enough for the
 “most part, were yet better than none, or the few itinerants
 “they set up in their room; and that they attempted, and
 “had almost accomplished the same in England.” But nothing of this appears among their acts. When the city of London petitioned, that more learned and approved ministers might be sent into the country to preach the gospel; that their settled maintenance by law might be confirmed; and their just properties preserved; and that the universities might be zealously countenanced and encouraged; the petitioners had the thanks of that house; and the committee gave it as their opinion, that commissioners should be sent into the several counties, who should have power to eject scandalous and insufficient ministers, and to settle others in their room. They were to appoint preaching in all vacant places, that none might live above three miles from a place of worship. That such as were approved for publick ministers should enjoy the maintenance provided by the laws; and that if any scrupled the payment of tithes, the neighbouring justices of peace should settle the value, which the owner of the land should be obliged to pay; but as for the tithes themselves they were of opinion, that the incumbents and impropriators had a right in them, and therefore they could not be taken away till they were satisfied.

July 23, it was referred to a committee, to consider of a repeal of such laws as hindered the progress of the gospel; that is, (says bishop *Kennet*) to take away the few remaining

Granger's History of England, vol. iii. p. 68, 8vo. note, and Dr. Grey, p. 286, 7, note. Mr. *Hume* has also given this list of the Suffex jury. But the ridicule, which falls on this mode of naming children, belongs not to these times only: for the practice was in use long before. Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 342, the note. Ed.

§ P. 70, 120.

rules of decency and order; or, in other language, the *penal laws*. This was done at the instance of the *independants*, who petitioned for protection against the presbyteries; upon which it was voted, that a declaration should be published, for giving proper liberty to all that feared God; and for preventing their imposing hardships on one another.

Mr. *Eachard*, and others of his principles, write, that this parliament had under deliberation the taking away the old English laws, as badges of the Norman conquest, and substituting the Mosaick laws of government in their place; and that all schools of learning, and titles of honour, should be extinguished, as not agreeing with the christian simplicity. But no such proposals were made to the house, and therefore it is unjust to lay them to their charge.

The solemnizing of matrimony had hitherto been engrossed by the clergy; but this *convention* considered it a civil contract, and put it into the hands of justices of peace, by an ordinance, which enacts, “that after the 29th of September, “1653, all persons who shall agree to be married within “the commonwealth of England, shall deliver in their names “and places of abode, with the names of their parents, “guardians, and overseers, to the register of the parish “where each party lives, who shall publish the *bans* in the “church or chapel three several Lord’s days, after the “morning service; or else in the market-place three several “weeks successively, between the hours of eleven and two, “on a market-day if the party desire it. The register shall “make out a certificate of the due performance of one or “the other, at the request of the parties concerned, without “which they shall not proceed to marriage.

“It is further enacted, that all persons intending to marry “shall come before some justice of peace within the county, “city, or town corporate, where publication has been made; “as aforesaid, with their certificate, and with sufficient proof “of the consent of the parents, if either party be under age, “and then the marriage shall proceed in this manner:

“The man to be married shall take the woman by the “hand, and distinctly pronounce these words, I *A. B.* do “here in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts, “take thee *C. D.* for my wedded wife; and do also, in the “presence

“ presence of God, and before these witnesses, promise to
“ be to thee a loving and faithful husband.

“ Then the woman taking the man by the hand, shall
“ plainly and distinctly pronounce these words, *I C. D.* do
“ here in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts,
“ take thee *A. B.* for my wedded husband; and do also in
“ the presence of God, and before these witnesses, promise
“ to be to thee a loving, faithful, and obedient wife.

“ After this, the justice may and shall declare the said
“ man and woman to be from henceforth husband and wife;
“ and from and after such consent so expressed, and such de-
“ claration made of the same, (as to the form of marriage) it
“ shall be good and effectual in law; and no other marriage
“ whatsoever, within the commonwealth of England, after
“ the 29th of Sept. 1653, shall be held or accounted a mar-
“ riage, according to the law of England.”

This ordinance was confirmed by the protector's parliament in the year 1656, except the clause, *that no other marriage whatsoever within the commonwealth of England shall be held, or accounted a legal marriage*; and it was wisely done of the parliament at the restoration, to confirm these marriages, in order to prevent illegitimacy, and vexatious lawsuits in future times. But the acts of this convention were of little significance, for when they found the affairs of the nation too intricate, and the several parties too stubborn to yield to their ordinances, they wisely resigned, and surrendered back their sovereignty into the same hands that gave it them, after they had sat five months and twelve days.

The general and his officers finding themselves reinvested with the supreme authority, by what they fancied a more parliamentary delegation, took upon them to strike out a new form of government, a little tending towards monarchy, contained in a large instrument of forty-two articles, entitled, *The Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. It appoints the government to be in a single person;—that the single person be the general O. CROMWELL, whose stile and title should be *his highness, lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging*—that the lord protector should have a council, consisting of no more than twenty-one persons,

persons, nor less than thirteen, to assist him in the administration. A parliament was to be chosen out of the three kingdoms every three years at longest, and not to be dissolved without their consent in less than five months. It was to consist of four hundred members for England and Wales; thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland; whereof sixty were to make a house. The counties of England and Wales were to choose two hundred thirty-nine; the other elections to be distributed among the chief cities and market towns, without regard to ancient custom. The county of Dorset was to choose eleven members; Cornwall eight; Bedfordshire five; the several ridings of Yorkshire fourteen; Middlesex four; the city of London six; Westminster two; the whole number of cities and boroughs which had privilege of election were one hundred and ten, and the number of representatives to be chosen by them one hundred and sixty—If the protector refused to issue out writs, the commissioners of the great seal, or the high sheriff of the county, was to do it under pain of treason—none to have votes but such as were worth two hundred pounds. This regulation, being wisely proportioned, met with universal approbation. Lord *Clarendon* says, it was fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time—all the great officers of state, as chancellor, treasurer, &c. if they became vacant in time of parliament, to be supplied with their approbation; and in the intervals with the approbation of the council—such bills as were offered to the protector by the parliament, if not signed in twenty days, were to be laws without him, if not contrary to this instrument.—In the present crisis, the protector and his council might publish ordinances which should have force till the first sessions of parliament—the protector was to have power to make war and peace, to confer titles of honour, to pardon all crimes except treason and murder; the militia was intrusted with him and his council, except during the sessions of parliament, when it was to be jointly in both. In short, the protector had almost all the royalties of a king—but then the protectorship was to be elective, and no protector after the present to be general of the army.

The articles relating to religion were these:

Art.

Art. 35. “ That the Christian religion contained in the
“ scriptures be held forth and recommended as the publick
“ profession of these nations, and that as soon as may be, a
“ provision less subject to contention, and more certain than
“ the present, be made for the maintenance of ministers; and
“ that till such provision be made, the present maintenance
“ continue.

Art. 36. “ That none be compelled to conform to the
“ publick religion by penalties or otherwise; but that en-
“ deavours be used to win them by sound doctrine, and the
“ example of a good conversation.

Art. 37. “ That such as profess faith in God by Jesus
“ Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine,
“ worship, or discipline, publickly held forth, shall not be
“ restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of
“ their faith, and exercise of their religion, so as they abuse
“ not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the
“ actual disturbance of the publick peace on their parts; pro-
“ vided this liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy,
“ or to such as under a profession of Christ hold forth and
“ practise licentiousness.

Art. 38. “ That all laws, statutes, ordinances, and clauses
“ in any law, statute or ordinance, to the contrary of the
“ aforesaid liberty, shall be esteemed null and void.”

The protector was installed with great magnificence Dec.
16, 1653, in the court of *chancery*, by order of the council
of officers, in presence of the lord-mayor and aldermen of
London, the judges, the commissioners of the great seal, and
other great officers, who were summoned to attend on this
occasion. O. CROMWELL, standing uncovered on the left
hand of a chair of state set for him, first subscribed the in-
strument of government in the face of the court, and then
took the following oath :

“ WHEREAS the major part of the last parliament
“ (judging that their sitting any longer as then constituted,
“ would not be for the good of the commonwealth) did dis-
“ solve the same; and by a writing under their hands, dated
“ the 12th of this instant December, resigned to me their
“ powers and authorities. And whereas it was necessary
“ thereupon,

“thereupon, that some speedy course should be taken for the
 “settlement of these nations upon such a basis and founda-
 “tion, as, by the blessing of God, might be lasting, secure pro-
 “perty, and answer those great ends of religion and liberty,
 “so long contended for; and upon full and mature consider-
 “ation had of the form of government hereunto annexed,
 “being satisfied that the same, through divine assistance, may
 “answer the ends afore-mentioned. And having also been
 “desired and advised, as well by several persons of interest
 “and fidelity in the commonwealth, as the officers of the
 “army, to take upon me the protection and government of
 “these nations in the manner expressed in the said form of
 “government, I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare
 “my acceptance accordingly; and do promise, in the pre-
 “sence of God, that I will not violate, or infringe the matters
 “and things contained therein, but to my power observe the
 “same, and cause them to be observed; and shall in all other
 “things, to the best of my understanding, govern these na-
 “tions according to the laws, statutes and customs, seeking
 “their peace, and causing justice and law to be equally ad-
 “ministered.”

After this he sat down in the *chair of state* covered, and
 the commissioners delivered him the great seal, and the lord-
 mayor his sword and cap of maintenance; which he returned
 in a very obliging manner. The ceremony being over, the
 soldiers, with a shout, cried out, *God bless the lord protector
 of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.* In
 their return to Whitehall the lord-mayor carried the sword
 before HIS HIGHNESS uncovered, and presently after he was
 proclaimed in the city of London, and throughout all the
 British dominions.

Thus did this wonderful man, by surprizing management,
 supported only by the sword, advance himself to the supreme
 government of three kingdoms without consent of parliament
 or people. His birth seemed to promise nothing of this kind;
 nor does it appear that he had formed the project, till after
 the battle of Worcester, when he apprehended the parliament
 had projected his ruin by disbanding the army, and perpe-
 tuating their authority among themselves: which of the two
 usurpations

usurpations was most eligible must be left with the reader; but how he brought the officers into his measures, and supported his sovereignty by an army of enthusiasts, anabaptists, fifth monarchy men, and republicans, will be the admiration of all posterity; and though by this adventurous act he drew upon himself the plots and conspiracies of the several factions in the nation, yet his genius and resolution surmounted all difficulties, his short empire being one continued blaze of glory and renown to the British isles, and of terror to the rest of Europe.

The reader will make his own remarks upon the new *instrument of government*, and will necessarily observe, that it was a creature of *Cromwell's* and his council of officers, and not drawn up by a proper representative of the people. How far the present circumstances of the nation made this necessary, must be concluded from the remarks we have made upon the change of government; but the articles relating to religion can hardly be complained of, though they disgusted all that part of the clergy who were for *church power*; the *presbyterians* preached and wrote against the 36th and 37th articles, as inconsistent with their establishment, and sinking it almost to a level with the sectaries. The *republicans* were dissatisfied because the ENGAGEMENT, by which they had sworn fidelity to a commonwealth, without a single person, or house of lords, was set aside. Bishop *Kennet* is angry with the protector's latitude, because there was no test or barrier to the establishment. "How little religion was the concern, or so much as any longer the pretence of *Cromwell* and his officers (says his lordship) appears from hence, that in the large instrument of the government of the commonwealth, which was the *magna charta* of the new constitution, there is not a word of churches or synods, or ministers, nor any thing but the christian religion in general, with liberty to all differing in judgment, from the doctrine, worship, or discipline, publickly held forth." Strange, that this should displease a christian bishop! But his lordship should have remembered, that this liberty was not to extend to any kinds of immoralities, nor to such as injured the civil rights of others, nor to such as disturbed the publick peace. And do the scriptures authorize us to go further? The sixth article provides,

provides, “ that the laws in being relating to the presbyterian
 “ religion were not to be suspended, altered, abrogated or
 “ repealed; nor any new law made, but by consent of par-
 “ liament.” The 36th adds, “ that until a better provision
 “ can be made for the encouragement and maintenance of
 “ able and painful teachers, the present maintenance shall not
 “ be taken away nor impeached.” And TRYERS were ap-
 pointed soon after for preventing scandalous and unlearned
 persons invading the pulpit. This part of the *instrument* is,
 in my opinion, so far from being criminal, that it breathes a
 noble spirit of christian liberty, though it was undoubtedly
 faulty, in putting *popery*, *prelacy*, and *licentiousness of manners*,
 upon a level. The open toleration of popery is hardly con-
 sistent with the safety of a protestant government; otherwise,
 considered merely as a religious institution, I see not why it
 should be crushed by the civil power: and licentiousness of
 manners is not to be indulged in any civilized nation; but if
 the episcopalians would have given security for their living
 peaceably under their new masters, they ought undoubtedly
 to have been protected; however, the protector did not in
 every instance adhere strictly to the *instrument*.

But though in point of policy the episcopalians were at this
 time excepted from a legal toleration, their assemblies were
 connived at; and several of their clergy indulged the publick
 exercise of their ministry without the fetters of oaths, sub-
 scriptions, or engagements; as Dr. *Hall*, afterwards bishop
 of *Chester*, Dr. *Wild*, *Pearson*, *Ball*, *Hardy*, *Griffith*, *Farring-*
don, and others. Several of the bishops, who had been kept
 from publick service by the *covenant* and *engagement*, preached
 again publicly in the city, as archbishop *Usher*, bishop
Brownrigge, and others. Mr. *Baxter*, who was very far
 from being a friend of the protector's, says, “ that all men
 “ were suffered to live quietly, and enjoy their properties
 “ under his government—that he removed the terrors and
 “ prejudices which hindered the success of the gospel, espe-
 “ cially considering that godliness had countenance and re-
 “ putation as well as liberty, whereas before, if it did not
 “ appear in all the fetters and formalities of the times, it
 “ was the way to common shame and ruin. It is well known
 “ that the presbyterians did not approve of the *usurpation*,
 “ but

“ but when they saw that *Cromwell's* design was to do good
 “ in the main, and encourage religion as far as his cause
 “ would admit, they acquiesced.” And then comparing these
 times with those after the restoration, he adds, “ I shall for
 “ the future think that land happy, where the people have
 “ but bare liberty to be as good as they are willing; and if
 “ countenance and maintenance be but added to liberty, and
 “ tolerated errors and sects be but forced to keep the peace,
 “ I shall not hereafter much fear such a toleration, nor de-
 “ spair that truth will bear down its adversaries.”* This
 was a considerable testimony to the *protector's* administration
 from the pen of an adversary.

The protector's first council were, major-general *Lambert*,
 lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, colonel *Montague*, afterwards
 earl of *Sandwich*; *Philip* lord viscount *Lisle*, since earl of
Leicester; colonel *Desborough*, sir *Gilbert Pickering*, sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, afterwards earl of *Shaftsbury*; sir *Charles Woolfsley*, major-general *Skippon*, Mr. *Strickland*, colonel *Sydenham*, colonel *Jones*, Mr. *Rouse*, Mr. *Lawrence*, and Mr. *Major*: men of great name in those times; some of whom made a considerable figure after the restoration. The protector's wife conduct appeared in nothing more than his unwearied endeavours to make all religious parties easy. He indulged the army in their enthusiastick raptures, and sometimes joined in their prayers and sermons. He countenanced the *presbyterians*, by assuring them he would maintain the publick ministry, and give them all due encouragement. He supported the *independants*, by making them his chaplains; by preferring them to considerable livings in the church and universities; and by joining them in one commission with the *presbyterians* as TRYERS of all such as desired to be admitted to benefices. But he absolutely forbade the clergy of every denomination dealing in politicks, as not belonging to their profession; and when he perceived the *managing presbyterians* took too much upon them, he always found means to mortify them; and would sometimes glory that he had curbed that insolent sect, that would suffer none but itself.

It was happy for the wise and moderate *presbyterians*, that the *protector* disarmed their discipline of its coercive power,

* Life, p. 86, 87.

for he still left them all that was sufficient for the purposes of religion; they had their monthly or quarterly classical presbyteries in every county, for the ordination of ministers, by imposition of hands, according to the *directory*, to whom they gave certificates, or testimonials, in the following words:

“ WE the ministers of the presbytery of ———, having examined Mr. ——— according to the tenor of the ordinance for that purpose, and finding him duly qualified and gifted for that holy office and employment, (no just exception having been made to his ordination) have approved him, and accordingly, on the day and year hereafter expressed, have proceeded solemnly to set him apart to the office of a preaching presbyter, and work of the ministry, with fasting and prayer, and imposition of hands; and do hereby actually admit him (as far as concerns us) to perform all the offices and duties of a faithful minister of Jesus Christ. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names this —— day of Sept. 1653.”

Other testimonials were in this form:

“ WE the ministers of Christ, who are called to watch over this part of his flock in the city of ———, with the assistance of some others, that we might not be wanting to the service of the church in its necessity, having received credible testimonials, under the hands of divers ministers of the gospel, and others, of the sober, righteous, and godly conversation of ———, as also concerning his gifts for the ministry, have proceeded to make further trial of his fitness for so great a work; and being in some good measure satisfied concerning his piety and ability, have, upon the day of ——— 1653, proceeded solemnly to set him apart to the office of a presbyter, and work of the ministry, by laying on our hands with fasting and prayer; by virtue whereof we do esteem and declare him a lawful minister of Christ, and hereby recommend him to the church of ———. In witness whereof we have set our hands, &c.”

When the presbyterians found that their classes could obtain no power to inflict pains and penalties on those who refused

to

to submit to their discipline, the ministers of the several denominations in the country began to enter into friendly associations for brotherly council and advice. Mr. *Baxter*, and his brethren of *Worcestershire*, formed a scheme upon such general principles as all good men were agreed in, which he communicated to the reverend Mr. *Vines* and *Gataker*; and when he had drawn up *articles of concord*, he submitted them to the correction of archbishop *Usher*, and other episcopal divines, who agreed with him, that no more discipline should be practised than the episcopalian, presbyterian, and independant divines agreed in; that they should not *meddle with politicks, or affairs of civil government in their assemblies, nor pretend to exercise the power of the keys, or any church censures; but only to assist, advise, and encourage each other in propagating truth and holiness, and in keeping their churches from prophane and scandalous communicants.*§ Their meetings were appointed to be once a month in some market town, where there was a sermon in the morning; and after dinner the conversation was upon such points of doctrine or discipline as required advice; or else an hour was spent in disputing upon some theological question which had been appointed the preceding month. Doctor *Warmestry*, afterwards dean of *Worcester*, and Dr. *Good*, one of the prebendaries of *Hereford*, sent Mr. *Baxter* a letter dated Sept. 20, 1653, wherein they testify their approbation of the association abovementioned, and of the articles of concord.*

In the West of England, Mr. *Hughes* of *Plymouth*, and Mr. *Good* of *Exeter*, prevailed with the ministers of the several persuasions in those parts, to follow the example of *Worcestershire*; accordingly they parcelled themselves into four divisions, which met once a quarter; and all four had a general meeting for concord once a year: The reverend Mr. *Hughes* presided in those of 1655, and 1656. The moderator began and ended with prayer, and several of the episcopal divines of the best character, as well as independants, joined with them; “The chief of the presbyterian and independent divines, who were weary of divisions, and willing to strengthen each other’s hands, united in these assem-

§ *Baxter’s Life*, part ii. p. 147, &c. p. 167, &c.

* *Ibid.* p. 149.

“ blies, though the exasperated prelatists, the more rigid
“ presbyterians, and severer sort of independants, kept at a
“ distance: But many remarkable advantages (says Mr.
“ *Baxter*) attended these associations;” they opened and pre-
served a friendly correspondence among the ministers; they
removed a great many prejudices and misunderstandings, in-
somuch that the controversies and heats of angry men began
to be allayed, their spirits bettered, and the ends of religion
more generally promoted.

But these country associations were not countenanced by
the more zealous presbyterians of London, who met weekly
at Sion college; they could hardly digest a toleration of the
sectaries, much less submit to a coalition, but resolved to
keep close to the ordinances of parliament, and to the acts
of their provincial assembly: They wanted the sword of dis-
cipline, and were impatient under the present restraint; and
nothing but the piercing eye of the *protector*, whose spies
were in every corner, kept them from preaching, praying,
and plotting against the government. However, the country
ministers being easy in their possessions, cultivated good neigh-
bourhood, and spread the associations through Wiltshire,
Essex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland,
and other parts; and if I am not misinformed, there are the
like brotherly associations among the dissenters in several
counties to this day.

This year died old Dr. *William Gouge*, born at Stratford-
Bow in the year 1575, and educated at King's college, Cam-
bridge, of which he was fellow. He entered into orders
1607, and the very next year was settled at Black-Friars,
London, where he continued to his death. He commenced
doctor of divinity in the year 1628, about which time he
became one of the feoffees for buying up impropriations, for
which he was ordered to be prosecuted in the *star-chamber*.
In the year 1643 he was nominated one of the assembly of
divines, and was in such reputation, that he often filled the
moderator's chair in his absence. He was a modest, humble,
and affable person, of strict and exemplary piety, an universal
scholar, and a most constant preacher, as long as he was able
to get up into the pulpit. For many years he was esteemed
the father of the London ministers, and died comfortably
and

and piously December 12, 1653, in the 79th year of his age, having been minister of Black-Friars almost forty-six years.

Doctor *Thomas Hill*, of whom mention has been made before, was born in *Worcestershire*, and educated in Emanuel-college, Cambridge, of which he was a fellow, and tutor to young scholars for many years. He was afterwards preferred to the living of Tichmarsh in Northamptonshire, and was chosen into the assembly of divines for that county. While he was at London he preached every day at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and was one of the morning lecturers at Westminster-Abbey. He was afterwards chosen to be master of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and from thence removed to Trinity college; in which stations he behaved with great prudence and circumspection. He was a good scholar, and very careful of the antiquities and privileges of the university; a strict *calvinist*, a plain, powerful, and practical preacher, and of an holy and unblameable conversation. He died of a quartan ague December 18, 1653, in an advanced age, very much lamented by his acquaintance and brethren.*

* He spent nine years in King's-college; and was never absent from publick prayers at the chapel, and constantly read fifteen chapters in the Bible every day. He was the laborious, exemplary, and much-loved minister, of whom none thought or spoke ill, says Mr. *Granger*, "but such as were inclined to think or speak ill of religion itself." He refused the provostship of King's-college in Cambridge; and had eight children, who lived to man's and woman's estate. Clarke's *Lives* in his *General Martyrology*, p. 234.—and *Granger's History of England*, vol. ii. p. 179, 8vo. Ed.



CHAP. III.

From the beginning of the Protectorship of OLIVER CROMWELL to his Death.

IF the reader will carefully review the divided state of the nation at this time, the strength of the several parties in opposite interests, and almost equal in power, each sanguine for his own scheme of settlement, and all conspiring against the present, he will be surpris'd that any wise man should be prevail'd with to put himself at the head of such a distracted body; and yet more, that such a genius should arise, who without any foreign alliances should be capable of guarding against so many foreign and domestick enemies, and of steering the commonwealth through such an hurricane, clear of the rocks and quicksands which threatened its ruin.

This was the province that the enterprising OLIVER undertook, with the stile and title of lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. He assumed all the state and ceremony of a crowned head; his household officers and guards attended in their places, and his court appeared in as great splendor, and more order, than had been seen at Whitehall since queen *Elizabeth's* reign. His first concern was to fill the courts of justice with the ablest lawyers; sir *Matthew Hales* was made lord chief justice of the common pleas; Mr. *Maynard*, *Twisden*, *Newdigate* and *Windham*, serjeants at law; Mr. *Thurloe*, secretary of state; and *Monk*, governor of Scotland. His next care was to deliver himself from his foreign enemies; for this purpose he gave peace to the Dutch, which the fame of his power enabled him to accomplish without the ceremony of a formal treaty; he therefore sent his secretary *Thurloe* with the conditions to which they were to submit; the Dutch pleaded for abatements, but his HIGHNESS was at a point, and oblig'd them to deliver up the island of Polerone in the East-Indies; to pay three hundred thousand pounds for the affair of Amboyna;

to

to abandon the interests of king *Charles* II. to exclude the prince of *Orange* from being stadtholder, and to yield up the sovereignty of the seas.

When this was accomplished most of the sovereign princes in Europe sent to compliment his *Highness* upon his advancement, and to cultivate his friendship: the king of Portugal asked pardon for receiving prince *Rupert* into his ports; the Danes got themselves included in the Dutch treaty, and became security for one hundred and forty thousand pounds damages done to the English shipping; the Swedes sued for an alliance, which was concluded with their ambassador; the crown of Spain made offers which the protector rejected; but the address of the French ambassador was most extraordinary; the protector received him in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, with all the state and magnificence of a crowned head; and the ambassador, having made his obeisance, acquainted his *Highness* with the king his master's desire to establish a correspondence between his dominions and England. He mentioned the value of the friendship of France, and how much it was courted by the greatest potentates of the earth; "but (says the ambassador) the king my master communicates his resolutions to none with so much joy and cheerfulness, as to those whose virtuous actions, and extraordinary merits, render them more conspicuously famous than the largeness of their dominions. His majesty is sensible, that all these advantages do wholly reside in your HIGHNESS, and that the divine providence, after so many calamities, could not deal more favourably with these three nations, nor cause them to forget their past miseries with greater satisfaction, than by subjecting them to so just a government——"

The protector's most dangerous enemies were the royalists, presbyterians, and republicans at home; the former menaced him with an assassination, upon which he declared openly, that though he would never begin so detestable a practice, yet if any of the king's party should attempt it and fail, he would make an assassinating war of it, and exterminate the whole family, which his servants were ready to execute; the terror of this threatening was a greater security to him than his coat

coat of mail or guards. The protector had the skill always to discover the most secret designs of the royalists by some of their own number, whom he spared no cost to gain over to his interests. Sir *Richard Willis* was chancellor *Hyde*'s chief confidant, to whom he wrote often, and in whom all the party confided, as in an able and wise statesman; but the protector gained him with two hundred pounds a year, by which means he had all the king's party in a net, and let them dance in it at pleasure.* He had another correspondent in the king's little family, one *Manning* a roman catholic, who gave secretary *Thurloe* intelligence of all his majesty's councils and proceedings. But though the king's friends were always in one plot or other against the protector's person and government, he always behaved with decency towards them, as long as they kept within tolerable bounds; and without all question, the severe laws that were made against the episcopal party were not on the account of religion, but of their irreconcilable aversion to the government.

The whole body of the *presbyterians* were in principle for the king and the covenant, but after the battle of Worcester, and the execution of Mr. *Love*, they were terrified into a compliance with the commonwealth, though they disallowed their proceedings, and were pleased to see them broken in pieces; but the surprising advancement of *Cromwell* to the protectorship filled them with new terrors, and threatened the overthrow of their *church power*, for they considered him not only as an *usurper*, but a *sectarian*, who would countenance the free exercise of religion to all that would live peaceably under his government; and though he assured them he would continue religion upon the foot of the present establishment, yet nothing would satisfy them as long as their discipline was disarmed of its coercive power.

But the protector's most determined adversaries were the *commonwealth party*; these were divided into two branches; one had little or no religion, but were for a democracy in the state, and universal liberty of conscience in religion; the heads of them were *deists*, or in the language of the protector, *heathens*, as *Algernoon Sidney*, *Henry Neville*, *Martin*, *Wildman*, and *Harington*. It was impossible to work upon these men,

* Burnet, p. 91, vol. i. Edin. Ed.

or reconcile them to the government of a single person, and therefore he disarmed them of their power. The *other* were high enthusiasts, and fifth monarchy men, who were in expectation of *king Jesus*, and of a glorious thousand years reign of Christ upon earth. They were for pulling down churches, (says bishop *Burnet**) for discharging tithes, and leaving religion free (as they called it) without either encouragement or restraint. Most of them were for destroying the clergy, and for breaking every thing that looked like a national establishment. These the protector endeavoured to gain, by assuring them in private conversation, “ that he had no manner
“ of inclination to assume the government, but had rather
“ have been content with a shepherd’s staff, were it not absolutely necessary to keep the nation from falling to pieces,
“ and becoming a prey to the common enemy; that he only
“ stood in between the living and the dead, as he expressed it,
“ and this only till God should direct them on what bottom
“ to settle, when he would surrender his dignity with a joy
“ equal to the sorrow with which he had taken it up.” With the chiefs of this party he affected to converse upon terms of great familiarity, shutting the door, and making them sit down covered in his presence, to let them see how little he valued those distances he was bound to observe for form sake with others; he talked with them in their own language, and the conversation commonly ended with a long prayer.

The protector’s chief support against these powerful adversaries were the *independants*, the *city of London*, and the *army*; the former looked upon him as the head of their party, though he was no more their’s than as he was averse to church power, and for an universal toleration. He courted the city of London with a decent respect, declaring, upon all occasions, his resolution to confirm their privileges, and consult measures for promoting trade and commerce. These, in return, after his instalment, entertained him at dinner in a most magnificent and princelike manner, and by degrees modelled their magistrates to his mind. But his chief dependance was upon the army, which being made up of different parties, he took care to reform by degrees, till they were in a manner entirely at his devotion. He paid the

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 93.

soldiers well, and advanced them according to their merits, and zeal for his government, without regard to their birth or seniority.

It was the protector's felicity, that the parties above-mentioned had as great an enmity to each other as to him; the *cavaliers* hated the *presbyterians* and *republicans*, as *these* did the *cavaliers*; the *royalists* fancied that all who were against the protector must join with them in restoring the king; while the *presbyterians* were pushing for their covenant uniformity, and the *republicans* for a commonwealth. *Cromwell* had the skill not only to keep them divided, but to increase their jealousies of each other, and by that means to disconcert all their measures against himself. Let the reader recollect what a difficult situation this was; and what a *genius* it must require to maintain so high a reputation abroad, in the midst of so many domestick enemies, who were continually plotting his destruction.

In pursuance of the *instrument of government*, the protector published an ordinance, April 12, to incorporate the two kingdoms of Scotland and England. The ordinance sets forth, "that whereas the parliament in 1651 had sent commissioners
" into Scotland, to invite that nation to an union with Eng-
" land under one government; and whereas the consent of
" the shires and boroughs was then obtained, therefore for
" compleating that work, he ordains, that the people of Scot-
" land, and all the territories thereunto belonging, shall be
" incorporated into one commonwealth with England, and
" that in every parliament to be held successively for the said
" commonwealth thirty members shall be called from thence
" to serve for Scotland.—" Shortly after Ireland was incorporated after the same manner; and from this time the arms of Scotland and Ireland were quartered with those of England.

But the protector was hardly fixed in his chair before an assassination plot of the royalists was discovered, and three of the conspirators (*viz.*) Mr. *Fox*, Mr. *Gerhard*, and Mr. *Vowel*, were apprehended, and tried before an high court of justice, for conspiring to murder the lord protector as he was going to Hampton-Court, to seize the guards, and the tower of London; and to proclaim the king. Mr. *Fox*, who confessed
most

most of what was alledged against him, pleaded guilty, and was reprieved; but the other two, putting themselves on their trial, though they denied the jurisdiction of the court, were convicted, and executed July 10. *Gerhard*, a young hot-headed ensign in the late king's army being beheaded; and *Vowel*, a school-master at Islington, hanged at Charing-cross: *Gerhard* confessed he knew of the plot, but *Vowel* was silent.* These commotions were the occasion of the hardships the royalists underwent some time after.

Don Pantaleon Sa, brother of the *Portuguese* ambassador, was beheaded the same day, upon account of a riot and murder in the new Exchange. *Pantaleon* had quarrelled with the above-mentioned *Gerhard*, and to revenge himself, brought his servants next day armed with swords and pistols to kill him; but instead of *Gerhard*, they killed another man, and wounded several others. The *Portuguese* knight, and his associates, fled to his brother the ambassador's house for sanctuary, but the mob followed them, and threatened to pull down the house, unless they were delivered up to justice. The *protector*, being informed of the tumult, sent an officer with a party of soldiers to demand the murderers. The ambassador pleaded his publick character, but the *protector* would admit of no excuse; and therefore being forced to deliver them up, they were all tried and convicted, by a jury half *English* and half foreigners; the servants (says *Whitlocke*†) were reprieved and pardoned; but the ambassador's brother, who was the principal, notwithstanding all the intercession that could be made for his life, was carried in a mourning-coach to Tower-hill, and beheaded. This remarkable act of justice raised the people's esteem of the *protector's* resolution, and of the justice of his government.

* Mr. *Neal's* account, as Dr. *Grey* remarks, does not agree with lord *Clarendon*: who represents *Vowel* as earnestly and pathetically addressing the people, and the soldiers, exhorting them to loyalty: and *Gerhard* as declaring, "that he was innocent, and had not entered into or consented to any plot, nor given any countenance to any discourse to that purpose." *Whitlocke* says, that when they were brought before the High Court, they both denied all the charges alledged against them. *Clarendon's History*, vol. iii. p. 492; *Whitlocke's Memoirs*, p. 575.

† *Mem.* p. 577.

In order to a further settlement of the nation, the protector summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, Sept. 3d; which being reckoned one of his auspicious days, he would not alter, though it fell on a *Sunday*; the house met accordingly, and having waited upon the protector in the painted chamber, adjourned to the next day, September 4, when his HIGHNESS rode from Whitehall to Westminster with all the pomp and state of the greatest monarch; some hundreds of gentlemen went before him uncovered; his pages and lacqueys in the richest liveries; the captains of his guards on each side his coach, with their attendants, all uncovered; then followed the commissioners of the treasury, master of ceremonies, and other officers. The sword, the great seal, the purse, and four maces, were carried before him by their proper officers.

After a sermon preached by Dr. *Tho. Goodwin*, his Highness* repaired to the painted chamber, and being seated in a chair of state, raised by fundry steps, he made a speech to the members, in which he complained of the *levellers* and fifth monarchy men, who were for subverting the established laws, and for throwing all things back into confusion. He put them in mind of the difficulties in which the nation was involved at the time he assumed the government. “ That
 “ it was at war with Portugal, Holland, and France; which
 “ together with the division among ourselves (says he)
 “ begat a confidence in the enemy that we could not hold
 “ out long. In this heap of confusion it was necessary to
 “ apply some remedy, that the nation might not sink; and
 “ the remedy (says he) is THIS GOVERNMENT, which is
 “ calculated for the interest of the people alone, without
 “ regard to any other, let men say what they will; I can
 “ speak with comfort before a greater than you all as to my
 “ own intention. Since this government has been erected,
 “ men of the most known integrity and ability have been
 “ put into seats of justice. The chancery has been reform-
 “ ed. It has put a stop to that heady way for every man
 “ that will, to make himself a preacher, by settling a way
 “ for approbation of men of piety and fitness for the work.
 “ It hath taken care to expunge men unfit for that work;

* Whitlocke, p. 582.

“ and

“and now, at length, it has been instrumental of calling a free parliament.

“A peace is now made with Sweden, and with the Danes; a peace honourable to the nation, and satisfactory to the merchants. A peace is made with the Dutch, and with Portugal; and such an one that the people that trade thither have liberty of conscience, without being subject to the bloody inquisition.” He then advises them to concert measures for the support of the present government, and desires them to believe, that he spoke to them not as one that intended to be a lord over them; but as one that was resolved to be a fellow-servant with them for the interest of their country; and then, having exhorted them to unanimity, he dismissed them to their house to choose a speaker.

William Lenthall, esq; master of the rolls, and speaker of the long parliament, was chosen without opposition. The first point the house entered on was the *instrument of government*; which occasioned many warm debates, and was like to have occasioned a fatal breach amongst them. To prevent this the protector gave orders, Sept. 12, that as the members came to the house they should be directed to attend his highness in the painted chamber, where he made the following remarkable speech, which is deserving the reader's careful attention:

Gentlemen, I am surpris'd at your conduct, in debating so freely the *instrument of government*, for the same power that has made you a parliament has appointed me PROTECTOR; so that if you dispute the one, you must disown the other.* He added, that he was a gentleman by birth, and had been called to several employments in parliament, and in the wars, which being at an end, he was willing to retire to a private life, and prayed to be dismissed, but could not obtain it. That he had pressed the *long parliament*, as a member, to dissolve themselves; but finding they intended to continue their sessions, he thought himself obliged to dismiss them, and to call some persons together from the several parts of the nation, to see if they could fall upon a better settlement. Accordingly he resigned up all his power into their hands, but they after some time returned it back to him. After this (says he) *divers gentlemen hav-*

* Dugdale's Late Troubles, p. 426, &c.

“ing

“ *ing consulted together, framed the present model without m*
 “ *privity, and told me, that unless I would undertake the same*
 “ *blood and confusion would break in upon them; but I re*
 “ *fused again and again, till considering that it did not pu*
 “ *me into an higher capacity than I was in before, I con*
 “ *sented; since which time I have had the thanks of the army*
 “ *the fleet, the city of London, and of great numbers of gen*
 “ *try in the three nations. Now the government being*
 “ *thus settled, I apprehend there are four fundamentals which*
 “ *may not be examined into, or altered. (1.) That the go*
 “ *vernment be in a single person and a parliament. (2.) Tha*
 “ *parliaments be not perpetual. (3.) The article relating*
 “ *to the militia. And, (4.) A due liberty of conscience in*
 “ *matters of religion. Other things in the government ma*
 “ *be changed as occasion requires. For as much therefor*
 “ *as you have gone about to subvert the fundamentals of thi*
 “ *government, and throw all things back into confusion, to*
 “ *prevent the like for the future I am necessitated to appoin*
 “ *you a test, or recognition of the government, by which you*
 “ *are made a parliament, before you go any more into the*
 “ *house.”** Accordingly at their return, they found a guard
 at the door denying entrance to any who would not first sign
 the following engagement. *I A. B. do hereby freely promise*
and engage to be true and faithful to the lord protector of the
commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and will not
propose or give my consent to alter the government, as it is settled
in one single person and a parliament. About three hundred
 of the members signed the recognition, and having taken their
 places in the house, with some difficulty confirmed the *instru*
ment of government almost in every thing, but the right of
 nominating a successor to the present protector; which they
 reserved to the parliament. They voted the present lord
 protector to continue for life. They continued the standing
 army of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, and
 sixty thousand pounds a month for their maintenance. They
 gave the *protector* two hundred thousand pounds a year for
 his civil list, and assigned Whitehall, St. James’s, and the rest
 of the late king’s houses for his use; but they were out of
 humour, and were so far from shewing respect to the court

* Whitlocke, p. 587.

that they held no manner of correspondence with it; which, together with their voting, that *no one clause of what they had agreed upon should be binding, unless the whole were consented to*, provoked the *protector*,* as derogating from his power of consenting to, or refusing particular bills, and therefore, having discovered several plots against his government ready to break out, in which some of the members were concerned, he sent for them into the painted chamber, Jan. 22; and after a long and intricate speech, in which, after some strong expressions in favour of liberty to men of the same faith, though of different judgments in lesser matters, he complained, that they had taken no more notice of him, either by message or address, than if there had been no such person in being; that they had done nothing for the honour and support of the government, but spent their time in fruitless debates of little consequence, while the nation was bleeding to death; and instead of making things easy, that they had laid a foundation for future dissatisfactions; he therefore dissolved them, without confirming any of their acts, after they had sat five months, according to the *instrument of government*, reckoning *twenty-eight days* to a month. This was deemed an unpopular action, and a renouncing the additional title the parliament would have given him; but this GREAT MAN with the sword in his hand was not to be jostled out of the saddle with votes and resolutions; and if one may credit his speech, his assuming the government was not so much the effect of his own ambition, as of a bold resolution to prevent the nation's falling back into anarchy and blood.

Upon the rising of the parliament major-general *Harrison*, one of the chiefs of the *republicans*, was taken into custody; and Mr. *John Wildman*, who had been expelled the house, was apprehended as he was drawing up a paper, entitled, *A Declaration of the free and well-affected people of England now in arms against the tyrant OLIVER CROMWELL*; which prevented the rising of that party.†

The *royalists* were buying up arms at the same time, and preparing to rise in several parts of the kingdom.‡ They had procured commissions from the young king at Cologne,

* Life of Cromwell, p. 291.

† Whitlocke, p. 600.

‡ Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 551.

and

and desired his majesty to be ready on the sea-coast by the 11th of March, when there would be a revolt in the army, and when Dover castle would be delivered into their hands. The king accordingly removed to Middleburgh in Zealand; but the protector had intelligence of it from his spies, and declared it openly as soon as he was arrived, which intimidated the conspirators, and made them fear they were discovered: however, about the time appointed, some small parties of royalists got together in Shropshire with an intent to surprize Shrewsbury and Chirk castle. A cart-load of arms was brought to a place of rendezvous for the northern parts, where they were to be headed by *Wilmot* earl of *Rocheſter*; but they no ſooner met but they diſperſed for fear of being fallen upon by the regular troops. In the weſt ſir *Joſeph Wagſtaffe*, colonel *Penruddock*, captain *Hugh Grove*, Mr. *Jones*, and others, entered the city of *Salisbury*, with 200 horſe well armed, in the time of the aſſizes, and ſeized the judges *Rolls* and *Nichols*, with the ſheriff of the county, whom they reſolved to hang. They proclaimed the king, and threatened violence to ſuch as would not join them; but the country not coming in according to their expectations they were intimidated, and after five or ſix hours marched away into *Dorſetſhire*, and from thence to *Devonſhire*, where captain *Crook* overtook them, and with one ſingle troop of horſe defeated, and took moſt of them priſoners; *Penruddock* and *Grove* were beheaded at *Exeter*; and ſome few others were executed at *Salisbury*, the place where they had ſo lately triumphed.

The vigilance of the protector on this occaſion is almoſt incredible; he cauſed a great many ſuſpected lords and gentlemen to be ſecured; he ſent letters to the juſtices of peace in every county, whom he had already changed to his mind, commanding them to look out, and ſecure all perſons who ſhould make the leaſt diſturbance. And his private intelligence of people's diſcourſe and behaviour, in every corner of the land, never failed.*

If the reader will duly conſider the danger ariſing from theſe commotions, and the neceſſity of ſtriking ſome terror into the authors of them, he will eaſily account for the pro-

* *Whitlocke*, p. 602.

teſtor's ſeverity againſt the royaliſts; when therefore the inſurrection was quaſhed, he reſolved to make the *whole party* pay the expence; and accordingly, with the conſent of his council, publiſhed an order, “ that all who had been in arms
 “ for the king, or had declared themſelves of the *royal party*,
 “ ſhould be decimated; that is, pay a tenth part of their
 “ eſtates, to ſupport the charge of ſuch extraordinary forces
 “ as their turbulent and ſeditious practices obliged him to
 “ keep up; for which purpoſe commiſſioners were appointed
 “ in every county, and conſiderable ſums were brought into
 “ the treaſury.” To juſtify this extraordinary procedure, the proteſtor publiſhed another declaration; in which he complains of the irreconcilable-*neſs* of thoſe who had adhered to the king, towards all thoſe who had ſerved their country on the ſide of the parliament; that they were now to be looked upon as publick enemies, and to be kept from being able to do miſchief, ſince it ſufficiently appeared that they were always diſpoſed to do all they could. Upon theſe accounts he thought it highly reaſonable, and declares it to be his reſolution, that if any deſperate attempts were undertaken by them for the future, the whole party ſhould ſuffer for it.

To return to the affairs of religion: though the preſbyterian diſcipline was at a low ebb, it was ſtill the eſtabliſhed religion of the nation. The provincial aſſembly of London continued their ſeſſions at Sion college every half year, and endeavoured to ſupport the dignity of the miniſterial office. Complaint having been made that the pulpit doors were ſet open to laymen, and gifted brethren, they appointed a committee to collect materials for the vindication of the miniſterial character, which being reviſed by the ſynod, was publiſhed this ſummer under the title of *Jus Divinum Miniſterii Evangelici: or, the Divine Right of an Evangelical Miniſtry, in two parts. By the provincial aſſembly of London. With an appendix, of the judgment and practice of antiquity.*

In the debates of parliament upon the *inſtrument of government* it was obſerved, that by the thirty-ſeventh article, *all who profeſſed faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt ſhould be protected in their religion.** This was interpreted to imply an agree-

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 197.

ment in *fundamentals*. Upon which it was voted, that *all should be tolerated, or indulged, who professed the fundamentals of christianity*; and a committee was appointed to nominate certain divines to draw up a catalogue of *fundamentals* to be presented to the house: the committee being about fourteen, named each of them a divine; among others archbishop *Usher* was nominated, but he declining the affair, Mr. *Baxter* was appointed in his room; the rest who acted were

Dr. *Owen*
Dr. *Goodwin*
Dr. *Cheynel*
Mr. *Marshal*
Mr. *Reyner*

Mr. *Nye*
Mr. *Sydrach Simpson*
Mr. *Vines*
Mr. *Manton*
Mr. *Jacomb*.

Mr. *Baxter** would have persuaded his brethren to offer the committee the *apostles' creed*, the *Lord's prayer*, and the *ten commandments* alone, as containing the *fundamentals* of religion; but it was objected, that this would include *socinians* and *papists*. Mr. *Baxter* replied, that it was so much fitter for a centre of unity or concord, because it was impossible, in his opinion, to devise a form of words which hereticks would not subscribe, when they had perverted them to their own sense. These arguments not prevailing, the following articles were presented to the committee, but not brought into the house; under the title of *The Principles of Faith, presented by Mr. THO. GOODWIN, Mr. NYE, Mr. SYDRACH SIMPSON, and other ministers, to the committee of parliament for religion, by way of explanation to the proposals for propagating the gospel*.

1st. That *the holy scripture is that rule of knowing God, and living unto him, which whoso does not believe cannot be saved*.

2 Theff. ii. 10, 11, 12, 15. 1 Cor. xv. 1, 2, 3. 2 Cor. i. 13. John v. 39. 2 Peter ii. 1.

2^{dly}. That *there is a God, who is the creator, governor, and judge of the world, which is to be received by faith, and every other way of the knowledge of him is insufficient*.

Heb. xi. 3, 6. Rom. i. 19, 20, 21, 22. 1 Cor. i. 21. 2 Theff. i. 8.

* Life, part ii. p. 198.

3^{dly}. That

3dly. That *this God, who is the creator, is eternally distinct from all creatures in his being and blessedness.*

Rom. i. 18, 25. 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

4thly. That *this God is one in three persons or subsistences.*

1 John v. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, compared with John viii. 17, 18, 19, 21. Matth. xxviii. 19, compared with Ephes. iv. 4, 5, 6. 1 John ii. 22, 23. 2 John, ver. 9, 10.

5thly. That *Jesus Christ is the only mediator between God and man, without the knowledge of whom there no salvation.*

1 Tim. ii. 4, 5, 6. 2 Tim. iii. 15. 1 John, ii. 22. Acts iv. 10, 12. 1 Cor. iii. 10, 11.

6thly. That *this Jesus Christ is the true God.*

1 John, v. 29. Isaiah xlv. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.

7thly. That *this Jesus Christ is also true man.*

1 John, iv. 2, 3. 2 John, ver. 7.

8thly. That *this Jesus Christ is God and man in one person.*

1 Tim. iii. 16. Matth. xvi. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

9thly. That *this Jesus Christ is our redeemer, who by paying a ransom, and bearing our sins, has made satisfaction for them.*

Isa. liii. 11. 1 Pet. ii. 24, 25. 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3. 1 Tim. ii. 4, 5, 6.

10thly. That *this same Lord Jesus Christ is he that was crucified at Jerusalem, and rose again, and ascended into heaven.*

John viii. 24. Acts iv. 10, 11, 12. Acts x. 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43. 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Acts xxii. 8. Acts ii. 36.

11thly. That *this same Jesus Christ, being the only God and man in one person, remains for ever a distinct person from all saints and angels, notwithstanding their union and communion with him.*

Col. ii. 8, 9, 10, 19. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

12thly. That *all men by nature are dead in sins and trespasses; and no man can be saved unless he be born again, repent, and believe.*

John iii. 3, 5, 6, 7, 10. Acts xvii. 30, 31. Acts xxvi. 17, 18, 19, 20. Luke xxiv. 47. Acts xx. 20, 21. John v. 24, 25.

13thly. That *we are justified and saved by grace, and faith in Jesus Christ, and not by works.*

Acts xv. 24, *compared with* Gal. i. 6, 7, 8, 9. Gal. v. 2, 4, 5. Rom. ix. 31, 32, 33. Rom. x. 3, 4. Rom. i. 16, 17. Gal. iii. 11. Ephes. ii. 8, 9, 10.

14thly. That to continue in any known sin, upon what pretence or principle soever, is damnable.

Rom. i. 32. Rom. vi. 1, 2, 15, 16. 1 John, i. 6, 8.

1 John, iii. 3—8. 2 Pet. ii. 19, 20. Rom. viii. 13.

15thly. That God is to be worshipped according to his own will; and whosoever shall forsake and despise all the duties of his worship cannot be saved.

Jer. x. 15. Psalm xiv. 4. Jude, ver. 18, 19, 20, 21.

Rom. x. 13.

16thly. That the dead shall rise; and that there is a day of judgment, wherein all shall appear, some to go into everlasting life, and some into everlasting condemnation.

1 Tim. i. 19, 20, *compared with* 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18. Acts xvii. 30, 31. John v. 28, 29. 1 Cor. xv. 19.

Mr. Baxter* says, Dr. Owen worded these articles; that Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye and Mr. Simpson were his assistants; that Dr. Cheynel was scribe; and that Mr. Marshal, a sober, worthy man, did something; but that the rest were little better than passive. He adds, that twenty of their propositions were printed, though in my copy, licensed by Scobel, there are only sixteen: however, the parliament being abruptly dissolved they were all buried in oblivion.

It appears by these articles, that these divines intended to exclude, not only *deists*, *socinians*, and *papists*, but *arians*, *antinomians*, *quakers*, and others. Into such difficulties do wise and good men fall, when they usurp the kingly office of Christ, and pretend to restrain that liberty which is the birth-right of every reasonable creature. It is an unwarrantable presumption for any number of men to declare what is fundamental in the christian religion, any further than the scriptures have expressly declared it. It is one thing to maintain a doctrine to be true, and another to declare, that without the belief of it no man can be saved: none may say this but God himself. Besides, why should the civil magistrate protect none but those who profess *faith in God by Jesus Christ*? If a colony of *English* merchants should settle among the *Mahometans*

* Life, p. 205.

or *Chinese*, should we not think that the government of those countries ought to protect them in their religion as long as they invaded no man's property, and paid obedience and submission to the government under which they lived? Why then should christians deny others the same liberty?

The protector and his council were in more generous sentiments of liberty, as will appear hereafter.* Mr. *Baxter* says,† the protector and his friends gave out, that *they could not understand what the magistrates had to do in matters of religion; they thought that all men should be left to the liberty of their own consciences, and that the magistrate could not interpose without ensnaring himself in the guilt of persecution.* And were not these just and noble sentiments, though the parliament would not accept them? His highness therefore, in his speech at their dissolution, reproaches them in these words:‡——
 “How proper is it to labour for liberty, that men should not
 “be trampled upon for their consciences? Had we not lately
 “laboured under the weight of persecution; and is it fit then
 “to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and
 “not to give it? What greater hypocrisy, than for those
 “who were oppressed by the bishops to become the greatest
 “oppressors themselves, so soon as their yoke is removed?
 “I could wish, that they who call for liberty now also, had
 “not too much of that spirit, if the power were in their hands.
 “As for profane persons, blasphemers, such as preach sedi-
 “tion, contentious railers, evil-speakers, who seek by evil
 “words to corrupt good manners, and persons of loose con-
 “versation, punishment from the civil magistrate ought to
 “meet with them; because if these pretend conscience, yet
 “walking disorderly, and not according, but contrary to the
 “gospel and natural light, they are judged of all, and their
 “sins being open, make them the subject of the magistrates’
 “sword, who ought not to bear it in vain——”

Agreeable to these principles, Dr. *George Bates*, an eminent royalist, and a great enemy of *Cromwell*’s, writes, “that the
 “protector indulged the use of the common-prayer in families,

* “Bigotry,” says Dr. *Harris*, “made no part of *Cromwell*’s character:” and he proves the truth of his assertion by a full elucidation and a minute detail. *Life of Cromwell*, p. 37—45. Ed.

† *Life*, p. 193.

‡ *Life of Cromwell*, p. 307.

“ and in private conventicles; and though the condition of
 “ the church of England was but melancholy, yet (says the
 “ doctor) it cannot be denied, but they had a great deal more
 “ favour and indulgence than under the parliament; which
 “ would never have been interrupted had they not insulted
 “ the protector, and forfeited their liberty by their seditious
 “ practices, and plottings against his person and government.”

The approbation of publick ministers had been hitherto reserved to the severall presbyteries in city and country; but the protector observing some inconvenience in this method, and not being willing to entrust the qualification of candidates all over England to a number of *presbyterians* only, who might admit none but those of their own persuasion, contrived a middle way of joining the severall parties together, and intrusting the affair with certain commissioners of each denomination, men of as known abilities and integrity as any the nation had.* This was done by an ordinance of council, bearing date March 20, 1653-4; the preamble to which sets forth, “ that whereas for some time past, there had not been
 “ any certain course established for supplying vacant places
 “ with able and fit persons to preach the gospel, by reason
 “ whereof the rights and titles of patrons were prejudiced,
 “ and many weak, scandalous, popish, and ill-affected persons
 “ had intruded themselves, or been brought in; for remedy
 “ of which it is ordained by his highness the lord protector,
 “ by and with the consent of his council, that every person
 “ who shall, after the 25th of March, 1654, be presented,
 “ nominated, chosen, or appointed to any benefice with care
 “ of souls, or to any publick settled lecture in England or
 “ Wales, shall, before he be admitted, be examined and approved by the persons hereafter named, to be a person, for
 “ the grace of God in him, his holy and unblamable conversation, as also for his knowledge and utterance, able and
 “ fit to preach the gospel.” Among the commissioners were eight or nine laymen, the rest ministers; their names were,

Francis Rouse, esq;
 Alderman Titchbourne
 Mark Hildesley, esq;

Thomas Wood, esq;
 John Sadler, esq;
 William Goffe, esq;

* Baxter's Life, p. 72.

† Scobel, p. 279.

Thomas St. Nicholas, esq;
William Packer, esq;
Edward Cresset, esq;

Rev. Dr. *John Owen*
 Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*
 Dr. *Arrowsmith*
 Dr. *Tuckney*
 Dr. *Horton*
Thankful Owen, M. A.
Mr. Joseph Caryl
Mr. Philip Nye
Mr. William Carter
Mr. Sydrach Simpson
Mr. William Greenhill
Mr. William Strong
Dr. Thomas Manton

Rev. Mr. *Samuel Slater*
 Mr. *William Cooper*
 Mr. *Stephen Marshall*
John Tombes, B. D.
 Mr. *Walter Craddock*
 Mr. *Samuel Fairclough*
 Mr. *Hugh Peters*
 Mr. *Peter Sterry*
 Mr. *Samuel Bamford*
Thomas Valentine, of Chaford, B. D.
 Mr. *Henry Jesse*
 Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick*
 Mr. *Nicholas Lockyer*
 Mr. *Dan. Dike*
 Mr. *James Russel*
 Mr. *Nath. Campfield.*

These were commonly called TRYERS; in all thirty-eight; of whom some were presbyterians, others independants, and two or three were baptists. Any five were sufficient to approve; but no number under nine had power to reject a person as unqualified. In case of death, or removal of any of the commissioners, their numbers were to be filled up by the protector and his council; or by the parliament if sitting. But some of the presbyterian divines declined acting, for want of a better authority; or because they did not like the company; though the authority was as good as any these times could produce till the next sessions of parliament.* By an ordinance of Sept. 2, 1654, I find the Rev. Mr. *John Rowe*, Mr. *John Bond*, Mr. *George Griffith* of the Charter-house, Mr. *John Turner*, and *Godfrey Bosville, esq;* added to the commissioners above-mentioned.

To such as were approved, the commissioners gave an *instrument* in writing under a common seal for that purpose, by virtue of which they were put into as full possession of the living to which they were nominated or chosen, as if they had been admitted by institution and induction.

It was further provided, that all who presented themselves for approbation should produce a certificate signed by three persons at least of known integrity, one of whom to be a

* Scobel, p. 366.

preacher of the gospel in some settled place, testifying on their personal knowledge, the holy and good conversation of the person to be admitted; which certificate was to be registered and filed. And *all penalties for not subscribing, or reading the articles of religion, according to the act of 13th Eliz. were to cease and be void.*

And for as much as some persons might have been preferred to livings within the last twelvemonth, when there was no settled method of approbation, the ordinance looks back, and ordains, “that no person who had been placed in any benefice or lecture since April 1, 1653, should be allowed to continue in it, unless he got himself approved by the 24th of June, or at furthest the 23d of July, 1654.”

It is observable, that this ordinance provides no security for the civil government, the commissioners not being empowered to administer an oath of allegiance or fidelity to the protector. By this means some of the sequestered clergy, taking advantage of the act of oblivion in 1651, passed their trials before the commissioners and returned to their livings. The protector being advised of this defect, by advice of his council, published an additional ordinance, Sept. 2, 1654, requiring the commissioners not to give admission to any who had been sequestered from their ecclesiastical benefices for delinquency, till by experience of their conformity, and submission to the present government, his *highness* and his council should be satisfied of their fitness to be admitted into ecclesiastical promotions; and the same to be signified to the said commissioners.* Both these ordinances were confirmed by parliament in the year 1656, with this proviso, “that the commissioners appointed by his *highness* in the intervals of parliament should afterwards be confirmed by the succeeding parliament.” Another defect in the ordinance was, that it did not appoint some standard or rule for the TRYERS to go by; this would have taken off all odium from themselves, and prevented a great many needless disputes; but as matters now stood, men’s qualifications were perhaps left too much to the arbitrary opinions and votes of the commissioners. After examination they gave the candidate a copy of the presentation in these words:† “Know all men by these presents,

* Scobel, p. 366.

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 247.

“ that the — day of — in the year — there was
 “ exhibited to the commissioners for examination of publick
 “ ministers, a presentation of Mr. — to the rectory of
 “ —, in the county of —, made to him by Mr. —,
 “ the patron thereof, under his hand and seal, together with
 “ a testimony of his holy and godly conversation. Upon pe-
 “ rusal, and due consideration of the premises, and finding
 “ him to be a person qualified, as in and by the ordinance for
 “ such qualifications is required, the commissioners above-
 “ mentioned have adjudged and approved the said Mr. —
 “ — to be a fit person to preach the gospel, and have granted
 “ him admision, and do admit the said Mr. — to
 “ the rectory of — afore said, to be full and perfect pos-
 “ sessor and incumbent thereof: and do hereby signify to all
 “ persons concerned therein, that he is hereby intituled to all
 “ the profits and perquisites, and to all rights and dues inci-
 “ dent and belonging to the said rectory, as fully and effec-
 “ tually as if he had been instituted and inducted according
 “ to any such laws and customs as have in this case formerly
 “ been made or used in this realm. In witness whereof they
 “ have caused the common seal to be hereunto affixed, and
 “ the same to be attested by the hand of the register, by his
 “ *hightness* in that behalf appointed. Dated at — the
 “ — day of — in the year —

(L. S.)

John Nye, Reg.

Loud complaints have been made against these TRYERS; Mr. Collier objects to there being eight laymen among the commissioners, and that any five having power to act, it might sometimes happen that none but secular men might determine the qualifications of such who were to preach and administer the sacraments.

Mr. John Goodwin, an independant divine of *arminian* principles, observes, the *tryers* made their own narrow *calvinian* sentiments in divinity the door of admision to all church preferments; and that their power was greater than that of the bishops, because the laws had provided a remedy against their arbitrary proceedings, by a *quare impedit*; or if the bishop might determine absolutely of the qualifications of the *candidate* or *clerk* to be admitted into a living, yet these qua-
 lifications

fications were sufficiently specified, and particularized in the ecclesiastical laws or canons, and the bishop might be obliged, by due course of law, to assign the reasons of his refusal; whereas the determinations of these commissioners for *approbation* were final; nor were they obliged so much as to specify any reason for their rejecting any person, but only their vote, *not approved*.

It was further complained of as a very great hardship, that “there was but one set of *tryers* for the whole nation, who resided always at London, which must occasion great expence, and long journies, to such as lived in the remoter countries.” But to remedy this inconvenience, Dr. *Walker* says,* they appointed sub-commissioners in the remoter countries. And (according to Mr. *Baxter*) if any were unable to come to London, or were of doubtful qualifications, the commissioners of London used to refer them to some ministers in the country where they lived; and under their testimonial they approved or rejected them. Amidst such variety of sentiments it was next to impossible to please all parties; when there were no *tryers*, the complaint was, that the pulpit doors were left open to all intruders, and now they cannot agree upon any one method of examination. And it must be left to every one’s judgment, whether a bishop and his chaplain, or a classis of presbyters, or the present mixture, of *laity* and *clergy* be most eligible.

The chief objections against these TRYERS has been to the manner of ~~exercising~~ executing their powers. Bishop *Kennet* says,† “that this holy inquisition was turned into a snare to catch men of probity and sense, and sound divinity, and to let none escape but ignorant, bold, canting fellows; for these *tryers* (says the bishop) asked few or no questions in knowledge or learning, but only about conversion, and the grace of God in the heart, to which the readiest answers would arise from infatuation in some, and the trade of hypocrisy in others. By this means the rights of patronage were at their pleasure, and the character and abilities of divines whatever they pleased to make them, and churches were filled with little creatures of the state.” But the bishop has produced no examples of this; nor were any of these

* Walker, p. 172.

† Complete History, p. 209.

canting little creatures turned out for insufficiency at the restoration. Dr. *George Bates*, an eminent royalist, with a little more temper and truth, says, “ that they enquired more narrowly into their affection to the present government, and “ into the internal marks and character of the grace of God “ in their heart, than into their learning; by which means “ many ignorant laicks, mechanicks, and pedlars, were admitted to livings, when persons of greater merit were rejected.” But it may be observed again, that, ignorant, as they were, not one of the *mechanicks* or *pedlars* who conformed at the restoration was ejected for insufficiency. When the commissioners had to do with persons of known learning, sobriety, reputed orthodoxy, and a peaceable behaviour, they made but little enquiry into the marks of their conversion; as appears from the example of Mr. *Fuller* the historian, who being presented to a living was approved by the *tryers*, without giving any other evidence of the grace of God in him than this, *that he made conscience of his thoughts*.

Dr. *Walker* has published the examinations of two or three clergymen, who were notorious for their malignity and disaffection to the government, whom the commissioners puzzled with dark and abstruse questions in divinity, that they might set them aside, without encountering their political principles; for when they had private intimations of *notorious malignants* to come before them, they frequently had recourse to this method; though it is not unlikely that upon some other occasions, they might lay too great stress upon the internal characters of regeneration, the truth of which depends entirely upon the integrity of the respondent. But I believe not a single instance can be produced, of any who were rejected for insufficiency without being first convicted either of immorality, of obnoxious sentiments in the *socinian* or *pelagian* controversy, or of disaffection to the present government. Mr. *Sadler*, who was presented to a living in Dorsetshire, but rejected by the *tryers*, published his examination in a pamphlet, which he calls, *Inquisitio Anglicana*, wherein he endeavours to expose the commissioners in a very contemptuous manner; but Mr. *John Nye*, clerk to the commissioners, followed him with an answer, intitled, *Sadler examined; or, his disguise discovered*: shewing the gross mistakes, and most notorious falsehoods in

in his dealings with the commissioners for approbation of publick preachers,* in his *Inquisitio Anglicana*. To which Mr. Sadler never replied.

Doctor George Bates, and Dr. Walker, have charged the tryers with simony, upon no other proof, but that *Hugh Peters* said once to Mr. Camplin, a clergyman of Somersetshire, upon his applying to him, by a friend, for dispatch, *Has thy friend any money?* A slender proof of so heavy a charge. They who are acquainted with the jocular conversation of *Hugh Peters*, will not wonder at such an expression. But I refer the reader back to the names and characters of the commissioners, most of whom were men of unquestionable probity, for a sufficient answer to this calumny.

No doubt the tryers did commit fundry mistakes, which it was hardly possible to avoid in their station. I am far from vindicating all their proceedings; they had a difficult work on their hands, lived in times when the extent of christian liberty was not well understood, had to deal with men of different principles in religion and politicks; and those who were *not approved*, would of course complain. Had this power been lodged with the bishops of these times, or their chaplains; or with the high presbyterians, would they not have had their *shibboleth*, for which ill-natured men might have called them an *holy inquisition*? But Mr. Baxter has given a very fair and candid account of them; his words are these, “ Because this assembly of tryers is most heavily accused and reproached by some men, I shall speak the truth of them, and suppose my word will be taken, because most of them took me for one of their boldest adversaries: the truth is, though their authority was null, and though some few over-rigid and over-busy *independants* among them were too severe against all that were *arminians*, and too particular in enquiring after evidences of sanctification in those whom they examined; and somewhat too lax in admitting of unlearned and erroneous men, that favoured *antimonianism* or *anabaptism*; yet to give them their due, they did abundance of good to the church. They saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers, that sort of men who intend no more in the ministry than to say a sermon, as readers

* Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 370.

“ say their common prayers on *Sunday*, and all the rest of
 “ the week go with the people to the ale-house, and harden
 “ them in sin; and that sort of ministers who either preached
 “ against a holy life, or preached as men that were never
 “ acquainted with it: these they usually rejected, and in their
 “ stead admitted of any that were able, serious preachers,
 “ and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they
 “ were; so that though many of them were a little partial for
 “ the independants, separatists, fifth monarchy men, and an-
 “ abaptists, and against the prelatists and arminians, yet so
 “ great was the benefit above the hurt which they brought
 “ to the church, that many thousands of souls blessed God
 “ for the faithful ministers whom they let in, and grieved
 “ when the prelatists afterwards cast them out again.”*

The commissioners were not empowered to look further back than one year, before the date of the ordinance that constituted them. All who were in possession of livings before that time were out of their reach; nor would the *protector* have given these any disturbance, had he not received certain information of their stirring up the people, to join the insurrection that was now on foot for the restoration of the king. They continued sitting at Whitehall till the protector's death, or the year 1659, and were then discontinued.

But to humble the clergy yet further, and keep them within the bounds of their spiritual function, his highness, by the advice of his council, published an ordinance, bearing date Aug. 28, 1654, entitled, an ordinance for ejecting *scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and school-masters*. The ordinance appoints and nominates certain *lay-commissioners* for every county, and joins with them ten or more of the gravest, and most noted ministers, as their assistants, and empowers any five, or more of them, to call before them any publick preacher, lecturer, parson, vicar, curate, or school-master, who is or shall be reputed *ignorant, scandalous, insufficient, or negligent*; and to receive all articles or charges that shall be exhibited against them on this account; and to proceed to the examination and determination of such offences, according to the following rules.†

* Baxter's Life, p. 72.

† Scobel, p. 335, 340.

“ Such

“ Such ministers and school-masters shall be accounted
 “ *scandalous* in their lives and conversations, as shall hold or
 “ maintain such blasphemous or atheistical opinions, as are
 “ punishable by the act, entitled an act against several blas-
 “ phemous and atheistical opinions, &c. or that shall be guilty
 “ of profane swearing and cursing, perjury, and subornation
 “ of perjury; such as maintain any popish opinions, required
 “ to be abjured by the oath of abjuration; or are guilty of
 “ adultery, fornication, drunkenness, common haunting of
 “ taverns, or ale-houses; frequent quarrellings or fightings;
 “ frequent playing at cards or dice; profaning of the sabbath;
 “ or that do allow and countenance the same in their families,
 “ or in their parishes. *Such as have frequently read or used*
 “ *the common prayer book in publick since the first of Jan. last;*
 “ *or shall at any time hereafter do the same.* Such as pub-
 “ lickly and profanely scoff at the strict profession, or pro-
 “ fessors of godliness. Such as encourage or countenance
 “ *Whitson-ales, wakes, morrice-dancing, may-poles, stage-plays,*
 “ or such-like licentious practices. Such as have declared,
 “ or shall declare by writing, preaching, or otherwise pub-
 “ lishing, their disaffection to the present government.

“ Such ministers shall be accounted *negligent*, as omit the
 “ publick exercise of preaching and praying on the Lord’s
 “ day (not being hindered by necessary absence or infirmity
 “ of body;) or that are, or shall be non-residents. Such
 “ school-masters shall be accounted *negligent* as absent them-
 “ selves from their schools, and wilfully neglect to teach their
 “ scholars.

“ Such ministers or school-masters shall be accounted *igno-*
 “ *rant* and *insufficient*, as shall be so declared and adjudged by
 “ the commissioners in every county, or any five of them,
 “ together with five of the ministers mentioned in the ordi-
 “ nance.”

The lay-commissioners were to proceed upon oath, both
 for and against the person accused; but in cases of *ignorance*
 or *insufficiency*, they were to be joined by five of the assistant
 clergy at least; and if ten of the commissioners, whereof five
 to be ministers, gave it under their hands, that the party was
ignorant or *insufficient*, then the said minister or school-master
 was to be ejected, and the said *judgment* entered in a register-
 book

book *with the reasons thereof*. After ejection, the party might not preach or teach school in the parish from whence he was ejected; but convenient time was to be allowed for his removal, and the *fifths* reserved for the support of his family. The rightful patron was to present to the vacant living an approved preacher; and in case of lapse it fell to the protector and his council.

This ordinance being confirmed by the parliament of 1656, gave great offence to the old clergy; Mr. *Gatford*, the sequestered rector of Denington, published a pamphlet, entitled *a Petition for the vindication of the use of Common-Prayer, &c.* occasioned by the late ordinance for ejecting scandalous ministers; as also thirty-seven queries concerning the said ordinance; which he presented to the parliament, which met Sept. 3, 1654; but they took no notice of it.

Mr. *Gatford* observes, that the protector and his council had no legal authority to make this, or any other ordinance, without consent of a parliament: whereas the *instrument of government* empowered them to provide for the safety of the state, by making laws till the parliament should meet. He observes further, that such a proceeding must justify his late majesty and council in all their illegal proceedings before the civil wars; that it would justify the high commission court; and that by the same authority, an ordinance might be published to eject freeholders out of their estates.

He complains, that the power of the commissioners is final, and admits of no appeal; that it looks back to crimes antecedent to the law for a twelvemonth; whereas it ought only to declare, that for the future such offences shall be punished with deprivation.

That the commissioners who were to sit in judgment upon the clergy were all *laymen*, the ministers being called in only in cases of ignorance and insufficiency; that the ordinance admits of the oath of one witness, provided it be supported with other concurrent evidence, which is contrary to the laws of God and man.

That some crimes in the ordinance were none at all, and others of a very doubtful nature; as how often a minister omitting to pray and preach in his pulpit should render him *negligent*; and what should be deemed *non-residence*. Above all,

all, he complains that the publick reading of the common-prayer should be ranked with the sins of swearing and drunkenness, and be an evidence of a scandalous life and conversation; which observation was unquestionably just.

To give the reader an example or two of the proceedings of the commissioners: those for Berkshire summoned Dr. *Pordage*, rector of Bradfield, to appear before them at Speenham-Land, near Newbury, to answer to divers articles of *blasphemy and heresy*. After several days hearing, and witnesses produced on both sides, the commissioners determined Dec. 8, 1654, that the said doctor was guilty of denying the deity of Christ; the merits of his precious blood and passion; and several other such-like opinions. It is further declared under the hands of six of the commissioners, and a sufficient number of *ministers* their assistants, that the said doctor was ignorant, and insufficient for the work of the ministry; it is therefore ordered, that the said doctor be, and he is hereby ejected out of the rectory of Bradfield, and the profits thereof; but the said commissioners do grant him time, till the 2d of Feb. to remove himself, his family, his goods and chattels, out of the said parsonage-house; and further time to remove his corn out of the barns, till the 23d of March.

The Oxford historian says, this *Pordage* was a Doctor by *Charientismus*, and had been preacher of St. *Lawrence church* in Reading before he came to Bradfield.* That he was a mystick enthusiast, and used to talk of the *fiery deity of Christ dwelling in the soul, and mixing itself with our flesh*.† He dealt much in *astrology*, and pretended to converse with the world of spirits. After his ejection he wrote against the commissioners a pamphlet, entitled, *Innocency appearing*; which was answered by Mr. *Christopher Fowler*, vicar of St.

* *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 450.

† Mr. *Neal* is not correct here. For, as Dr. *Grey* observes, this passage is not in the Oxford historian. It is probable that Mr. *Neal* took this charge against Dr. *Pordage*, either from his narrative of the proceedings of the commissioners, or from Mr. *Fowler*'s animadversions: though, by not specifying his author, the reader is led to suppose that the whole paragraph is grounded on the representation of the Oxford historian. He, it should be also noticed, does not ascribe a skill in *astrology* to Dr. *Pordage*; but says, that "Mr. *Ashmole* commended him for his knowledge in, or great affection to, *astronomy*." Ed.

Mary, Reading, in his *dominium meridianum*. However, the doctor was restored to his living at Bradfield at the restoration.

The Wiltshire commissioners summoned Mr. *Walter Busbnel*, vicar of Box near Malmesbury, before them, to answer to a charge of *drunkenness, profanation of the sabbath, gaming, and disaffection to the government*;* and after a full hearing, and proof upon oath, they ejected him. The vicar prepared for the press, ‘a Narrative of the proceedings of the commissioners appointed by O. Cromwell for ejecting scandalous and ignorant ministers, in the case of *Walter Busbnel*,’ &c. but it was not printed till the king’s restoration; and even then the commissioners did themselves justice in a reply, which they entitled, *a vindication of the Marlborough commissioners, by the commissioners themselves*. And Dr. *Chambers*, who was reproached by the said *Busbnel*, did himself justice in a distinct vindication. However, the vicar was restored to his vicarage in a lump with the rest at the restoration.

Upon the whole, the industrious Dr. *Walker* says, he can find no footsteps of the numbers of the clergy that were ejected by the commissioners, though he imagines they might be considerable. But I am well satisfied there were none of any considerable character; for there were not a great many zealous loyalists in livings at this time; and those that were had the wisdom to be silent about publick affairs, while they saw the eyes of the government were upon them in every corner of the land. The commissioners continued to act till some time after the protector’s death, and were a greater terror to the *fanatics and visionaries of those times*, than to the regular clergy of any denomination.

The protector and his council passed another ordinance, August 30, for the service of Wales, appointing sir *Hugh Owen*, and about eighteen other commissioners, for the six counties of South-Wales, with the county of Monmouth; and *Matthew Morgan*, with about twelve other commissioners, for the six counties of North-Wales; any three of which were empowered to call before them all such who, by au-

* This last, Dr. *Grey* supposes, was the main reason; for *Wood* says, “he continued at Box in good esteem the greatest part of the interrupted times, but was at length ejected from his living in the reign of *Oliver*.” *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 273. Ed.

thority of the *act for propagating the gospel in Wales*, had received or disposed of any of the profits of the rectories, vicarages, &c. in that principality; and to give an account upon oath, of all such rents and profits; and the surplus money in the hands of the commissioners, to be paid into the *exchequer*.*

To set this affair before the reader in one view: The principality of Wales, by reason of the poverty of the people, and the small endowments of church livings, was never well supplied with a learned or pious clergy; the people were generally very ignorant, and only one remove from heathens. In 1641 a petition was presented to the king and parliament, which declares, that there were not so many conscientious and constant preachers in Wales as there were counties; and that these were either silenced, or much persecuted.† The civil wars had made their condition worse; for as they generally adhered to the king, and received great numbers of *Irish* papists into their country, their preachers went into his majesty's service, or fled from their cures, when the parliament forces took possession of it. After the king's death the parliament passed the ordinance already mentioned, for the better propagating of the preaching of the gospel in Wales, and for ejecting scandalous ministers and school-masters, and for redress of some grievances; it bears date Feb. 22, 1649, and empowers the commissioners therein mentioned, or any twelve of them, to receive and dispose of all and singular rents, issues, and profits, of all ecclesiastical livings, impropriations, and glebe lands, within the said counties, which then were, or afterwards should be under sequestration, or in the disposal of the parliament, and out of them to order and appoint a constant yearly maintenance for such persons as should be recommended, and approved for the work of the ministry, or education of children; and for such other ministers as were then residing in the said counties. The ordinance to continue in force for three years, from March 25, 1650.

By virtue of this ordinance many clergymen were ejected, but not all, for in Montgomeryshire eleven or twelve remained, as did several in other counties; but all who were

* Scobel, p. 347.

† Calamy's Com. of Church and Dissenters, p. 47, note.

ejected for manifest scandal.* Afterwards complaints being made, that the people were turning *papists* or *heathens*, for want of the word of God, several were sent into Montgomeryshire, where there were at least sixteen preachers, of which ten were university men, the meanest of whom were approved and settled in parishes at the restoration. The commissioners were empowered to examine into the behaviour of such as were reputed *ignorant, insufficient, non-resident, scandalous, or enemies to the present government*. And it being impossible to fill up the vacant livings with such as could preach in the *Welsh* language, the revenues were to be collected and brought into a common treasury, out of which one hundred pounds per annum was to be given to sundry itinerant preachers in each county.

Dr. Walker says, that, from the account drawn up by the commissioners themselves in April 1652, it appears that there had been ejected in South-Wales, and Monmouthshire, one hundred seventy-five ministers; that is, fifty-six from the year 1645 to the time when this act took place, and one hundred and nineteen by the present commissioners. Mr. *Vavasor Powel*, who had a chief hand in the sequestrations, says, that by virtue of this act between fifty and sixty of the old clergy were dispossessed of their livings when he wrote. Upon the whole, the commissioners, who continued to act as long as the protector lived, charge themselves with between three hundred and twenty, and three hundred and thirty several and distinct livings; but there could not be an equal number of sequestered clergymen, because in the compass of seven years a great many must die; some fled, or were killed in the wars; in many parishes the tithes were not duly paid by reason of the confusion of the times, and the livings being but from five to ten or twenty pounds a year, most of the incumbents were pluralists. It is computed that about one half of the church lands and revenues in the principality of Wales, by the several accidents of death, desertion, sequestration, &c. fell into the hands of the government before the expiration of this ordinance in 1653, the profits of which, if duly collected and paid, must amount to a very considerable sum. There were thirteen counties in North and South

* Calamy's Comp. of Church and Dissenters, p. 47.

Wales within the limits of the commission; but the largest sum that the sequestrators and agents charge themselves with for the county of Brecknock, in any one year, till the year 1658, when the propagation had subsisted eight years, is one thousand five hundred forty-three pounds, by which the reader may make a tolerable computation of the whole; and if we may believe Mr. *Whitlocke*,* who lived through these times, in the year 1653 there were one hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen Welch counties, most of whom preached three or four times a week; that in every market-town there was a school-master, and in most great towns two able, learned, and university men; and that the tithes were all employed to the uses directed by act of parliament,† there can be no great reason to complain of the negligence of the commissioners.

The crimes for which the old clergy were ejected, were *malignancy, insufficiency, drunkenness, and negligence of their cures*. Mr. *Vavasor Powel* says, that of all the men they had put out in North-Wales, he knew not any that had the power of godliness, and very few the form; but that most of them were *unpreaching curates, or scandalous in their morals*. The commissioners affirm, that of the sixteen they had dispossessed in Cardiganshire, there were but three that were preachers, and those most scandalous livers. And Mr. *Baxter* admits, that they were all weak, and bad enough for the most part. But the writers on the other side say, that the commissioners had no regard to ability in preaching, or sobriety in conversation. And Dr. *Walker* thinks, the sequestered Welch clergy need no other vindication than to let the world know, that many of them were graduates in the university; as if every graduate must of course be possessed of all ministerial qualifications. There might possibly be some few pious and industrious

* Memor. p. 518.

† These uses and the proportions of the appropriation were as follows: viz. The tithes were divided into six parts; one of which went to the ejected ministers; a second to other settled and itinerant ministers; a third to maintain schools, of some of which the ejected ministers and their sons were masters; a fourth to the widows and children of the ejected ministers; a fifth to under officers, as treasurers, solicitors, sequestrators, &c.: and a sixth to the widows of ministers deceased. *Whitlocke's Mem.* p. 518; *Calamy's Church and Dissenters compared*, p. 47, note. Ed.

preachers

preachers among the ejected Welch clergy; but they who will argue very strenuously in favour of the body of them, must know very little of the country, or their manner of life.

It was not in the power of the commissioners to find a succession of pious and learned preachers in the Welch language; but to remedy this in the best manner they could, they appointed six itinerant preachers of university education for each county, to whom they allowed one hundred pounds a year; besides which, they sent out thirty-two ministers, of whom twenty-four were university men, and some of the rest good scholars; but these were too few for the work, though they were indefatigable in their labours. To supply what was further wanting, they approved of several *gifted laymen*, members of churches, to travel into the neighbourhood, and assist the people's devotions, and to these they allowed from seventeen to twenty pounds *per annum*. In an article of the sequestrators' accompts there appears three hundred and forty pounds *per annum* distributed among godly members of the church of Lanvacles, and Mynthist Loyn, who had been sent out to exercise their gifts among the Welch mountaineers, and to help forward the work of the Lord. Many others of the same quality were approved by the commissioners, who went through great difficulties and hardships in their work. Mr. *Powel* says, that some hundreds, if not thousands, had been converted and reformed by the *propagators*.* But after all, it must be confessed, that at first the number of itinerants, both scholars and others, was by no means equal to their work; the parishes in that mountainous country are large and wide, and there being but one *itinerant* to several of those parishes, the people must have been neglected, and their children too much without instruction; but this was owing to the necessity of the times.

When the commissioners had acted about two years, a petition was presented to the parliament by the inhabitants of South-Wales, signed by above a thousand hands, in favour of the old ejected clergy, setting forth, the numbers that had been dispossessed, and the want of a competent number of preachers in their places, upon which account the country was reduced to a very miserable condition. They therefore

* Calamy's Comp. p. 48.

pray the house to take some course for a future supply of godly and able preachers; and to call those persons to account who had received all the profits of church livings into their hands.* The house received the petition, and referred it to the *committee for plundered ministers*, who were empowered to examine witnesses, and to authorize other commissioners in the country to examine witnesses upon oath, touching the matters contained in the petition. The committee ordered the commissioners to bring in their accounts in a month's time, which they did accordingly. And the petitioners were ordered to deliver in the particulars on which the desired witnesses might be examined, within two days; but not being provided, they desired liberty to make good their allegations in the country; to which the commissioners willingly agreed. But this taking up some time, the long parliament was dissolved, and the prosecution of this enquiry suspended for the present; but as soon as the protector was fixed in his government, he published an ordinance, Aug. 20, 1654, to bring the *propagators* to an account; pursuant to which the sequestrators and treasurer for South-Wales delivered in their accounts for the years 1650, 1651, 1652, which was all the time the ordinance continued in force; and the commissioners appointed by the protector having received and examined them, after a full enquiry allowed and passed them, Aug. 10, 1655.

It is hard to read with temper, the reproaches cast upon these commissioners by our angry historians, who have charged them with all manner of corruption, as if they had got great estates out of the revenues of the church, though without producing a single example. Mr. *Powel*, who took more pains among them than any man of his time, declares, that he never received for all his preaching in Wales, by salary, above six or seven hundred pounds; that he never had any thing from the tithes. And whereas it was said, that he had enriched himself by purchasing some thousands a year of crown lands, he protests, that he never purchased above seventy pounds a year, which he lost at the restoration.†

* Walker, p. 168.

† Mr. *Powel* vindicated his character in two publications: one entitled "*Examen & Purgamen Vavasoris*," 1651: wherein he was cleared by the authentic certificates of persons of great credit, and many of them gentlemen of

And if Mr. *Powel* did not enrich himself, I apprehend, none of his brethren could. Besides, if this had been true, the protector's commissioners would have discovered them; or if they had escaped the protector's enquiry, their enemies would have exposed them at the restoration, when king *Charles* appointed a commission to make the strictest enquiry into their management. "All persons who had acted as commissioners for propagating the gospel, were by his majesty's instructions to be summoned before his commissioners; and all that had acted under them as farmers, tenants, &c. all that had succeeded in the sequestered livings, or received any of the profits; all parishioners, who had kept any of the tithes in their hands; the heirs, executors, or administrators, of any of the aforesaid persons; and all credible persons, who could give evidence of any of these matters. They were likewise to enquire after books and writings; and to signify to all persons concerned, that if they would forthwith apply to his majesty's commissioners, they might compound for what they stood charged with, and so avoid the expence of a law-suit." But after all this mighty outcry and scrutiny, nothing of any consequence appeared, and therefore it was thought proper to drop the commission, and bury the whole affair in silence. Mr. *Vavasor Powel*, above-mentioned, was cruelly handled by the Welch clergy, but he did himself justice in a pamphlet, entitled, *Examen & Purgamen Vavasoris*, published 1653, wherein he vindicates his proceedings in the *propagation*.† And when he was in the Fleet after the restoration, he published a brief narrative concerning the proceedings of the commissioners in Wales against the ejected clergy, occasioned by a report that he had been thrown into that prison for some of the revenues; which was never answered.

of good landed property: the other called, "the Bird in the Cage chirping: or a Brief Narrative of the former propagation and late restriction of the Gospel in Wales," 12mo. 1661. The author of his life, in 1671, says, "that he received nothing from the churches in Wales but neighbourly and brotherly kindness. The parliament ordered him £100 *per annum*, out of a sinecure, whereof he received about £60, for seven or eight years: many considerable gifts he refused; and never did he get any thing by the act for the propagation of the gospel in Wales." Life, p. 112; Calamy's Church and Dissenters compared, p. 47—8, note. ED.

† Walker, p. 149.

By

By an ordinance of Sept. 2, commissioners were appointed to enquire into the yearly value of all ecclesiastical livings and benefices without cure of souls; what person or persons received the profits, and who was the patron; and to certify the same into *chancery*; and if, upon a careful consideration of things, it shall be found convenient and advantageous to unite two parishes or more into one, and that the whole ecclesiastical revenues, tithes, and profits, belonging to the said parishes so united, should be applied for a provision for one godly and painful minister, to preach in the said united parishes, then the trustees, or commissioners appointed by this act, shall represent the same to his HIGHNESS and *council*, upon whose approbation they shall, by an instrument under the hands and seals of any five or more of them, declare, that they do thereby unite such parishes into one; which *instrument* being enrolled in *chancery*, the said parishes from thenceforth shall be adjudged and taken to be consolidated into one. If there happen to be more patrons than one in the parishes thus united, the patrons shall present by turns; but the union shall not take place till the avoidance of one of the livings by the death of the incumbent.*

On the other hand, where parishes were too large, the trustees for the augmentation of poor livings were empowered to divide them into two, or more, upon their avoidance by death.

Further, if, when two or more parishes were united into one, the income or salary did not amount to one hundred pounds *per annum*, the trustees for receiving impropriations, tithes, first-fruits, and tenths, &c. were directed to make up the deficiency; and where there was a considerable surplus, they might take off the augmentations formerly granted. Provided this ordinance be not construed to restrain the said trustees from granting augmentations to preachers in cities and market-towns, where there shall be cause, to a greater proportion, with the consent of the protector and his council. This was a noble and generous design; and if the protector had lived to have seen it executed, must have been of general service to the body of the clergy.

* Scobel, p. 353.

Though

Though his HIGHNESS himself was no great scholar, he was a patron of learning and learned men.* He settled one hundred pounds a year on a divinity professor in Oxford; and gave twenty-four rare manuscripts to the Bodleian library. He erected and endowed a college in Durham for the benefit of the Northern counties, Mr. *Frankland*, M. A. being one of the first fellows. But these, and some other designs that he had formed for the advancement of learning, died with him.†

In order to secure the education of youth he took care to regulate both universities, by appointing new visitors, the former ceasing with the dissolution of the long parliament, viz.

For the University of Oxford.†

The Vice-Chancellor for the time being,

Dr. <i>Harris</i> , president of Trinity college	Mr. <i>Stephens</i> , principal of Hart-hall
Dr. <i>Rogers</i> , principal of New-inn Hall	Mr. <i>James Baron</i> , of Magdalen college
Dr. <i>T. Goodwin</i> , president of Magdalen college	Mr. <i>Francis Howel</i> , fellow of Exeter college
Dr. <i>John Owen</i> , dean of Christ-church	<i>William</i> , viscount <i>Say and Sele</i>
Dr. <i>Henry Wilkinson</i> , Margaret professor of divinity	<i>Nathaniel Fiennes</i> , esq;
Dr. <i>Peter French</i> , prebend of Christ-church	<i>Bulstrode Whitlocke</i> , comm. of the great seal
Dr. <i>John Conant</i> , rector of Exeter college	<i>Samuel Dunch</i> , esq;
Dr. <i>John Goddard</i> , warden of Merton college	<i>Sir John Dreyden</i>
Mr. <i>Thankful Owen</i> , president of St. John's	<i>Richard Ingoldsby</i> , <i>John Crew</i> , <i>George Fleetwood</i> , <i>John Bright</i> , — <i>Jenkinson</i> , — <i>Greenfield</i> ,§

} esqrs.

* To the proofs which Mr. *Neal* produces of the patronage *Cromwell* afforded to learning, may be added, that he permitted the paper for Dr. *Walton's Polyglott* to be imported free of duty; and that when, through his pre-engagement to another, Dr. *Seth Ward*, afterwards bishop of *Exeter*, lost the principalship of *Jesus' college* in Oxford, in 1567: on being informed of his merit and learning he promised him an annuity equal to the value of the principalship. Dr. *Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 429, 431; and *Calamy's Life of Mr. Howe*, p. 19. Ed.

† *Whitlocke*, p. 588.

‡ *Scobel*, p. 366.

§ Add from *Grey*, sir *Charles Wolseley*, bart. *Humphry Mackworth*, esq.

For the University of Cambridge.

The *Vice-Chancellor* for the time being,

Dr. <i>Tuckney</i> , master of St. John's college	Mr. <i>Mowbrey</i> , fellow of St. John's college
Dr. <i>Arrowsmith</i> , master of Trinity college	Mr. <i>William Moses</i> , fellow of Pembroke hall
Dr. <i>Horton</i> , president of Queen's college	Mr. <i>Wood</i> , fellow of Magdalen college.
Dr. <i>Sam. Bolton</i> , master of Christ's college	<i>Henry Cromwell</i>
Dr. <i>Law. Seaman</i> , master of Peter house	<i>Henry Lawrence</i> , lord president of his highness's council
Dr. <i>Lightfoot</i> , master of Katherine hall	<i>J. Lambert</i> , } esqrs.
Mr. <i>John Sadler</i> , master of Magdalen college	<i>J. Desborough</i> , }
Dr. <i>Whitchcot</i>	<i>Sir Gilbert Pickering</i>
Dr. <i>Cudworth</i>	<i>Col. Ed. Montague</i>
Mr. <i>Worthington</i> , master of Jesus college	<i>Francis Rouse</i> , esq;
Mr. <i>Dillingham</i> , master of Emanuel college	<i>Oliver St. John</i> , lord chief justice of the common-pleas
Mr. <i>Simpson</i> , master of Pembroke hall	<i>J. Thurloe</i> , }
Mr. <i>Templer</i> , fellow of Trinity c.	<i>Robert Castle</i> , }
	<i>Tho. Bendish</i> , } esqrs.
	<i>Rob. Viner</i> , }
	<i>Griffith Lloyd</i> , }
	<i>Sir William Strickland</i> .

Any seven or more of the commissioners above-named were authorised to visit all *colleges* and *halls* within their respective universities; to examine what statutes were fit to be abrogated, altered, or added, and to exhibit the same to his HIGHNESS, and the PARLIAMENT. They are further authorised, to explain such statutes as are ambiguous and obscure; to determine appeals; and are to be assisted upon all occasions by the mayor, sheriffs, and justices of peace. The said *visitors*, or any four of them, are authorised to visit Westminster school, Winchester school, Merchant Taylors school, and Eton college; and to consider of such statutes of the said schools as are fit to be abrogated, and of others that may be proper to be added, for the well-government of the said schools and colleges.

The visitors discharged their duty with great fidelity; and the heads of colleges had a watchful eye over their several houses;

houses; drunkenness, swearing, gaming, and all kinds of immorality, were severely punished; all students, graduates, and others, were obliged to be at home in proper hours; the publick-houses were searched; and the practice of religion in the several colleges enforced with rigour. One of the professors writes, that there was more frequent practical preaching in the colleges than ever had been known. On the Lord's day, at different hours, there were three or four sermons in several churches; and on the week days, lectures on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. The tutors were very diligent in discharge of their duty; the publick lectures were well attended, and the students under strict discipline; learning revived, and the muses returned to their seats, as appears by the numbers of learned men who flourished in the reign of king *Charles II.* and owed their education to these times.

The protector's zeal for the welfare of the protestant churches abroad deserves a particular notice, and was highly valued by all the reformed in foreign countries.* He took all imaginable care to appear at the head of that interest on all occasions, and to shew his power in protecting them. The prince of Tarente having written a respectful letter to the protector, his highness returned him the following answer: "that it was with extreme pleasure he had learned by letters
"his inviolable zeal and attachment to the reformed churches,
"for which his praise was the greater, in as much as he
"shewed that zeal at a time, and in a place, where such flattering hopes were given to persons of his rank, if they
"would forsake the orthodox faith; and where those who
"continue stedfast are threatened with so many troubles.
"He rejoices that his own conduct in religion was so pleasing
"to him; he calls God to witness, that he desired nothing
"so much as an opportunity to answer the favourable opinion
"the churches have of his zeal and piety, by endeavouring
"to propagate the true faith, and procure rest and peace for
"the church. He exhorts the prince to hold out firm to
"the end in the orthodox religion which he received from
"his fathers; and adds, that nothing would bring him greater
"glory, than to protect it as much as lay in his power."

* History of the Stuarts, p. 423.

What projects the protector formed for this purpose will be seen hereafter.

But the royal interest abroad was inclining towards popery; the duke of York was already perverted to the *Romish* faith;* no attempts were unessayed by the queen mother, the queen of France, and others, to gain the young duke of Gloucester, who had been under the instruction of parliamentary tutors till the last year:† but this young prince was too well established in his religion to be perverted at present,‡ upon which the queen forbid him her presence; and the marquis of Ormond conducted him to his brother at Cologne. The king was a man of no religion, and having little to do, devoted his leisure hours to the ladies, and other private pleasures. His majesty had some trial (says bishop *Kennet*§) of his conscience and courage in resisting the little arguments, or rather importunities of popery. The papists put him in mind, that all his hopes from the protestant party were at an end; that the bishops were dead, except a very few; and the church lands sold; and that since the late defeat at Worcester the presbyterian power was destroyed; all his hopes therefore must be from the *roman* catholicks, from whose assistance only he could now hope for his restoration. But the prospect was so distant, that the king, by advice of lord *Clarendon*, was prevailed with not to declare himself openly at present.

On the last of November died the learned Mr. *John Selden*, the glory of the *English* nation:|| he was born in Suffex Dec. 6, 1584, and educated in Hart-hall, Oxford; after which he was transplanted to the Inner-Temple, where he became a

* Compl. Hist. p. 203.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 599.

‡ The manner of expression used by Mr. *Neal* may lead the reader, Dr. *Grey* observes, to think, that the duke of Gloucester was at last perverted: which he apprehends was not the case. For *Eachard* affirms, that the duke was an *invincible assertor* of his father's faith: and *Carte* represents him as withstanding the arguments of the abbot of Pontoise, and rejecting the offers of a cardinal's hat, and even the promise of placing him on the throne. But, on the other hand, *Oldmixon* assures his reader, on the authority of a minister of state, a man of known wisdom and probity, who was a particular favourite with the prince of Orange, at the Hague, from whose mouth he had the information, that the duke was afterwards reconciled to the church of Rome. *Grey*, vol. iii. p. 175. History of the Stuarts, p. 489. Ed.

§ Compl. Hist. p. 213.

|| Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 107, 8.

prodigy

prodigy in the most uncommon parts of science. He was a great philologist, antiquary, herald, linguist, statesman, and lawyer, but seldom appeared at the bar. He was chosen burgess for several parliaments, where he displayed his profound erudition in speeches and debates in favour of the liberties of his country; for which he was imprisoned, and severely fined with Mr. *Pym* in the parliament of 1618, and 1628. He was chosen again in the long parliament, and appeared against the *prerogative*, as he had formerly done. He was one of the lay members of the assembly of divines, and by his vast skill in the oriental learning, and *jewish* antiquities, frequently silenced the most able divines. He wrote on various subjects, which gained him the title among foreigners of the *dictator of learning in the English nation*.* Among other remarkable pieces, we may reckon his *History of Tithes*, published 1618, in which he proves them not to be due to the christian clergy by divine institution: for this he was summoned before the *high commission court*, and obliged to make a public recantation.† But after some time his reputation was so great, that it was thought worth while to gain him

* It does honour to *Grotius*, his antagonist, that he pronounced Mr. *Selden* to be "the glory of the English nation." Like a man of genius, he was for striking out new paths of learning, and enlarging the territories of science. The greater part of his works are on uncommon subjects. But towards the close of life he saw the emptiness of all human learning; and owned, that, out of the numberless volumes he had read and digested, nothing stuck so close to his heart, or gave him such solid satisfaction, as a single passage of Paul's Epistles: Tit. ii. 11—14. Granger's Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 228—9. 8vo. Ed.

† It is judiciously remarked by *Le Clerc*, that it was great impolicy in the church and court party to offend and irritate such a man as *Selden*: a man of deep learning, not in Jewish antiquities only, but in those of his own country, the laws of which he understood to their first grounds. Such persons ought at all times to be courted and favoured, on account of the great use which may be made of them on all occasions; but especially in seasons of public discontents, when they can turn the balance on the side which they join. Whereas it generally happens, that they are ill-treated, and the court favours are bestowed on those only who are fit for nothing but to feed on a great benefice or a good pension. It would have been the more wise to have secured *Selden*, since he was by no means a fanatick, as many places in his 'Table-Talk' shew; and even was partial to the old ecclesiastical government, in opposition to those who often set it at nought. *Bibliothèque Ancienne & Moderne*, tom. vi. p. 253. Ed.

over

over to the court; and upon the new civilities he received at Lambeth, he was prevailed with to publish his *Mare clausum* against *Hugo Grotius*, which was esteemed such an invaluable treasure, that it was ordered to be laid up in the court of records. The archbishop offered him preferments, but he would accept of nothing. Upon the first pressures against the bishops, he published his *Euty chius* in *Greek* and *Latin*, with notes, in which he proves that *bishops and presbyters differ only in degree*. He afterwards answered his majesty's declaration about the *commission of array*, and was made master of the *rolls* by the *long parliament*. He had a large and curious library of books: in the frontispiece of each he used to write this motto, *Περὶ παντὸς ἐλευθερίαν; above all, LIBERTY*. At length being worn out with age, and hard study, he died at his house in the White-Fryars, aged seventy years, and was magnificently interred in the Temple church on the south side of the round walk, *according to the directory*, in the presence of all the judges, some parliament-men, benchers, and great officers. His funeral sermon was preached by archbishop *Usher*, who acknowledged he was not worthy to carry his books after him. His works are lately collected, and printed together in six volumes folio.

Mr. *Thomas Gataker* was born in London 1574, and was educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, where he proceeded *M. A.* and was afterwards removed to Sidney college, where he became remarkable for his skill in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* languages.* After his ordination he was chosen minister of Lincoln's-inn, and occupied that station ten years; but in the year 1611 he was presented to the rectory of Rotherhithe, where he continued till his death. In the year 1643 he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines, and was an ornament and reputation to it. When the earl of Manchester visited and reformed the university of Cambridge, he offered Mr. *Gataker* the mastership of Trinity college, but he refused it on the account of his health. Mr. *Gataker* was a very learned man, and a considerable critic and linguist, as appears by his writings, which were very numerous, considering his infirm state of health. He was a constant preacher, of a most holy and exemplary deportment, but withal of great

* Clarke's General Martyrology, p. 248, &c. of the Lives.

modesty.

modesty. It is hard, says Mr. *Eachard*, to say, which was most remarkable, his exemplary piety and charity, his polite literature, or his humility and modesty in refusing preferments. He maintained a correspondence with *Salmasius*, *Hornbeck*, and other learned foreigners, and was in high esteem both at home and in the Low Countries, where he had travelled. He died of age, and a complication of infirmities, July 27, 1654, in the eightieth year of his age.*

Mr. *William Strong* was educated in Katherine hall, Cambridge, of which he was fellow. He was afterwards rector of More-Crichel in Dorsetshire, where he continued till he was forced to fly from the cavaliers;† he then came to London, and was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and minister of St. Dunstan's in the West. After some time he became preacher at Westminster-Abbey, where he died suddenly in the vigour of life, and was buried in the Abbey church July 4, 1654. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. *Ob. Sedgwick*, who says, that he was so plain in heart, so deep in judgment, so painful in study, so exact in preaching, and in a word, so fit for all the parts of the ministerial service, that he did not know his equal. But after the restoration his bones were dug up, and removed to St. Margaret's churchyard, with those of other eminent presbyterian divines. He published several sermons and theological treatises in his lifetime; and after his death there was a posthumous one *upon the covenants*, in the preface to which Mr. *Theophilus Gale* observes, that the author was a wonder of nature for natural parts, and a miracle of grace for his deep insight into the more profound mysteries of the gospel. His thoughts were sublime, but clear and penetrating, especially in interpreting difficult texts.

Mr. *Andrew Pern* was educated in Cambridge, and from thence removed to Welby in Northamptonshire, where he maintained the character of a zealous, laborious and successful

* The most celebrated of his works is a valuable edition of *Marcus Antoninus*, with a *Latin* translation and commentary, and a preliminary discourse on the philosophy of the *Stoics*, which is much esteemed. His house was a private seminary for divers young gentlemen of this nation, and many foreigners resorted to him, and lodged at his house in order to receive from him advice in their studies. *British Biography*, vol. iv. p. 354, note. Ed.

† *Athenæ*, Oxon. p. 218.

preacher,

preacher, for twenty-seven years. In the year 1643, he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines at Westminster. When he was at London he was offered several considerable preferments, but refused them, resolving to return to his people at Welby, who honoured him as a father; for by his awakening sermons, and exemplary life and conversation, he accomplished a great reformation of manners in that town. He was full of spiritual warmth, (says the preacher of his funeral sermon) filled with an holy indignation against sin, active in his work, and never more in his element than in the pulpit. As his life was holy, so his death was comfortable. He blessed God that he was not afraid to die; nay, he earnestly desired to be gone, often crying out, in his last sickness, *When will that hour come? One assault more, and this earthen vessel will be broken, and I shall be with God.* He died the beginning of December, 1654, before he was arrived to the age of sixty.

Dr. Samuel Bolton was educated in Cambridge, and from thence removed to the living of St. Martin's, Ludgate. Upon his coming to the city he was chosen one of the additional members of the assembly of divines, being a person of great name and character for learning and practical preaching. He was a burning and shining light, (says Mr. Clarke†) an interpreter one of a thousand, an admirable preacher, and his life was an excellent commentary upon his sermons. Upon the death of Dr. Bainbrigge he was chosen master of Christ's college, Cambridge, which he governed with great wisdom and prudence till his death, which happened about the 10th of October, 1654. He was buried with great solemnity in his parish church of Ludgate on the 16th of the same month, very much lamented by the London clergy of those times.

Mr. Jer. Whitaker was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire, 1599, and educated in Sidney college, Cambridge, where he proceeded in arts. He taught the free-school at Okeham in Rutlandshire seven years, and then became minister of Stretton in the same county, where he continued thirteen years. In 1643, he was nominated one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, which brought him to London, where he was chosen to the rectory of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey,

† Lives of Eminent Persons, p. 43.

in Southwark. He preached three or four sermons every week; two in Southwark, one at Westminster, and one at Christ church, London. He never withdrew from any opportunity of preaching if he was in health; and though he preached often, his sermons were solid and judicious. He was an universal scholar, both in arts and languages; well acquainted with the fathers and school-men, an acute disputant, and inferior to none in his acquaintance with the holy scriptures.* He was of the *presbyterian* persuasion, and had a chief hand in composing the *defence of the gospel ministry*, published this year by the provincial synod of London. He refused the *engagement*, and lamented the wars between England, Scotland, and Holland. No man was more beloved by the *presbyterian* ministers of London than Mr. *Whitaker*. When he was seized with the violent and acute pain of the stone about the beginning of November, many days of prayer and fasting were observed for his recovery, but the distemper was incurable. He bore his pains with uncommon patience, fearing nothing more than to dishonour God by unreasonable complaints. When his distemper was most violent he would desire his friends to withdraw, that they might not be affected with his roarings. At length nature being quite spent, he cheerfully resigned his soul into the hands of his Redeemer, about the fifty-fifth year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. *Calamy*, who gave him a large and deserved encomium.

Mr. *Richard Vines*, of whom mention has been made already, was born at Blazon in Leicestershire, and educated in Magdalen college, Cambridge, where he commenced *M.A.* He was first school-master at Hinckley, then minister of Weddington in Warwickshire. At the beginning of the civil war he was driven from his parish, and forced to take shelter in Coventry. When the assembly of divines was convened he was chosen one of their number; and, as *Fuller* says,† was the champion of their party. While he was at London he became minister of St. Clement's Danes; afterwards he removed to Watton in Hertfordshire, and was chosen master of Pembroke hall in Cambridge, but resigned that, and his

* Clarke's General Martyrology, in the Lives, p. 264.

† Fuller's Worthies, p. 134.

living of St. Lawrence Jewry, on account of the *engagement*. He was a son of thunder, and therefore compared to *Luther*; but moderate and charitable to those who differed from him in judgment. The parliament employed him in all their treaties with the king; and his majesty, though of a different judgment, valued him for his ingenuity, seldom speaking to him without touching his hat, which Mr. *Vines* returned with most respectful language and gestures. He was an admirable scholar; holy and pious in his conversation, and indefatigable in his labours, which wasted his strength, and brought him into a consumption, when he had lived but about fifty-six years. He was buried in his own parish church, Feb. 7, 1655, his funeral sermon being preached by Dr. *Jacomb*, who gave him his just commendation. He was a perfect master of the Greek tongue, a good philologist, and an admirable disputant. He was a thorough *calvinist*, and a bold honest man without pride or flattery.* Mr. *Newcomen* calls him *disputator acutissimus, concionator felicissimus, theologus eximius*. Many funeral poems and elegies were published on his death.†

The protector having dissolved his second parliament without confirming their acts, was obliged still to rely on the military arm; this, together with the insurrections in several parts of the country, induced him, for his greater security, to canton the nation into eleven districts, and place over them *major-generals*, whose commission was to inspect the beha-

* Dr. *Grey* insinuates a reflection on Mr. *Vines*'s simplicity and integrity, by a story of his praying in the morning of an Easter Sunday, before the marquis of *Hertford*, for the king's restoration to his throne and regal rights; but, in the afternoon, when the marquis was absent, and lord *Fairfax* came to church, praying, in *stylo parliamentario*, that God would turn the heart of the king, and give him grace to repent of his grievous sins, especially all the blood shed in those *civil, uncivil* wars. On which it was observed, that Mr. *Vines* was much more altered between the forenoon and afternoon, than the difference between an English *marquis* and an Irish *baron*. The reader, perhaps, will think, that each prayer might very consistently be formed by the same person. Not a week before Mr. *Vines*'s death, as he was preaching at St. Gregory's, a rude fellow cried out to him, "Lift up your voice, for I cannot hear you:" to whom Mr. *Vines* returned, "Lift up your ears, for I can speak no louder." Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 446, 8vo. edition, 1684. ED.

† Clarke's *Lives of Eminent Persons*, p. 48.

viour of the inferior commissioners within their districts; to commit to prison all suspected persons; to take care of collecting the publick taxes; and to sequester such as did not pay their decimation. They were to enquire after all private assemblies of suspected persons, and after such as bought up arms; after vagabonds and idle persons; after such as lived at an higher rate than they could afford; after such as frequented taverns and gaming-houses, and after scandalous and unlearned ministers and school-masters; and there was no appeal from them but to the protector and his council. They were ordered to list a body of *reserves* both horse and foot at half-pay, who were to be called together upon any sudden emergency, and to attend so many days at their own expence, but if they were detained longer to have full pay; by which means the protector had a second army in view, if any disaster should befall the first; but these officers became so severe and arbitrary, that *his highness* found it necessary after some time to reduce their power, and when affairs were a little more settled to dissolve them.

Having provided for the security of his government at home, the protector concluded an alliance with France, Oct. 23, in which it is remarkable that *Lewis XIV.* is not allowed to stile himself king of France, but king of the French, his *highness* claiming the protectorship of that kingdom among his other titles; and, which is more surprising, the name of OLIVER stands in the treaty before that of the French king. At the same time he sent admiral *Blake* with a fleet into the Mediterranean, who spread the terror of the English name over all Italy, even to Rome itself; processions being made, and the host exposed for forty hours, to avert the judgments of heaven, and preserve the patrimony of the church. But *Blake's* commission was only to demand sixty thousand pounds of the duke of *Tuscany*, for damages sustained by the English merchants while he harboured prince *Rupert*, which he paid immediately. The admiral released all the English slaves on the coast of Barbary to the number of four hundred, and obtained satisfaction for the ships taken by the pirates of Algiers, Tunis, &c. Upon the whole he brought home sixteen ships laden with booty, which sailed

up the river Thames to the port of London, as a grateful spectacle of triumph to the people.

While *Blake* was in the Mediterranean, admiral *Pen* and *Venables*, with thirty men of war and some land forces, failed to the West-Indies, with a design to surprize the town of Hispaniola; but miscarrying in the attempt, they re-imbarked and took possession of the island of Jamaica, which is in possession of the crown of Great-Britain to this day.

The protector did not commission *Blake* to assault the Spanish coasts in the Mediterranean, because there was no open rupture between the two nations in Europe; but the West-Indies not being included in the treaty, he thought himself at liberty in those parts; which occasioned a declaration of war, on the part of Spain, with all the English dominions; upon which *Blake* was ordered to cruise upon the Spanish coasts, and to wait for the return of the Plate fleet, of which he gave a very good account the next summer.

To support these additional expences, the protector, by advice of his council, raised some extraordinary taxes before the parliament met, which he knew to be illegal, and did not pretend to justify upon any other foot than *the absolute necessity of the publick safety; the distracted condition of the nation; that it was impracticable in the present juncture to call a parliament, or to proceed in the ordinary course of law; and that in extraordinary cases, wherein all was at stake, some extraordinary methods were allowable.* How far this reasoning will excuse the protector, or vindicate his conduct, must be left with the reader. But it is agreed on all hands, that in things that did not affect the very *being* of his government, he never interposed, but let the laws have their free course. He had a zeal for trade and commerce beyond all his predecessors, and appointed a standing committee of merchants for advancing it, which met for the first time in the *painted chamber* Nov. 27, 1655, and continued to his death.

The provincial assembly of London, finding their attempts to establish *their discipline* ineffectual, employed themselves this year in promoting the religious education of youth; for which purpose they published an *exhortation to catechising*; with the following directions for the more orderly carrying it on.

I. "That

1. “ That the ministers on some Lord’s day prove in their
 “ sermons the necessity and usefulness of such a work, and
 “ exhort all parents, and masters of families, to prepare
 “ their children and servants for it, by catechising them at
 “ home, that they may more readily make their answers in
 “ publick.

2. “ That the catechism to be used be the *lesser catechism*
 “ of the assembly of divines. This catechism excelling all
 “ others in this respect, that every answer is a perfect pro-
 “ position without the question.

3. “ That the persons to be catechised be children and
 “ servants, that have not been admitted to the Lord’s supper
 “ by the eldership.

4. “ That the time of catechising be on the Lord’s day
 “ in the afternoon, before the sermon, to the end that the
 “ whole congregation may receive benefit thereby.

5. “ That the catechism may be explained *briefly*, at the
 “ first going over, that the people may in a short time have
 “ a notion of the whole body of divinity.

6. “ That the parish be desired at the common charge,
 “ to provide catechisms for the poorer sort, who cannot
 “ well provide for themselves, and that the distribution of
 “ them be referred to the respective ministers.

7. “ It is desired, that an account in writing, what pro-
 “ gress is made in the premises may be returned from the
 “ classes to the provincial assembly within forty days after
 “ the receipt hereof.

“ Signed in the name, and by the appointment of the as-
 “ sembly,

Edmund Calamy, moderator.

William Harrison, } scribes.”
William Blackmore, }

These instructions were sent to the several classes of Lon-
 don; and after their example, the associated ministers in the
 several counties of England published the like exhortations
 to their brethren.

The occasion of this proceeding was the publishing two ca-
 techisms of Mr. *John Biddle*, a Socinian, one called a *Scripture*
Catechism; and the other, a *Brief Scripture Catechism, for the*
use

use of children. Complaints of which being made to the last parliament, they were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and the author to be imprisoned in the Gate-house. Mr. *Biddle* had been in custody for his opinions before the late king's death. While he was there, he had published twelve questions or arguments against the deity of the holy spirit, in quarto, 1647, which were answered by Mr. *Pool*, and the book ordered to be burnt. Next year, being still in prison, he published seven articles against the deity of Christ, with the testimonies of several of the fathers on this head; upon which some zealous in the assembly moved, that he might be put to death as an heretick; but he went on, and being set at liberty, in the year 1651, he composed and published the catechisms abovementioned, in which he maintains, “(1.) That God is confined to a certain place. (2.) That he has a bodily shape. (3.) That he has passions. (4.) That he is neither omnipotent nor unchangeable. (5.) That we are not to believe three persons in the godhead. (6.) That Jesus Christ has not the nature of God, but only a divine lordship. (7.) That he was not a priest while upon earth, nor did reconcile men to God. And, (8.) That there is no deity in the Holy Ghost.” These propositions|| were condemned by the parliament, and the author committed to the Gate-house. But as soon as the protector had dissolved his parliament he gave him his liberty.

After this, being of a restless spirit,* he challenged Mr. *Griffin*, a baptist preacher, to dispute with him in St. Paul's cathedral,

|| Mr. *Biddle* was a pious, holy, and humble man; a conscientious sufferer for what appeared to him divine and important. The propositions objected to him above do not appear in his catechisms under the form of principles which he asserts, but of questions, which he proposes, and the answers to which are numerous texts of scripture, that appear to speak to the point. E. g. The first proposition is this question: “Is not God, according to the current of the scripture, in a certain place, namely in heaven?” The answer consists of 29 passages of scripture, which represent God, as “looking from heaven, as our father who art in heaven,” and the like. For a full account of these catechisms I would refer the reader to my “Review of the Life, Character, and Writings of Mr. *John Biddle*,” section 8. ED.

* It is to be regretted, that Mr. *Neal* should speak in this manner of one, who thought it his duty, by the fair and peaceable means of preaching and

cathedral, on this question, *Whether Jesus Christ be the most High, or Almighty God?* This occasioning new disturbances, the council committed him to Newgate; but the protector though it best to send him out of the way, and accordingly transported him to Scilly, and allowed him one hundred crowns a year for his maintenance. Here he remained till the year 1658, when the noise being over; he was set at liberty; his catechisms having been answered by Dr. Owen, in a learned and elaborate treatise, entitled *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*, &c.

After the protector's death, *Biddle* set up a private conventicle in London, which continued till the restoration, when the church being restored to its coercive power, he was apprehended while preaching, and committed to prison, where he died in September 1662, and was buried in the burying-ground in Old Bedlam. He had such a prodigious memory (says *Wood*,) that he could repeat all St. Paul's epistles in Greek, and was reckoned by those of his persuasion a sober man, and so devout, that he seldom prayed without lying prostrate on the ground.

Though it was well known by this, as well as other examples, that the protector was averse to all acts of severity on the account of religion, yet such was the turbulent behaviour of the royalists, who threatened an assassination, published the most daring libels against the government, and were actually in arms, that he thought it necessary to crush them, and therefore an order was published November 24, "That no persons after Jan. 1, 1655-6, shall keep in their
" houses or families as chaplains or school-masters, for the

and writing, to advance and disseminate sentiments which he judged to be the truths of scripture, and only called men to enquire and examine. Such language fixes a stigma upon the honest advocate for truth, and is the illiberal cry of those who cannot bear to have established opinions attacked. The first teachers of christianity were reproached as men of restless spirits; as men who "would turn the world upside down." *Acts* xvii. 6.—
In the present case, the term was not deserved, Mr. *Neal* has misstated the transaction. Mr. *Biddle* was not the first in the business. The challenge came from Mr. *Griffin*, and Mr. *Biddle* waved accepting it, and declined the disputation for some time. And when he entered the lists, there were in the auditory many of his bitter and fiery adversaries. See "Review of
" his Life," p. 117, 18, or a modern "Collection of Unitarian Tracts," in 12mo. vol. iv. p. 91. Ed.

" education

“ education of their children, any sequestered or ejected mi-
 “ nister, fellow of a college, or school-master, nor permit
 “ their children to be taught by such. That no such persons
 “ shall keep school either publicly or privately, nor preach
 “ in any publick place, or private meeting, of any others
 “ than those of his own family; nor shall administer baptism,
 “ or the Lord’s supper, or marry any persons, or use the
 “ book of common-prayer, or the forms of prayer therein
 “ contained, on pain of being prosecuted, according to the
 “ orders lately published by his highness and council, for
 “ securing the peace of the commonwealth. *Nevertheless*
 “ *his highness declares, that towards such of the said persons*
 “ *as have since their ejectment or sequestration, given, or here-*
 “ *after shall give, a real testimony of their godliness, and good*
 “ *affection to the present government, so much tenderness shall be*
 “ *used as may consist with the safety and good of the nation.*”†

This was a severe and terrible order|| upon the episcopa-
 lians, and absolutely unjustifiable in itself; but the title of
 the act, which is *an Ordinance for securing the peace of the*
commonwealth, as well as the last clause, shews it was made
for the safety of the government, against a number of men
 who were undermining it, and was published chiefly *in ter-*
rorem, for no person was prosecuted upon it; and the par-
 liament which met next year, not confirming it, it became
 absolutely void.

Dr. *Gauden* presented a petitionary remonstrance to the
 protector against this order; and archbishop *Usher* was de-
 sired to use his interest with his *highness* in behalf of the epis-
 copal clergy; upon which (says the writer of the archbishop’s
 life§) the protector promised either to recal his declaration,
 or to prevent its being put in execution, *provided the clergy*
were inoffensive in their language and sermons, and stood clear
in meddling with matters of state. His HIGHNESS accord-
 ingly laid the matter before his council, who were of opi-

† Hughes’s exact Abridgement of publick Acts and Ordinances, 4to. p. 597.

|| “ It would be useless,” says Dr. *Harris*, “ to spend words in exposing
 “ the cruelty of this declaration. Persecution is written on the face of
 “ it, nor is it capable of a vindication.” “ *Life of Oliver Cromwell*,”
 p. 438. ED.

§ Parr’s Life of Usher, p. 75.

nion,* that it was not safe for him to recal his declaration, and give open liberty to men who were *declared enemies to his government*, but that he should suspend the execution of it as far as their behaviour should deserve; so that in the event here was no great cause of complaint; for notwithstanding this ordinance, the sober episcopal clergy preached publickly in the churches, at London and in the country, as Dr. *Hall*, afterwards bishop of Chester, Dr. *Ball*, Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Hardy*, Dr. *Griffith*, Dr. *Pearson*, bishop of Chester, and others. Remarkable are the words of bishop *Kennet* to this purpose; “It is certain, says his lordship, that the protector was for liberty, and the utmost latitude to all parties, *so far as consisted with the peace and safety of his person and government*, and therefore he was never jealous of any cause or sect on the account of heresy and falshood, but on his wiser accounts of political peace and quiet; and even the prejudice he had against the episcopal party was more for their being royalists, than for being of the good old church. Dr. *Gunning*, afterwards bishop of Ely, kept a conventicle in London, in as open a manner as dissenters did after the toleration; and so did several other episcopal divines.”†

For the same reasons his *highness* girt the laws close upon the papists, not upon account of their religion, but because

* On this ground when the lord primate went to him a second time to get the promise, which the protector, on the first application had made of taking off these restraints, ratified and put into writing, he retracted his engagement, which both grieved and irritated the archbishop. He had, indeed, good reason to be displeased. By this it appears, that Mr. *Neal*'s statement above is not accurate. The ordinance was executed: and though some worthy episcopalians were permitted to officiate, it cannot be doubted but many innocent and worthy men must have received very hard measure. The ordinance was marked with horrid severity: and it is “a barbarous thing to prohibit men the use of those forms of address to the Deity, which they imagine are most honourable and acceptable to him.” Besides men ought not to suffer in their most valuable and unalienable rights on *suspicion*; and instead of being amenable for *overt-acts*, be punished, as it were, for crimes they have *never committed*. This is injustice and cruelty: has its origin in fear and the consciousness of oppressive government: and tends to make the government, which it would protect from danger, odious and hateful. Grey's Remarks, vol. iii. p. 177, 8. Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 438, 9. Ed.

† Conf. Plea, part iv. p. 510. Compl. Hist. p. 223.

they

they were enemies to his government; for in the month of May a proclamation was published for the better executing the laws against jesuits and priests, and for the conviction of popish recusants; the reasons of which the protector gives in his declaration of October 31st, published with the advice of his council, in these words; *Because it was not only commonly observed, but there remains with us somewhat of proof, that jesuits have been found among discontented parties of this nation, who are observed to quarrel, and fall out with every form of administration in church and state.*† The protector gave notice of the like kind to the republicans, fifth monarchy men, levellers, and to the presbyterians, that they should stand upon the same foot with the royalists, in case of any future delinquencies.

Such was the protector's latitude, that he was for indulging the Jews, who petitioned for liberty of their religion, and for carrying on a trade in London. *Manasseh Ben Israel*, one of their chief rabbi's, with some others, came from Amsterdam to Whitehall for this purpose, whom the protector treated with respect, and summoned an assembly of divines, lawyers, and merchants, to consult upon the affair.§ The divines were to consider it as a case of conscience; the lawyers to report how far it was consistent with the laws of England; and the merchants, whether it was for the advantage of trade and commerce. Bishop *Burnet* apprehends, that the protector designed the Jews for spies in the several nations of Europe; however, he was of opinion, that their admission under certain limitations might be for the advantage of commerce; and told the divines, that since there was a promise in holy scripture of the conversion of the Jews, he did not know, but the preaching of the christian religion, as it was then in England, without idolatry or superstition, might conduce to it. But the assembly not agreeing in their opinions, the affair was dropt, and the petitioners returned to Holland, where *Manasseh Ben Israel* wrote a handsome letter,

† Compl. Hist. p. 255, in Marg.

§ It is a proof of the protector's good dispositions towards this business, and of his respect for the rabbi who came to negotiate it, that, by an order of the 24th of March 1655, he directed 200l. to be paid to him out of the treasury. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 673. Ed.

now before me, which he calls, *An answer to certain questions propounded by a noble and learned gentleman, touching the reproaches cast upon the nation of the Jews, wherein all objections are candidly and fully stated.* The famous Mr. Prynne and Mr. Dury a presbyterian minister, wrote fiercely against the admission of the Jews; but other divines, whom the protector consulted, were for admitting them with some limitations. I shall report their resolution on this point in their own language.

Question, *Whether the Jews, at their desire, may be admitted into this nation to traffick and dwell among us, as Providence shall give occasion?*

The answer of those who were against it was, that they could not think it lawful for the following reasons:

1. "Because the motives on which *Manasseh Ben Israel*, in his book lately printed, desires their admission into this commonwealth, are such as we conceive to be very sinful.
2. "The danger of seducing the people of this nation, by their admission, is very great.
3. "Their having synagogues, or any publick meetings for the exercise of their religion, is not only evil in itself, but likewise very scandalous to other christian churches.
4. "Their customs and practices concerning marriage and divorce are unlawful, and will be of very evil example amongst us.
5. "The principles of not making conscience of oaths made, and injuries done to christians in life, chastity, goods, or good name, have been very notoriously charged upon them by valuable testimony.
6. "Great prejudice is like to arise to the natives of this commonwealth in matters of trade, which, besides other dangers here mentioned, we find very commonly suggested by the inhabitants of the city of London."

Other divines were of opinion, that the civil magistrate might tolerate them under the following limitations:

1. "That they be not admitted to have any publick judicatories civil or ecclesiastical.
2. "That they be not permitted to speak, or do any thing to the defamation, or dishonour. of the names of our Lord Jesus Christ, or of the christian religion.

3. "That

3. "That they be not permitted to do any work, or any thing, to the open prophanation of the Lord's day, or christian sabbath.

4. "That they be not permitted to have any christians dwell with them as their servants.

5. "That they have no publick office or trust in this commonwealth.

6. "That they be not allowed to print any thing in our language against the christian religion.

7. "That so far as may be, they be not suffered to discourage any of their own from using any proper means, or applying themselves to any who may convince them of their error, and turn them to christianity. And that some severe penalty be imposed upon them who shall apostatize from christianity to judaism."

Mr. Archdeacon *Eachard* says,* *The Jews offered the protector two hundred thousand pounds, provided they might have St. Paul's Cathedral for a settlement.* And he adds the following malicious reflection, that "*the money made his highness look upon it as the cause of God, but that both the clergy and laity so declaimed against them, that the religious juggle would not take place.*" This the archdeacon himself could not believe, as being quite out of character, for he knew that the protector did not enrich his family, nor value money, but for the publick service. He concludes, that "*the Jews could never be permitted to live long in a well-settled monarchy.*" What then does he call the monarchy of England? where the Jews have been indulged the free exercise of their religion, without doing any damage to the religion or commerce of the nation for above sixty years.

The protector's zeal for the reformed religion made him the refuge of persecuted protestants in all parts of the world. The duke of *Savoy*, at the instance of his duchess, sister to the queen of England, determined to oblige his reformed subjects in the valleys of *Piedmont* to embrace the *Roman catholick* religion or depart the country. For this purpose he quartered an army upon them, which ate up their substance. The protestants making some little resistance to the rudeness of the soldiers, the duke gave orders, that all the

* P. 716.

protestant families in the valley of Lucern should go into banishment, which some obeyed, whilst the rest sent deputies to the court of Turin, to implore mercy; but the *pope*, and the princes of Italy, advised the *duke* to improve the present opportunity for extirpating the reformed, and making all his subjects of one religion. The *duke* accordingly sent express orders to his general to drive them all out of the country, with their wives and children, and to put to death such as should remain. This was executed with great severity, April 20, 1655. Those who escaped the sword fled into the mountains, from whence, being ready to perish with hunger and cold, they sent their agents to the *lord protector* of England, and other protestant powers, for relief. It was the beginning of May when his *highness* was first made acquainted with their distress, whereupon he appointed a general fast, and charitable contributions throughout all England for their present assistance; and such was the compassion of the people, that the collection amounted to *thirty-seven thousand and ninety-seven pounds seven shillings and three pence*. About thirty thousand pounds was remitted to their deputies at several payments, in this and the next year; but the confusions which followed upon the protector's death prevented the clearing the whole account till the convention parliament at the restoration, who ordered the remaining seven thousand pounds to be paid. The protector applied to the protestant kings of Sweden and Denmark; to the states of Holland, the cantons of Switzerland, and the reformed churches of Germany and France; and by his powerful instances procured large contributions from those parts. He wrote to the king of France, and to cardinal *Mazarine*; and being glad of an opportunity to strike terror into the Roman *catholick* powers, he sent *Samuel Moreland*, esq; with a letter to the duke of Savoy, in which, having represented the cruelty and injustice of his behaviour towards the protestants in the valleys, he tells him, “ That he was pierced with grief at the news of
“ the sufferings of the Voudois, being united to them not
“ only by the common ties of humanity, but by the profes-
“ sion of the same faith, which obliged him to regard them
“ as his brethren; and he should think himself wanting in
“ his duty to God, to charity, and to his religion, if he
“ should

“ should be satisfied with pitying them only (whose miserable
 “ condition was enough to raise compassion in the most bar-
 “ barous minds;) unless he also exerted himself to the utmost
 “ of his ability to deliver them out of it.” This awakened
 the popish powers, insomuch that *Mazarine* wrote in the
 most pressing language to the court of Turin, to give the
 protector immediate satisfaction; with which the duchess re-
 proached him, because he had made no terms for the English
 papists;* but his eminence replied, “ We must leave to God
 “ the care of defending the catholicks, whose cause is most
 “ just; but that of the hereticks needs for its support the
 “ clemency of princes.” Upon this the persecution imme-
 diately ceased; the duke recalled his army out of the valleys,
 and restored their goods; the poor people returned to their
 houses, and recovered all their ancient rights and privileges.
 But to strike some further terror into the pope, and the little
 princes of Italy, the protector gave out, that for as much as
 he was satisfied they had been the promoters of this perse-
 cution, he would keep it in mind, and lay hold of the first
 opportunity to send his fleet into the Mediterranean to visit
Civita Vecchia, and other parts of the ecclesiastical territories;
 and that the sound of his cannon should be heard in Rome
 itself. He declared publicly that he would not suffer the
 protestant faith to be insulted in any part of the world; and
 therefore procured liberty to the reformed in Bohemia and
 France; nor was there any potentate in Europe so hardy
 as to risk his displeasure by denying his requests.

The charitable society for the relief of the widows and
 children of clergymen, since known by the name of the *Cor-
 poration for the Sons of the Clergy*, had its beginning this year;
 the first sermon being preached by the reverend Mr. *George
 Hall*, son of the famous *Joseph Hall* bishop of Exeter, then
 minister of Aldersgate, afterwards archdeacon of Canterbury,
 and bishop of Chester. The sermon was entitled, *God's ap-
 pearing for the tribe of Levi, improved in a sermon preached
 at St. Paul's, November 8, 1655, to the sons of* MINISTERS
*then solemnly assembled, from Numb. xvii. 8. The Rod of
 Aaron budded, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded almonds.* The
 preacher's design was to enforce the necessity and usefulness

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 108, Edin. edit.

of a settled ministry; and though there were some passages that discovered him to be a *prelatist*, the main part of the sermon breathes moderation; “Let those ill-invented terms” (says he) whereby we have been distinguished from each other, be swallowed up in that name which will lead us hand in hand to heaven, the name of CHRISTIANS. If my stomach, or any of yours, rise against the name of brotherly communion, which may consist with our several principles retained, not differing in substantials, God take down that stomach, and make us see how much we are concerned to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.—Why should some, in the height of their zeal for a liturgy, suppose there can be no service of God but where that is used? Why should others, again, think their piety concerned and trespassed upon, if I prefer, and think fit to use a set form? There must be abatements and allowances of each other; a coming down from our punctilios, or we shall never give up a good account to God.” From this time sermons have been preached annually and large contributions made for the service of this charity. In the reign of king *Charles II.* they became a *body corporate*; and their present grandeur is sufficiently known to the whole nation.

On the 21st of March this year, died the most reverend and learned archbishop *Usher*, born in Dublin 1580, and educated in Trinity-college.* He proceeded *M. A.* in the year 1600, and next year was ordained deacon and priest by his uncle *Henry Usher*, then archbishop of Armagh. In the year 1620 he was made bishop of Meath, and four years after archbishop of Armagh; in which station he remained till the dissolution of the hierarchy during the civil wars. In his younger years he was a *calvinist*, but in his advanced

* It is a curious and singular circumstance, that archbishop *Usher* received his first elements of learning from two aunts, who were both born blind, yet found out a method of teaching him to read English. These ladies had vast memories, and could repeat most part of the scripture by heart distinctly and without mistake. When it was debated, whether Dr. *Usher* should be nominated one of the assembly at Westminster, Mr. *Selden* is reported to have said, “that they had as good enquire, whether they had best admit *Inigo Jones*, the king’s architect, to the company of mousetrap-makers.” *British Biography*, vol. iv. p. 336, 350. ED.

age he embraced the middle way between *Calvin* and *Arminius*. He was one of the most moderate prelates of his time, and allowed of the ordinations of foreign protestants; which none but he and bishop *Davenant*, and one or two more among the bishops of those times, would admit. The archbishop having lost all his revenues by the Irish rebellion, the king conferred upon him the bishoprick of Carlisle in commendam. In 1643 he was nominated one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, but did not appear among them. As long as the king was at Oxford he continued with him, but when the war was ended, he returned to London and lived privately, without any molestation. He assisted at the treaty of the Isle of Wight, but could do no service, the contending parties being then at too great a distance to be reconciled. A little before the king's death, the archbishop was chosen preacher to the honourable society of Lincoln's-Inn, preaching constantly all term time, till his eyes failing, he quitted that post, about a year and a half before his death, and retired with the countess of *Peterborough* to her house at Ryegate. The protector had a high esteem for this excellent prelate, and consulted him about proper measures for advancing the protestant interest at home and abroad: He allowed him a pension, and promised him a lease of part of the lands of his archbishoprick in Ireland for twenty-one years; but his death prevented the accomplishment of his design. About the middle of February the archbishop went down to Ryegate, and on the 20th of March was seized with a pleurisy, of which he died the next day, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, having been fifty-five years a preacher, four years bishop of Meath, and thirty-one years archbishop of Armagh. The archbishop was one of the most learned men of his age; he had a penetrating judgment, a tenacious memory; above all, he was a most pious, humble, exemplary christian.* His body was of the smaller size, his complexion sanguine,

* "With his great and vast learning," it is said, "no man had a better soul and a more apostolical mind. Passion, pride, self-will, or the love of the world, seemed not to be so much as in his nature. He had all the innocence of the dove in him. But no man is entirely perfect. He was not made for the governing part of his function. His soul was too gentle to manage the rough work of reforming abuses; therefore he left things

fanguine, but his presence always commanded reverence. The protector did him the honour of a publick funeral, and buried him at his own expence,* in king *Henry* the VII's chapel.†

Stephen Marshall, B. D. was born at Godmanchester in Huntingdonshire, and was educated in Cambridge, and afterwards beneficed at Finchamfield in Essex, where he acquired such reputation by his preaching, that he was often called to preach before the long parliament, who consulted him in all affairs relating to religion. He was one of the assembly of divines, and employed in most, if not all the treaties between the king and parliament. Mr. *Eachard*, according to his usual candour, calls him “a famous incendiary, and assistant
“to the parliamentarians, their trumpet in their fasts, their
“confessor in their sickness, their counsellor in their assem-
“blies, their chaplain in their treaties, and their champion

“as he found them. He saw the necessity of cutting off many abuses, and
“hoped for a time of reformation, yet he did not exert himself to correct
“or remove those corruptions which he apprehended would bring a curse
“and ruin upon the church. It seems that this sat heavy upon his mind in
“his last illness; for he prayed often and with great humility, that God
“would forgive his sins of omission, and his failings in his duty.” Life of
Bp. Bedel, p. 86, 7. Ed.

* Here Mr. *Neal* was, it seems, in a mistake. The protector, though he directed that this prelate should be buried with great pomp in Westminster Abbey; bore but half the expence of the funeral; the other half fell very heavily upon his relations. His *Annals of the Old and New Testament* is esteemed the most valuable of his numerous works; and the first draught of this work was drawn up by him, when he was only fifteen years of age. The Western world owes its first acquaintance with the Samaritan bible to this prelate. Four copies were procured for him by a factor, and sent to him, from Syria, in 1625. He gave one copy to the library at Oxford: a second he lodged in sir *Robert Cotton's* library: he sent a third to Leyden, and reserved the fourth for himself. The Old Testament in Syriac was obtained for him not long after. *Clarke's Martyrology*, in the *Lives*, p. 280, and 292. *Granger's History of England*, vol. iii. p. 27. 8vo.

Cromwell prevented the sale of Archb. *Usher's* valuable library of prints and manuscripts to foreigners; and caused it to be purchased and sent over to Dublin, with an intention to bestow it on a new college, or hall, which he proposed to build and endow there. The lease, which, as Mr. *Neal* says, *Cromwell* promised to the archbishop, was never executed: and it admits a doubt, whether the pension was ever enjoyed. Dr. *Grey*, on the authority of Dr. *Parr*, the primate's biographer. Ed.

† *Clarke's General Martyrology*, p. 277, &c. of the *Lives*.

“in their disputations;”^{*} and then adds, “This great *Shimei*, being taken with a desperate sickness, departed the “world mad and raving.” An unjust aspersions! for he was a person of sober and moderate principles, insomuch that Mr. *Baxter* used to say, that if all the bishops had been of the spirit and temper of archbishop *Usher*, the presbyterians of the temper of Mr. *Marshall*, and the independents like Mr. *Jer. Burroughs*, the divisions of the church would have been easily compromised. When he was taken ill, and obliged to retire into the country for the air, the *Oxford Mercury* said he was distracted, and in his rage constantly cried out, that he was damned for adhering to the parliament in their war against the king. But he lived to confute the calumny, and published a treatise to prove the lawfulness of defensive arms in cases of necessity. He was an admired preacher, and far from running into the extremes of the times. In the decline of his life he retired from the city, and spent the two last years of his life in Ipswich. The reverend Mr. *G. Firmin*, in a preface to one of Mr. *Marshall*’s posthumous sermons, writes, that he had left few such labourers as himself behind him; that he was a christian by practice as well as profession; that he lived by faith, and died by faith, and was an example to the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, and purity. That when he and others were talking with Mr. *Marshall* about his death, he replied, *I cannot say, as he, I have not so lived that I should now be afraid to die; but this I can say, I have so learned Christ, that I am not afraid to die.* He enjoyed the full use of his understanding to the last; but lost the use of his hands and appetite, in so much that he could eat nothing for some months before he died. Mr. *Fuller* says, that he performed his exercise for bachelor of divinity with general applause; that he was a good preacher, but so supple, that he brake not a joint in all the

^{*} The words of Mr. *Eachard* are almost *verbatim* borrowed from *Fuller*. Dr. *Grey*, to confute the character given of Mr. *Marshall*, as an admired preacher, quotes some passages from his sermons; which certainly are not in the taste of modern eloquence: but they had a point in them, and abounded in antitheses and comparisons, which, it is easy to conceive, might gain admiration. Besides, compositions should be, in part, at least, judged of by the spirit and taste of the age, to which they were adapted. ED.

alteration of the times; and although some suspected him of deserting his presbyterian principles, yet upon his death-bed he gave them full satisfaction that he had not.* His remains were solemnly interred in Westminster-Abbey, but were dug up again at the restoration.

The protector having as yet no better than a military title to his high dignity, resolved to obtain a more legal one as soon as the times would admit. He had now cut his way through a great many difficulties, and the success of his arms this summer having raised his reputation to an uncommon pitch of greatness, he resolved to summon a new parliament to meet at Westminster, Sept. 17, 1656, to confirm his title to the protectorship; and the *republicans* being his most dangerous enemies, the protector sent for sir *H. Vane* and major-general *Ludlow*, to give security not to act against the present government.† He asked *Ludlow*, what made him uneasy? or what he would have? *Ludlow* answered, He would have the nation governed by its own consent. I am, said the protector, as much for a government by consent as any man; but where shall we find that consent; among the prelatical, presbyterian, independent, anabaptist, or levelling parties? The *other* replied, among those of all sorts who have acted with fidelity and affection to the publick. The *protector*, apprehending that he was for throwing all things back into confusion, told him, that all men now enjoyed as much liberty and protection as they could desire, and that he was resolved to keep the nation from being embroiled again in blood. “I desire not, says he, to put any more hardships upon you than upon myself; nor do I aim at any thing by this proceeding but the publick quiet and security. As to my own circumstances in the world, I have not much improved them, as these gentlemen (pointing to his council) well know.” But *Ludlow*, sir *Henry Vane*, and colonel *Rich*, persisting in their refusal to give security, were taken into custody. Bishop *Burnet* says, that others solicited him to restore the young king, and that the earl of *Orrery* told him he might make his own terms; but that *Cromwell* replied, *that the son could never forgive his father's blood; and that he*

* Fuller's Worthies, book II. p. 53. † Life of Cromwell, p. 340.

was so debauched he would undo every thing. It was therefore resolved to set him aside, and proceed upon the present plan.

When the parliament met according to appointment, the reverend Dr. Owen preached before them; his text was, Isa. xiv. 32. *What shall one then answer the messengers of the nation? that the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people shall trust in it.* From the Abbey, the protector went with the members to the painted chamber, where he made a speech and then dismissed them to their house: but to prevent their entering into debates about his title, a guard was placed at the door, with a paper of RECOGNITION for each member to subscribe, wherein they promise, *not to act any thing prejudicial to the government as it was established under a PROTECTOR.* Upon their subscribing this, if they were under no disqualification, they had a certificate of their return, and *of their being approved by his HIGHNESS and COUNCIL.** This measure was certainly inconsistent with the freedom of parliaments: for if the crown has a negative upon the return of the members, they are tools of the crown, and not representatives of the people; because, though they are legally chosen and returned by the proper officer, a superior tribunal may set them aside. Besides, if the parliament was to give a sanction to the new government, the *recognition* was absurd, because it obliged them to consent to that which they had no liberty to debate. It must therefore be allowed, that CROMWELL'S *protectorship* was built solely upon the authority of the *council of officers*: this being one of those *fundamentals* which his highness would not suffer any of his parliaments to debate. But it is highly probable that these stretches of power might be absolutely unavoidable at this time, to maintain government under any form; and that without them the several parties would have fallen to pieces, and involved the nation in confusion and a new war. The parliament, in their *humble petition and advice*, guarded against the exclusion of their members for the future, except by a vote of the house, which the protector freely consented to; so that this was only a temporary expedient, and not to be made a precedent of: but at present almost *one hundred members* refused to subscribe, and were therefore excluded. These

* Whitlocke, p. 639.

presented a petition to the sitting members for redress, and were answered, that the *protector* had promised to relieve them if they could shew cause of complaint. But instead of this, they appealed to the people in a severe remonstrance, charging *his highness* with invading their fundamental rights and liberties, and preventing the free meeting of the representatives of the people in parliament. To which it was replied, that if they would not so much as own the *protector*, they had no colour or pretence to call themselves members of parliament.

The sitting members having chosen sir *Thomas Widdrington* their speaker, approved of the war with Spain, and voted supplies to support *his highness* in the prosecution of it. They renounced and disannulled the title of CHARLES STUART; and passed an act, making it high treason to compass or imagine the death of the LORD PROTECTOR. They reviewed the orders and ordinances of the protector, and his council, in the intervals of parliament, and confirmed most of them. They abrogated the authority and power of the *major-generals*, conceiving it inconsistent with the laws of England, and liberties of the people. These, and some other acts hereafter mentioned, were presented to his highness, Nov. 27, for confirmation; and as he was pleased to confirm them all, he told them, *that as it had been the custom of the chief governors to acknowledge the care, and kindness of the commons upon such occasions, so he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness therein.* But the parliament continued sitting till next year, when we shall meet with more important transactions.

The act for security of the protector's person was no sooner passed than a plot was discovered against his life. *Miles Syndercomb* a leveller, a bold resolute man, having been disbanded in Scotland, combined with one *Cecil*, and another of the protector's life-guards, to assassinate him as he was going to Hampton-court; but being disappointed once and again by some unexpected accidents, the other conspirators betrayed the design. *Syndercomb* put himself on his trial, and was condemned on the statute 25th of *Edward III.* the chief justice *Glynne* declaring, that by the word *king* in the statute, any chief magistrate was understood. But *Synder-*
comb

comb prevented the execution; for the very morning he was to suffer, he was found dead in his bed; whereupon his body was tied to a horse's tail, and dragged naked to the scaffold on Tower-hill, and then buried with a stake driven through it. However, a day of publick thanksgiving was appointed for the protector's deliverance, Feb. 20; when his highness gave the speaker and members of parliament a splendid entertainment at the banqueting-house.

The war with Spain this summer was attended with vast success, for no sooner had the king of Spain seized the effects of the *English* merchants in his country, than the *protector* ordered his admirals, *Blake* and *Montague*, to block up the harbour of Cadiz, and look out for the Plate fleet, which captain *Stayner*, who was left with seven men of war upon the coast, while the admirals were gone to Portugal for fresh water, discovered, consisting of eight men of war, making directly for Cadiz; *Stayner* bore up to them with all the sail he could make, and engaged them within four leagues of their port; the Spanish admiral run his ship ashore with six hundred thousand pieces of eight; but the vice-admiral, with twelve hundred thousand pieces of eight, and another galleon, were fired and sunk; the rear-admiral, with two millions of plate in her, was taken; and upon the whole, six of the eight ships were destroyed; the plate to the value of two millions, was brought to Portsmouth, and conveyed in carts to London, and carried through the city to the Tower to be coined. Admiral *Blake*, with the rest of the fleet, wintered upon the coast of Spain, and destroyed another fleet of much greater value the next summer.

After the discovery of *Syndercomb's* plot, the *prelatists*, *presbyterians*, and *levellers*, were pretty quiet, but the quakers began to be very troublesome. The reader has been informed under the year 1650, that *George Fox* travelled the countries, declaiming in the market-places, and in churches, against all ordained ministers, and placing the whole of religion in an inward light, and an extraordinary impulse of the holy spirit. In the year 1652 the quakers set up separate assemblies in Lancashire, and the adjacent parts. In 1654 they opened the first separate meeting of the people called quakers in the house of *Robert Dring*, in Watling-street, London.

don. These unwary people, by interrupting publick worship, and refusing to pay any respect to the magistrate, frequently exposed themselves to sufferings.* One of them, in a letter to the protector, says, “that though there are no penal laws in force, obliging men to comply with the established religion, yet the quakers are exposed upon other accounts; they are fined and imprisoned for refusing to take an oath; for not paying their tithes; for disturbing the publick assemblies, and meeting in the streets, and places of publick resort; some of them have been whipped for vagabonds, and for their plain speeches to the magistrate.” But the *quakers* were so far from being discouraged, that they opened a publick meeting under favour of the toleration, at the Bull and Mouth inn, in Aldersgate-street, where women as well as men spake as they were moved; and when none were moved, there was no speaking at all.† The novelty of this assembly drew great numbers of people thither out of curiosity; nor did any give them disturbance, as long as they continued quiet within themselves; but in several places where they had no business, the extravagance of their speakers was insufferable; one of them interrupted the minister in White-chapel church, and disturbed the whole assembly. A female came into Whitehall chapel, *stark naked*, in the midst of

* *Gough* says, “that most, (though not always) they waited till the worship was ended.” The *quakers*, he observes, were not singular concerning the gospel-liberty of prophesying. The *baptists* and *independents* adopted the opinion, that ordained ministers had not, either from the appointment of Christ, or the practice of the primitive christians, an exclusive right of speaking in the church; but that all properly gifted might speak one by one. During the civil wars it had been usual for laymen, soldiers, and others, with the connivance, if not with the approbation of the ruling powers, to speak or preach in the publick places of worship, or elsewhere. *Oliver Cromwell*, in his correspondence with the ministers of Scotland, in 1650, had vindicated the practice. The members of this infant-society, who thought it their duty to declare the burden of the word on their minds, were sanctioned by the opinions and manners of the age. They were reprehensible only when the impetuosity of their zeal interrupted the service as it was proceeding. And then the irregularity and rudeness of this conduct did not justify the violence and outrage with which they were often treated: as contrary to humanity and civilization as to the professed principles of religious liberty.

Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 87. Ed.

† Sewel's History, p. 84.

publick

publick worship,† the lord protector himself being present. Another came into the parliament-house with a trenchard in her hand, which she broke in pieces, saying, *Thus shall ye be broke in pieces.* Thomas Aldam, having complained to the protector of the imprisonment of some friends in the country, and not finding redress, took off his cap and tore it in pieces, saying, *So shall thy government be torn from thee and thy house.* Several pretending an extraordinary message from heaven, went about the streets of London, denouncing the judgments of God against the protector and his council. One came to the door of the parliament-house with a drawn sword, and wounded several who were present, saying, *he was inspired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man that sat in the house.** Others in their prophetick raptures denounced judgments on the whole nation, and frequently disturbed the publick assemblies where the *chief magistrate himself* was present. Many opened their shops on the Lord's day, in defiance of the laws, and were so very obstinate and intractable, that it was impossible to keep the peace without some marks of severity.

But the most extravagant quaker that appeared at this time was James Naylor, formerly an officer in major-general Lambert's troop in Scotland, a man of good natural parts, and an admired speaker among these people; some of whom had

† It does not appear on what authority Mr. Neal brings forward this story. It is not to be met with in Sewel, who does relate the two following facts: p. 144. If it were a well-authenticated fact, and if this female were a quaker, the impropriety and indecency of her conduct ought not to be imputed to the society, unless it directly arose from their avowed principles, and had been sanctioned by their approbation. Mr. Neal, further on, speaks of "other extravagancies of this people recorded by our historians about that time." The matter of enquiry will be, whether those historians wrote on good evidence, and were candid and fair in their representations? He says, that "the protector was continually teased with their importunities:" others may applaud the firmness and perseverance with which their remonstrances, on the persecutions they suffered, here called *teazing importunities*, were renewed. "Fox and others," he adds, "wrote letters to him, filled with denunciations of the divine judgments." If we may judge by the specimens of these letters, which Sewel and Gough have given us, the candid reader will find reason rather to applaud the honest simplicity, and undisguised plain dealing in them, than contempt of authority, or bitter invectives. ED.

* Whitlocke, p. 592.

such a veneration for him, that they stiled him in blasphemous language, the *everlasting Sun of righteousness; the Prince of peace; the only begotten son of God; the fairest among ten thousand.* Some of the *friends* kissed his feet in the prison at Exeter, and after his release went before him into the city of Bristol, after the manner of our Saviour's entrance into Jerusalem: one walked bareheaded; another of the women led his horse; others spread their scarves and handkerchiefs before him in the way, crying continually as they went on, *Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Hosts; Hosanna in the highest; holy, holy, is the Lord God of Israel.** Upon this the magistrates of Bristol caused him to be apprehended, and sent up to the parliament, who appointed a committee to examine witnesses against him, upon a charge of blasphemy; (1.) For admitting religious worship to be paid to him; and, (2.) For assuming the names and incommunicable titles and attributes of our blessed Saviour, as the name *JESUS, the fairest amongst ten thousand, the only-begotten Son of God, the prophet of the most High, the king of Israel, the everlasting Sun of righteousness, the Prince of peace.* All which

* The story of *James Naylor* was too remarkable, both on account of the extravagant delusions which misled him and his admirers, and the severe and illegal sentence under which he suffered, not to be recorded. But to give it as a picture of *quakerism* is not fair or candid: for not only *Sewel* himself condemns the behaviour of *Naylor* and his followers, and resolves it into his being stupified in his understanding, and beguiled by the wiles of Satan; but informs us that the *quakers* in general spoke against him and his doings. They disowned him and his adherents. *Gough* therefore, not without reason, complains that this has been passed over unnoticed, while the enormities of this man, instead of being overlooked, have been rather exaggerated. The reflection he makes on this is just, and deserves serious attention. "There seems to be a pride and malignity in human nature, while unreformed by religion, diametrically opposite to christian charity, which, unconscious of sublime virtue in itself, and aiming to depress the rest of mankind below its own level, delights to dwell on the dark side of characters, to magnify the failings of men, and draw a suspicious shade over their virtues, or the mitigating circumstances of their defects; and this malevolent disposition receives new force from the spirit of party, which peculiarly characterised this age, and raged with unabated violence against the *quakers*."—It may be added, though it should be with deep concern, that even good and liberal minds do not always rise wholly superior to the influence of these dispositions.

Gough's History, vol. i. p. 251, 247, 8. *Sewel's History*, p. 143, 150. Ed.

which he confessed,† but alledged in his own defence, that these honours were not paid to him, but to *Christ who dwelt in him.*

The committee asked him, why he came in so extraordinary a manner into Bristol? To which he replied, that *he might not refuse any honours which others who were moved by the Lord gave him.* Being further asked whether he had reprov'd the persons who gave him those titles and attributes? He answered, *if they had it from the Lord, what had I to do to reprove them? If the Father has moved them to give these honours to Christ, I may not deny them; if they have given them to any other but to Christ, I disown them.* He concluded his defence thus; *I do abhor that any honours due to God should be given to me as I am a creature; but it pleased the Lord to set me up as a sign of the coming of the righteous one, and what has been done to me passing through the town, I was commanded by the power of the Lord to suffer to be done to the outward man, as a sign; but I abhor any honour as a creature.*

From the committee, he was brought to the bar of the house, where the report being read, he confessed it; upon which the house voted him guilty of *blasphemy*, and ordered him to be set in the pillory two hours at Westminster, and two hours at the Old Exchange; that he should be whipped through the streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange; that his tongue should be bored through with an hot iron, and his forehead stigmatized with the letter *B*; he was afterwards to be sent to Bristol, and to ride through the city with his face to the horse's tail, and to be whipped the next market-day after he came thither. Last of all, he was to be

† This is not accurate. When the speaker *Widdrington* was going to pronounce the sentence, *J. Naylor* said, "he did not know his offence." To which the speaker replied, "he should know his offence by his punishment." The trial was published, but the extravagancy of the sentence countenances the suspicion, that the account was partially taken and published to justify the cruelty of it. Some of his answers were innocent enough: some not clear, and some wrested and aggravated by his adversaries: they reported the worst, and more than was true: adding and diminishing, it is said, as they were minded; and leaving out much of what was spoken to the committee. His words were perverted, and ensnaring questions proposed to him. *Sewel's History*, p. 139, note, and p. 140; or *Gough*, vol. i. p. 237, 8, note. *Ed.*

committed to Bridewell in London, to be restrained from company, and to be put to hard labour till he should be released by parliament; during which time he was to be debarred from pen, ink, and paper, and to have no sustenance but what he got by his daily labour.* A sentence much too severe for such a wrong-headed obstinate creature.†

December 18, *James Naylor* stood in the pillory in the Palace-yard, Westminster, and was whipped to the Old Exchange; the remainder of his sentence being respited for a week, in which time the reverend Mr. *Caryl*, *Manton*, *Nye*, *Griffith*, and *Reynolds*, went to him, in order to bring him to some acknowledgment of his crime;‡ but not being able to reclaim

* It ought to be mentioned, to the honour of humanity, and as a proof that *some* persons of equity and moderation existed in those times; that several persons of different persuasions had offered petitions to parliament on his behalf, but it was resolved not to read them till sentence had been passed: when by the execution of the first part of it he was reduced to a state of extreme weakness, many again interposed in his favour by a petition, which was presented to the house by more than an hundred on behalf of the subscribers, while the execution of the remaining part was respited for a week, pleading that this respite had refreshed the hearts of many thousands altogether unconcerned in his practice, and praying that it might be wholly remitted. But intolerance and vindictiveness resisted these solicitations. The protector was then addressed; on which he wrote a letter to the house; but this, though it occasioned some debate, obtained no resolution in favour of the prisoner. On this the petitioners presented a second address to the protector: but it is said, the publick preachers by their influence prevented its effect. Sewel, p. 141; and Gough, vol. i. p. 240, 41. EDIT.

† Mr. *Neal*'s censure of this sentence is too gentle. It was repugnant to humanity, equity, and wisdom. For though the religious extravagancies of *Naylor* might reasonably shock pious and sober minds. His *criminality* ought to have been estimated not by the sound of the titles and claims he assumed, or which were given to him; but by the delusion and phrensy which had seized his brain: and on this ground he was an object of pity, not of indignation; and he should have been assigned over to a physician for a cure of his madness, and not to the executioner of publick justice to be punished. His features, we are told, bore a near resemblance to the common pictures of Christ; which is candidly mentioned by Mr. *Granger* to account for his imagining that he was transformed into Christ; and which circumstance ought to have had its influence with his judges. History of England, vol. iii. p. 149, 8vo. ED.

‡ These gentlemen, in many respects excellent characters, did not manage this interview in a manner worthy of themselves, or honourable to their memory. For they would admit no friend of his, nor any other person into the room, although requested. When *Naylor* insisted that what passed should

reclaim him, the remainder of his sentence was executed Dec. 27, when some of his followers licked his wounds, and paid him other honours both ridiculous and superstitious. He was afterwards sent to Bristol, and whipped from the middle of Thomas-street, over the bridge, to the middle of Broad-street. From Bristol he was brought back to Bridewell, London, where he remained fullen for three days, and would not work; but then begged for victuals, and was content to labour.

At length, after two years imprisonment, he recanted his errors so far as to acknowledge, that the honours he received at his entrance into Bristol were wrong; “and all those ranting, wild spirits, which gathered about me (says he) at that time of darkness, with all their wild acts, and wicked works against the honour of God, and his pure spirit and people, I renounce. And whereas I gave advantage, through want of judgment, to that evil spirit, I take shame to myself.” After the protector’s death *James Naylor* was released out of prison, and wrote several things in defence of the *quakers*, who owned him as a *friend*, notwithstanding his extravagant behaviour;* but he did not long survive his enlargement, for retiring into Huntingdonshire, he died there towards the latter end of the year 1660, about the forty-fourth year of his age.† Mr. *Whitlocke* observes very justly, that

should be put in writing, and a copy left with him or the jailor, they consented: but on his remarking afterwards in the course of the conversation, on perceiving they meant to wrest his words, “how soon they forgot the work of the bishops, who were now treading the same steps, seeking to ensnare the innocent,” they rose up in a rage, and burnt what they had written. Sewel, p. 142. Gough, vol. i. p. 242. Ed.

* The reflection insinuated here against the *quakers* might have been well spared: and it would have been more handsome in our author to have stated the matter as *Sewel* has: “*James Naylor*,” says he, “came to very great sorrow and deep humiliation of mind: and therefore, because God forgives the transgressions of the penitent, and blotteth them out, and remembereth them no more, so could *James Naylor*’s friends do no other than forgive his crime, and thus take back the lost sheep into their society.” Sewel’s History, p. 153. Ed.

† The expressions uttered by *James Naylor*, about two hours before his death, both in justice to his name, and on account of their own excellence, deserve to be preserved here. “There is a spirit which I feel,” he said, “that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure

that many thought he was too furiously prosecuted by some rigid men.*

Other extravagancies of this people, about this time, are recorded by our historians. The protector was continually teized with their importunities; they waited for him on the road, and watched about his palace, till they got an opportunity to speak to him. *George Fox*, and others, wrote letters filled with denunciations of divine judgments, unless he would pull down the remains of antichrist, by which they understood *church ministers*, and *church maintenance*. To which the protector paid no regard.

As new inroads were made upon the ordinances for observation of the sabbath, the parliament took care to amend them. This year they ordained, that “the sabbath should
“be deemed to extend from twelve of the clock on Saturday
“night, to twelve of the clock on Lord’s day night; and

“endure all things, in hopes to enjoy its own to the end: Its hope is to
“outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and
“cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end
“of all temptation: As it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in
“thought to any other: if it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and
“spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God: Its crown is meekness, its
“life is everlasting love unfeigned, and takes its kingdom with intreaty
“and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God
“alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life: It is
“conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any pity to it; nor doth
“it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth, but through suf-
“ferings, for with the world’s joy it is murdered: I found it alone being
“forfaken; I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens and
“desolate places in the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection
“and eternal life.” After his fall *James Naylor* was a man of great self-
denial, and very diffident and jealous of himself. Sewel, p. 159. Gough’s
History, vol. i. p. 246. Ed.

* *Whitlocke’s* observation on *Naylor’s* sentence, just as it is, is not sufficiently strong and poignant. In its *cruelty* this sentence bore a great resemblance to that passed on *Dr. Leighton* by the infamous court of Star-chamber: and it vied with it in *illegality*, for the house of commons, as *Gough* remarks, is no court of judicature, nor hath any power to inflict a punishment beyond imprisonment during its session. Hist. of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 239. It ought not to be omitted, that many of the members were very averse to the severity of the measures taken against this persecuted man, whom a temporary phrensy misled. Though it may be added here, the recantation of this bewildered victim was not published till after his release, yet that and other pieces were written by him while he was in prison: during which period he recovered a sound state of mind, and repented of his errors. Sewel, p. 144. Ed.

“within

“ within that compass of time they prohibited all kinds of
 “ business and diversions, except works of necessity and
 “ mercy. No election of magistrates is to be on the Lord’s
 “ day; no holding of courts, or return of writs, but if, ac-
 “ cording to their charters, they fall upon the Lord’s day,
 “ they are to be deferred to Monday. It is further enacted,
 “ That all persons not having a reasonable excuse, to be al-
 “ lowed by a justice of peace, shall resort to some church or
 “ chapel, where the true worship of God is performed, or
 “ to some meeting-place of christians not differing in matters
 “ of faith from the publick profession of the nation, on pe-
 “ nalty of two shillings and sixpence for every offence. It is
 “ further ordered, that no minister shall be molested, or dis-
 “ turbed in the discharge of his office on the Lord’s day, or
 “ on any other day, when he is performing his duty, or in
 “ going or coming from the place of publick worship. Nor
 “ shall any wilful disturbance be given to the congregation,
 “ on penalty of five pounds, or being sent to the workhouse
 “ for six months, provided the information be within one
 “ month after the offence is committed.”* This ordinance
 to be read in every church or chapel of this nation annually,
 the first Lord’s day in every March.

The oath of abjuration, for discovering popish recusants,
 not being effectual, it was now further ordained, “ that all
 “ justices of peace, at the quarter-sessions, should charge the
 “ grand juries to present all persons whom they suspected to
 “ be popishly affected; and that every such person should
 “ appear at the next quarter-sessions, and take and subscribe
 “ the following oath of abjuration, on penalty of being ad-
 “ judged popish recusants convict, to all intents and purposes
 “ whatsoever.”

“ I *A. B.* do abjure and renounce the pope’s supremacy
 “ and authority over the catholick church in general, and over
 “ myself in particular. And I do believe the church of Rome
 “ is not the true church; and that there is not any transub-
 “ stantiation in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, or in the
 “ elements of bread and wine after consecration thereof, by
 “ any person whatsoever. And I do also believe, that there
 “ is not any purgatory; and that consecrated hosts, cruci-

* Scobel, p. 438.

“ fixes,

“fixes, or images, ought not to be worshipped; neither that
“any worship is due unto them. And I also believe, that
“salvation cannot be merited by works. And I do sincerely
“testify and declare, that the pope, neither of himself, nor
“by any authority of the church or see of Rome, or by any
“other means, with any other, hath any power or authority
“to depose the chief magistrate of these nations, or to dispose
“of any of the countries or territories thereunto belonging;
“or to authorize any foreign prince or state to invade or an-
“noy him, or them; or to discharge any of the people of
“these nations from their obedience to the *chief magistrate*;
“or to give licence, or leave to any of the said people to bear
“arms, raise tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to the
“person of the said *chief magistrate*, or to the state or go-
“vernment of these nations, or to any of the people thereof.
“And I do further swear, that I do from my heart abhor, de-
“test and abjure, this damnable doctrine and position, that
“princes, rulers or governors, which be excommunicated, or
“deprived by the pope, may, by virtue of such excommuni-
“cation or deprivation, be killed, murdered, or deposed from
“their rule or government; or any outrage or violence done
“to them by the people that are under them; or by any
“other whatsoever upon such pretence. And I do further
“swear, that I do believe that the pope, or bishop of Rome,
“hath no authority, power, or jurisdiction whatsoever,
“within England, Scotland and Ireland, or any or either of
“them, or the dominions or territories thereunto belonging,
“or any or either of them. And all doctrines in affirmation
“of the same points I do abjure and renounce, without any
“equivocation, mental reservation, or secret evasion what-
“soever, taking the words by me spoken, according to the
“common and usual meaning of them. And I do believe no
“power derived from the pope or church of Rome, or any
“other person, can absolve me from this mine oath. And
“I do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary.
“So help me God.”*

Upon refusal of this oath, the protector and his successors
might, by process in the Exchequer, seize upon two-thirds of

* Scobel, p. 444.

their

their estates both real and personal, for the use of the publick, during the time of their recusancy; but after their decease, the same were to return to the right heir, provided they took the abovementioned oath. It was further ordained, “that
 “no subject of this commonwealth shall at any time be pre-
 “sent at mass, in the house of any foreign ambassador, or
 “agent, or at any other place, on penalty of one hundred
 “pounds, and imprisonment for six months, half to the
 “protector, and half to the informer.”

How far these severities were needful or justifiable I leave with the judgment of the reader.

The protector had an opportunity this year, of appearing for the protestants of France,* as he had done last year for those of the Valleys; there happened a quarrel between the burghers of Nismes, who were mostly *bugonots*, and the magistrates and bishop of the city; the *intendant* of the province being informed of it, repaired thither to prevent an insurrection; but the *burghers* standing in their own defence raised a tumult, of which the intendant sent an account to court. The burghers, being soon sensible of their folly, submitted and begged pardon; but the *court*, laying hold of the opportunity, resolved to ruin them. Upon which they dispatched a messenger privately to CROMWELL, and begged his interposition. The *protector*, having heard the whole account, bid the messenger stay and refresh himself, and before he could return to Paris, his business should be done. Accordingly, an express was immediately dispatched with a letter to the king of France, under cover of the following to cardinal *Mazarine*.

To his eminence the LORD CARDINAL MAZARINE.

“HAVING thought necessary to dispatch this gentle-
 “man to the king with the inclosed letter, I commanded him

* The conduct of CROMWELL, in this instance, does him the more honour, as unhappily for the suffering protestants of France, it is unparalleled. It was not formed on any precedent; nor has his generous example been followed. “When an opportunity,” observes an ingenious writer, “offered for
 “doing something for them at the peace of Ryfwick, in 1697; and again
 “of Utrecht, in 1713, at which time four hundred were still groaning on
 “board the gallies, or perishing in dungeons, there was not one stipulation
 “in their favour.” Bicheno’s Signs of the Times, part I. p. 46, note. Ed.

“ to salute your *eminence* on my part; and have charged him
 “ to communicate to you certain affairs which I have entrusted
 “ him with: I therefore pray your highness to give credit
 “ to what he shall say, having an entire confidence in him.

“ *Your eminence's most affectionate,*

“ O. CROMWELL, *protector of the*

“ *Commonwealth of England, &c.*

“ Whitehall, Dec. 28th, 1656.”

The protector added the following postscript with his own hand; “ I have been informed of the tumult at Nismes: I
 “ recommend to your highness the interest of the *reformed*.” And in his instructions to his ambassador *Lockhart*, he commanded him to insist peremptorily, *that the tumult of Nismes be forgiven*, or else to leave the court immediately. *Mazarine* complained of this usage, as too high and imperious; but his eminence stood in too much awe of the protector to quarrel with him, and therefore sent orders to the *intendant* to make up the matter as well as he could. Mr. *Welwood* says, the cardinal would change countenance whenever he heard the name of the PROTECTOR, insomuch that it became a proverb in France, that *Mazarine* was not so much afraid of the devil as of O. CROMWELL. Such was the terror of this great man's name in the principal courts of Europe!

This year* died the right reverend and pious Dr. *Joseph Hall* bishop of Norwich, whose practical works have been
 in

* In September, this year, [1656] there happened at Abingdon in Berkshire a tumult, which was attended with singular circumstances, expressive of the political as well as religious phrensy of the times. It was occasioned by the burial of Mr. *Pendarvis*, the pastor of the *baptist* church in that town; who died in London, and was brought down to Abingdon by water, in a sugar-cask filled up with sand, to be interred. As he was one of the *fifth-monarchy* men, and the people to whom he ministered were of that stamp, and famous among the party in general, his interment drew together so vast a concourse of people, even from the remotest parts of the kingdom, that the governing powers took notice of it, and sent major-general *Bridges* with a party of soldiers to attend on the occasion. Several days were spent by the people in religious exercises, in which were thrown out many railing accusations against the existing government, and exhortations to “ arise and
 “ fight the Lord's battles,” &c. At last the major-general sent an order to dissolve the meeting in these words: *It is the order of the state, that you depart to your habitations*. They refused to obey this order, and persisted
 in

in great esteem among the dissenters. He was born as Ashby de la Zouch in Leicestershire, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. When he left the university, he travelled with sir *Edmund Bacon* to the Spa in Germany. Upon his return, he was taken into the service of prince *Henry*, and preferred to the rectory of Waltham in Essex, which he held twenty-two years. King *James* sent him to the synod of Dort with other English divines, where he preached a *Latin* sermon; but was forced to retire to England before the synod broke up, on the account of his health. Some time after his return, he was preferred to the bishoprick of Exeter, and from thence translated to Norwich. At the beginning of the troubles between the king and parliament, the bishop published several treatises in favour of diocesan episcopacy, which were answered by *Smectymnuus*, as has been already related. He was afterwards imprisoned in the Tower with the rest of the *protesting* bishops; upon his release he retired to Norwich, the revenues of which bishoprick being soon sequestered, together with his own real and personal estate, he was forced to be content with the fifths. The soldiers used him severely, turning him out of his palace, and threatening to sell his books, if a friend had not given bond for the money, at which they were appraised. The bishop complained very justly of this usage, in a pamphlet entitled *Hard Measure*. At length the parliament, to make him some amends, voted him 40*l.* per annum; and when the war was ended, in the year 1647, they took off the sequestration from his estate, and the bishop

in their exercises. A guard was then set upon the house, where they were assembled. On this they repaired to the market-place, and continued in the most insolent manner, to rail at the protector, and abuse the soldiers; crying out; *Now, Lord, appear; down with the Priests, &c.* the very women exciting the men to violence. The soldiers, at last, pulled down the men from their stools. A fray ensued, and swords and canes were brandished together in the greatest confusion, and some few slightly hurt. The major-general then entered the town with his whole brigade of horse. The ringleaders were apprehended and brought before him: with whom he reasoned and expostulated in the most friendly manner, but without success. For none of them would own their fault, or acknowledge the existing government, nor even promise to behave peaceably, saying, *they knew not how soon they might be called forth to do the Lord's work.* However, five only were committed to prison, and they were soon afterwards released. Thompson's Collections, under the word Abingdon MSS. ED. lived

lived peaceably upon it afterwards, spending his solitude in acts of charity and divine meditation. He was a learned and pious man, and of great humility and goodness in conversation; but his being the tool of archbishop *Laud*, in supporting the *divine right* of diocesan episcopacy, lessened him in the esteem of the parliament. Mr. *Fuller* says,* he was frequently called our English *Seneca*, for the pureness, plainness, and fulness of his stile.† He was more happy in his practical than polemical writings. There is one remarkable passage in his will, which is this, after having desired a private funeral, he adds, *I do not hold God's house a meet repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints*. In his last sickness he was afflicted with violent pains of the stone and stranguary, which he bore with wonderful patience, till death put an end to all his troubles, Sept. 8, 1656, in the eighty-second year of his age.

Towards the latter end of this year died the reverend Mr. *Richard Capel*, born at Gloucester 1586, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxon, where he proceeded M. A.‡ His eminence in the university (says the Oxford historian) was great; he had divers learned men for his pupils, who were afterwards famous in the church, as *Accepted Frewen*, archbishop of *York*, *William Pemble*, and others. He left the university for the rectory of Eastington in his own county, where he became celebrated for his painful and practical preaching, as well as for his exemplary life. When the book of sports came out 1633, he refused to read it, but resigned his rectory, and commenced physician. In 1641 he closed with the parliament, and was chosen one of the assembly of divines, but declined sitting among them, chusing to reside at his living at Pitchcomb, near Stroud, where he was in great reputation as a physician and divine, preaching gratis to his congregation. He published several valuable treatises, and among others a celebrated one, of *Temptations, their nature, danger, and cure*. He was a good old puritan, of the stamp

* Fuller's Worthies, book II. p. 130.

† In his younger years he composed a book of Satires, and was the first writer in that kind, of our English poets. Mr. *Pope* said high things of this performance. Granger's History of England, vol. ii. p. 157, 8vo. EDIT.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, p. 260.

of Mr. *Dod*, *Cleaver*, and *Hildersham*; and died at Pitchcomb in Gloucestershire, September 21, 1656,* aged seventy-two years.† The

* Mr. *Neal* has passed over here a name of great worth and eminence, which ought not to be forgotten in an history of the progress of religious liberty; that of the "ever-memorable" JOHN HALES, of ETON, as he has been usually called, who died on the 19th of May, 1656, aged seventy-two years: whose writings, though not numerous, especially his "Discourse on Schism," have much contributed to promote just sentiments and a liberality of spirit. He was born at Bath, in 1584, and made so early a proficiency in grammar learning, that at 13 years of age he was sent to Corpus-Christi college in Oxford; and studied under *George Abbot*, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, under whom he imbibed an attachment to the doctrines of *calvinism*. In 1605, by the interest of sir *Henry Saville*, warden of Merton college, whose notice and patronage his merit and learning had attracted, he was chosen fellow of the same: and his assistance was engaged in the excellent edition of *Chrysostom's* work by sir *Henry*; which is the best printed *Greek* book England can boast, and cost the learned Editor several thousand pounds.* Mr. *Hales* was also appointed to read the *Greek* lecture in his college, and in 1612 he was elected *Greek* professor to the university. In 1612-13 he was called upon to compose and speak the Funeral Oration for sir *Thomas Bodley*, founder of the Bodleian library, whose corpse the university determined to inter in the most solemn manner. On the 24th of May in that year, he was admitted fellow of Eton college, being then in holy orders. In 1618 he accompanied sir *Dudley Carleton*, king *James's* ambassador to the States of Holland, as his chaplain; and was present at many of the sessions of the Synod of Dort; from whence he returned an Arminian: "There," he said, "I bid *John Calvin* good night." On the 27th of June, 1639, by the interest of Archb. *Laud*, he was installed a Canon of Windsor: but he enjoyed this preferment, which he reluctantly accepted, little more than two years, till the beginning of the civil wars in 1642. About the beginning of 1645 he retired into a private chamber at Eton; where he remained a quarter of a year in a very obscure manner, and is said, during that time, to have lived only upon bread and beer. His fellowship was continued, though he refused to sign the covenant; but he was ejected from it on refusing to take the oath of fidelity to the commonwealth. His necessities at length obliged him to sell his admirable library for 700l. which had cost him 2500l. His love of retirement and study induced him to decline a generous offer of one of the Sedleian Family. When he held the fellowship and burser's place of his college, he was wont to say, they were worth to him 50l. a year more than he could spend. His body, it is reported, was well-proportioned, and his motion brisk and lively. His countenance was sanguine, cheerful, and full of air. His parts were great: his genius acute and piercing: his judgment profound: his learning various, polite, and universal; so that he was called "a walking library." His manners were most amiable and engaging. He was most exemplarily meek and

* Harwood's View of the Editions of the Classics, second edit. p. 143.

humble;

The parliament which met Sept. 17, continued sitting till the next year, having before them an affair of the greatest consequence, which was confirming the government under CROMWELL as LORD PROTECTOR, or changing it for the title of KING. Col. *Jephson*, one of the members from Ireland, moved, that the protector might have the crown, with the title of KING, and was seconded by alderman *Pack*, one of the representatives for the city of London; but the republicans in the house opposed it with great vehemence; however, upon putting the question, it was carried for a king; most of the lawyers, as serjeant *Glyn*, *Maynard*, *Fountain*, *St. John*, and others, being on that side. April 4, a petition was presented to the *protector*, recommending the title and office of a KING, as best fitted to the laws and temper of the people of England; and upon his desiring time to consider of it, a committee was appointed to give him satisfaction in any diffi-

humble; and beyond all example charitable: of great candour and moderation; judging for himself, but not others; none more studious of the knowledge of the gospel, or more curious in the search: of the strictest integrity, and sincerely pious. He had a great detestation of an imposing, censorious and intolerant spirit: and would often say, that “he would renounce the religion of the church of England to-morrow, if it obliged him to believe that any other Christians would be damned: and that nobody would conclude another man to be damned, who did not wish him so.” The force, eloquence, and simplicity, with which he wrote to Abp. *Laud*, give a picture of his mind, as well as convey excellent instruction. “The pursuit of truth,” says he, “has been my only care ever since I understood the meaning of the word. For this I have forsaken all hopes, all friends, all desires, which might bias me, and hinder me from driving right at what I aimed. For this I have spent my money, my means, my youth, my age, and all that I have.—If with all this cost and pains, my purchase is but error, I may safely say, to err has cost me more than it has many to find the truth; and truth shall give me this testimony at last, that if I have missed of her, it is not my fault, but my misfortune.” He was buried, according to his desire, in Eton college church-yard, on the day after his death: and a monument was erected over his grave by Mr. *Peter Curwen*. A complete edition of his works was, for the first time, offered to the publick, from the press of the Foulis at Glasgow, 1765, in three volumes 12mo. undertaken with the approbation of Dr. *Warburton*, the bishop of Gloucester. “The greatness of his character,” observes Mr. *Granger*, “has stamped a value upon some of his compositions, which are thought to have but little merit in themselves.” Hist. of England, vol. ii. 8vo. p. 172. British Biography, vol. iv. p. 368—375; and Works, vol. i. Testimonies prefixed, and p. 137, 8.

† Clarke’s General Martyrology, p. 303, of the annexed Lives. ED.

culties

culties that might arise, who urged, that “the name of
 “*protector* was unknown to our English constitution—that
 “his highness had already the office and power of a king,
 “and therefore the dispute was only about a name.—That
 “his person would never be secure till he assumed it, because
 “the laws did not take notice of him as *chief magistrate*, and
 “juries were backward to find persons guilty of treason where
 “there was no *king*.—They urged the advantages of a mixed
 “monarchy, and insisted on the safety and security of himself
 “and his friends—That by the laws of *Edw. IV.* and *Henry*
 “*VII.* whatever was done by a king in possession, with the
 “consent of a house of lords and commons, was valid, and all
 “that served under him were exempt from punishment—
 “That without this title all the grants and sales that had
 “been made were null and void; and all who had collected
 “the publick moneys were accountable.—In short, that the
 “inclinations of the nation were for a *king*—That his not
 “accepting the office would occasion the changing many an-
 “cient laws, customs, and formalities—That there would be
 “no lasting settlement till things reverted to this channel—
 “To all which they added, that it was the advice and opinion
 “of the representatives of the three nations; and since the
 “parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, advised and
 “desired him to accept the title, he ought not in reason or
 “equity to decline it.”*

The protector attended to these arguments, and would no doubt have complied, if he could have relied upon the army, but the chief officers remonstrated strongly against it, and many of his old friends, among whom was his own son-in-law *Fleetwood*, threatened to lay down their commissions. All the republicans declaimed loudly against his accepting the crown, and presented a petition to the house against it, drawn up by *Dr. Owen*, and presented by lieutenant-general *Mason*: They said, “they had pulled down monarchy with the monarch,
 “and should they now build it up?—They had appealed to
 “God in the late war, who had answered in their favour, and
 “should they now distrust him?—They had voted to be true
 “to the commonwealth, without king or kingship, and
 “should they break their vows, and go back to Egypt for

* Whitlocke, p. 646.

“security?”

“ security?—They thought it rather their happiness to be
 “ under a *legal danger*, which might make them more cau-
 “ tious and diligent.—Some said, if they must have a king,
 “ why not the legal one?”*—Upon these grounds they stood
 out, and rejected with scorn all limitations of the prerogative
 under monarchy. So that whatever might be the protector’s
 inclination,† he judged it most prudent to decline the crown
 at present; and accordingly, May 8, he sent for the house,
 and acquainted them, that *as the circumstances of affairs then*
stood, he could not undertake the government with the title
of KING.†

Some have been of opinion, that the protector’s *great ge-*
nius forsook him in this affair; but it is impossible, at this
 distance of time, to judge of the strength of the reasons that
 determined him the other way. Had he assumed the title of
 KING, the *army* would have revolted; the *cavaliers* would
 have joined the republicans to have pulled him down from
 the throne, the whole nation would in all probability have
 been thrown into confusion, and himself have been the sacri-
 fice. The protector had made large advances in power al-
 ready, and he might apprehend it not worth while at present,
 to risk *the whole* for the sake of a *name*; though I make no
 question, but if he had lived to see his government established,
 and the spirits of the people calmed, he would in a proper
 time have accepted of the stile and title, as he had already
 done the *office* of KING. Nay, Mr. *Welwood*§ says, that a
 crown was actually made, and brought to Whitehall for that
 purpose.

Upon *Cromwell*’s declining the title of *king*, the parlia-
 ment concluded upon an humble *petition and advice*, which

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 98, 12mo. Edinb. edit.

† The inclinations of *Cromwell* were strongly in favour of kingship: for
 he used all possible means to prevail with the officers of the army to concur
 with his scheme of royalty. With this view he invited himself to dine with
 colonel *Desborough*, and carried lieutenant-general *Fleetwood* with him, as
 he knew the influence of these officers and their aversion to his wearing
 the crown. He then even stooped to solicit their indulgence: “ It is but
 “ a feather in a man’s cap,” said he, “ and therefore he wondered that
 “ men would not please children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle.”
Ludlow’s Memoirs, 4to. p. 248. Ed.

‡ Whitlocke, p. 646.

§ *Memoirs*, p. 111.

was presented to the protector May 25, containing, among others, the following articles.—“ That his *highness* would
 “ exercise the office of chief magistrate of this nation under
 “ the title of LORD PROTECTOR; and that during life he
 “ would declare his successor—That for the future he would
 “ be pleased to call parliaments, consisting of two houses, to
 “ meet once in three years, and oftener, if there be occasion
 “ —That the antient liberties of parliament may be prefer-
 “ ved; and that none who are chosen may be excluded but
 “ by the judgment and consent of the house of which they
 “ are members——That no papist, no person that has borne
 “ arms against the parliament, unless he has since given proof
 “ of his good affection to the commonwealth; no clergyman,
 “ no atheist, or openly profane person, be qualified to be
 “ chosen member of parliament—That the other house of
 “ parliament be not more than seventy, nor less than forty,
 “ of which twenty-one to make a house—That they may not
 “ vote by proxy—That as any of them die, no new ones be
 “ admitted but by consent of the house itself, but the nomi-
 “ nation to be in the protector; and that they may not pro-
 “ ceed in any criminal causes but by impeachment of the
 “ commons—That no laws be abrogated, suspended, or re-
 “ pealed, but by act of parliament; and that no person be
 “ compelled to contribute to any gift, loans, benevolences,
 “ or taxes, without consent of parliament—That the number
 “ of his *highness*’s council be not more than twenty-one, of
 “ which seven to be a *quorum*; and that no privy counsellor
 “ be removed but by consent of parliament; though in the
 “ intervals of parliament they may be suspended—That the
 “ chancellor, or keeper of the great seal, the commissioners
 “ of the treasury, and other chief officers of state, may be
 “ approved by both houses of parliament——”

The article relating to religion was in these words; “ That
 “ the protestant christian religion contained in the holy scrip-
 “ tures of the Old and New Testament, and no other, be asser-
 “ ted and held forth, as the publick profession of this nation;
 “ and that a confession of faith, to be agreed upon by your
 “ *highness* and this present parliament, be asserted, and re-
 “ commended to the people of the nation; and that none shall
 “ be permitted by opprobrious words or writing to revile or
 “ reproach

“reproach the said confession. That such who profess faith
“in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the
“true God, and in the Holy Ghost, God co-equal and co-
“eternal with the Father and the Son, one God blessed for
“ever, and do acknowledge the holy scriptures of the Old and
“New Testament to be the revealed will and word of God,
“though in other things they may differ in word and doc-
“trine, or discipline, from the publick profession held forth;
“shall not be compelled by penalties or restraints, from their
“profession, but shall be protected from all injuries and mo-
“lestations in the profession of their faith, and exercise of
“their religion, while they abuse not this liberty to the civil
“injury of others, or the disturbance of the publick peace;
“provided this liberty do not extend to popery or prelacy,
“or to the countenance of such who publish horrid blasphe-
“mies; or who practise or hold forth licentiousness or pro-
“faneness, under the profession of Christ; and those mini-
“sters, or publick preachers, who agree with the publick
“profession aforesaid in matters of faith, though they differ
“in matters of worship or discipline, shall not only have pro-
“tection in the way of their churches or worship, but shall
“be deemed equally fit and capable (being otherwise quali-
“fied) of any trust, promotion, or employment in this nation,
“with those who agree with the publick profession of faith,
“only they shall not be capable of receiving the publick
“maintenance appointed for the ministry. And all ministers
“shall remain disqualified from holding any civil employment,
“according to the act for disabling all persons in holy orders
“to exercise any temporal jurisdiction and authority, which
“is hereby confirmed.”*

The protector having consented to these, and some other articles, to the number of eighteen, an oath was appointed to be taken by all privy counsellors and members of parliament for the future, *To maintain the protestant religion; to be faithful to the lord protector; and to preserve the rights and liberties of the people;* and a few days after O. CROMWELL was proclaimed a second time LORD PROTECTOR in the cities of London and Westminster; this being esteemed a new, and more parliamentary title; and if the house had been full and

* Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 678.

free it might have been so, but the *council's* assuming a power to approve or disapprove of the members after they were returned; their forbidding them to debate the fundamentals of the new government, and obliging them to sign a *recognition* of it before they entered the house, looks like a force, or taking the election out of their hands. But lame and imperfect as the protector's title may seem, it was as good as that of the Roman emperors, or the original claims of many of the royal houses of Europe; and in the present disjointed state of the English nation, not only necessary, but it may be the best thing that could be done; for if the protectorship had been set aside, there was hardly a man in the house who would have ventured to vote for the king; an absolute commonwealth could not have been supported, and therefore anarchy would inevitably have ensued.

This being the last settlement of government in the protector's time, the reader will observe, that the four fundamental articles already mentioned, (*viz.*) (1.) That the government be in a single person and a parliament. (2.) That parliaments be not perpetual. (3.) The militia. And (4.) Liberty of conscience in matters of religion; were not suffered to be examined or altered, but were supposed as the basis upon which the new government was founded. That though OLIVER's title to the government had the sanction and confirmation of the present parliament, it was derived originally from the choice of the *council of officers*, and was never suffered to be debated in the house afterwards—That the *humble petition and advice* approaches nearer the old legal constitution, by appointing two houses of parliament, and would most likely, in time, have been converted into it—That the regulations it makes in the constitution are for the most part reasonable—That the presbyterians were still left in possession of all the ecclesiastical revenues of the kingdom, though an open and free liberty was granted to all christians, except papists and prelatists, who were excluded for reasons of state; and the penal laws made against the latter were dropt, by the parliament's not confirming them. Remarkable are the words of the lord commissioner *Fiennes*, at the opening of the second session of this parliament, in which he “warns the houses of the rock on which many
“ had

“ had split, which was a spirit of imposing upon men’s con-
 “ sciences in things wherein God leaves them a latitude, and
 “ would have them free. The prelates and their adherents,
 “ nay, and their master and supporter, with all his posterity,
 “ have split upon it. The bloody rebels in Ireland, who
 “ would endure no religion but their own, have split upon
 “ it; and we doubt not but the prince of those satanical spirits
 “ will in due time split upon it, and be brought to the
 “ ground with his bloody inquisition. But as God is no re-
 “ specter of persons, so he is no respecter of forms, but in
 “ what form soever the *spirit of imposition* appears, he would
 “ testify against it. If men, though otherwise good, will turn
 “ ceremony into substance, and make the kingdom of Christ
 “ consist in circumstances, in discipline and in forms; and if
 “ they carry their animosities to such an height, that if one
 “ says *Sibboleth* instead of *Shibboleth*, it shall be accounted
 “ ground enough to cut his throat: if they shall account such
 “ devils, or the seed of the serpent, that are not within such
 “ a circle or of such an opinion, in vain do they protest
 “ against the persecution of God’s people, when they make
 “ the definition of *God’s people* so narrow, that their perse-
 “ cution is as broad as any other, and usually more fierce,
 “ because edged with a sharp temper of spirit. Blessed there-
 “ fore be God, who in mercy to us and them, has placed the
 “ power in such hands as make it their business to preserve
 “ peace, and hinder men from biting and devouring one an-
 “ other.—It is good to hold forth a publick profession of
 “ the truth, but not so as to exclude those that cannot come
 “ up to it in all points, from the privilege that belongs to
 “ them as christians, much less from the privilege that be-
 “ longs to them as men.”*

His highness having now a more parliamentary title, it was
 thought proper that he should have a more solemn inaugu-
 ration, which was accordingly appointed to be celebrated on
 June 26, in Westminster-hall, which was adorned and beau-
 tified for this purpose as for a coronation. At the upper end
 there was an ascent of two degrees covered with carpets, in
 the midst of which there was a rich canopy, and under it a
 chair of state. Before the canopy there was a table and

* Whitlocke’s Memoirs, p. 93.

chair for the *speaker*,* and on each side seats for the members of parliament, for the judges, for the lord-mayor and aldermen of London. The protector was conducted from the house of lords with all the state and grandeur of a king, and being seated under the canopy of state, the speaker of the parliament, the earl of *Warwick*, and commissioner *Whitlocke*, vested him with a purple velvet robe lined with ermine: they delivered into one of his hands a bible richly gilt, and embossed with gold; and into the other a scepter of massy gold; and, lastly, they girt him with a rich sword; after this they administered an oath to the protector, to govern according to law. The solemnity concluded with a short prayer pronounced by Dr. *Manton*; and then the herald having proclaimed his *highness's* titles, the people shouted with loud acclamations, *Long live the lord protector*, &c. and the day concluded with feasting, and all other kinds of publick rejoicing.

The protector, having waded through all these difficulties to the *supreme government* of these nations, appeared on a sudden like a *comet* or *blazing star*,† raised up by providence to exalt this nation to a distinguished pitch of glory, and to strike terror into the rest of Europe.‡ His management for the little time he survived, was the admiration of all mankind; for though he would never suffer his title to the supreme government to be disputed, yet his greatest enemies have confessed, that in all other cases distributive justice was restored to its antient splendor. The judges executed their duty according to equity, without partiality or bribery; the laws had their full and free course without impediment or delay; men's manners were wonderfully reformed, and the protector's court kept under an exact discipline. Trade flourished, and the arts of peace were cultivated throughout the whole nation; the publick money was managed with frugality, and to the best advantage; the army and navy were well paid, and served accordingly.§ As the protector proceeded with great

* Dr. *Grey* gives at length the speech with which the speaker, lord *Widdrington*, addressed the protector. Ed.

† *Eachard*, p. 719. ‡ *Complete Hist.* p. 223.

§ Dr. *Grey* controverts the truth of this representation of the happy state of things under *Cromwell's* government; though Mr. *Neal* courts *Eachard* and

great steadiness and resolution against the enemies of his government, he was no less generous and bountiful to those of all parties who submitted to it; for as he would not declare himself of any particular sect, he gave out, that *it was his only wish, that all would gather into one sheepfold, under one shepherd, Jesus Christ, and love one another.* He respected the clergy in their places, but confined them to their spiritual function. Nor was he jealous of any who did not meddle in politics, and endeavour to raise disturbances in the state: even the prejudice he had against the episcopal party, (says bishop Kennet) was more for their being royalists, than being of the church of England. But when one party of the clergy began to lift up their heads above their brethren, or to act out of their sphere, he always found means to take them down. He had a watchful eye over the royalists and republicans, who were always plotting against his person and government; but his erecting *a house of lords, or upper house*, so quickly after his instalment, roused the malecontents, and had like to have subverted his government in its infancy.

The protector was in high reputation abroad, and carried victory with his armies and navies wherever they appeared. There had been a negotiation with France concerning an alliance against Spain, begun at London 1655, but not concluded till March 13, 1657, by which the protector obliged himself to join six thousand men with the French army, and to furnish fifty men of war to conquer the maritime towns belonging to Spain in the Low Countries, on this condition, that Dunkirk and Mardyke should be put into his hands, and the family of the Stuarts depart the territories of France. That which determined him to join with France rather than Spain, was the numerous parties that were against him at home; for if the young king, assisted by France, should have made a descent upon England with an army of French *protestants*, it might have been of fatal consequence to his infant and Kennet: whose authority Dr. Grey does not attempt to invalidate. He refers principally, to a speech of Cromwell, 25 Jan. 1657, complaining that the army was unpaid, and that Ireland and Scotland were suffering by poverty. For a review of the administration of Cromwell, the reader is referred to Dr. Harris' Life of Cromwell, p. 412—75: and Mrs. Macaulay's History of England, vol. 5, 8vo. p. 194—203, who is by no means partial to the protector. ED.

government;

government; whereas the Spaniards were at a distance, and having no protestant subjects, were less to be feared. Upon the conclusion of this treaty, king *Charles* entered into an alliance with the Spaniards, who allowed him a small pension, and promised him the command of six thousand men, as soon as he was possessed of any sea-port in England. In consequence of this treaty, most of the royalists enlisted in the Spanish service. But the protector's six thousand men in Flanders behaved with undaunted bravery, and took St. Venant, Mardyke, and some other places from the Spaniards this summer.*

Admiral *Blake* was no less successful at sea, for having received advice of the return of the Spanish West-India fleet, he sailed to the Canaries with twenty-five men of war, and on the 20th of April arrived at the Bay of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriff, where the galleons, to the number of sixteen, richly laden, lay close under a strong castle, defended by seven forts mounted with cannon; the admiral, finding it impossible to make them prize, had the good fortune to burn and destroy them all, only with the loss of one ship, and one hundred and sixty men. When the news of this success arrived in England, a day of thanksgiving was appointed, and a rich present ordered the admiral upon his return; but this great sea-officer, having been three years at sea, died as he was entering Plymouth sound Aug. 17, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.† He was of the antient family of the *Blakes*, of Planchfield, Somersetshire, and was educated in Wadham college, Oxford.‡ He was small of stature, but the bravest and boldest sailor that England ever bred, and consulted the honour of his country beyond all his predecessors. When some of his men being ashore at Malaga, refused to do honour to the *host* as it passed by, one of the priests raised the mob upon them. Upon which *Blake* sent a trumpet to the viceroy to demand the priest, who saying he had no authority to deliver him up, the admiral answered, that if he did not send him abroad in three hours he would burn the town about their ears; upon which he came, and begged pardon: the admiral,

* Burnet, p. 73.

† Other accounts say in the 59th year of his age. Ed.

‡ Eachard, p. 725.

after

after a severe reprimand, told him, that if he had complained to him of his sailors he would have punished them, but he *would have all the world know, that an Englishman was only to be punished by an Englishman*, and so dismissed him, being satisfied with having struck terror into the priest, and had him at his mercy. When OLIVER read this passage of *Blake's* letter in council, he said, *he hoped to make the name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been.*† The admiral preserved an exact discipline in the fleet, and taught his men to despise castles on shore, as well as ships at sea.§ Valour seldom missed its reward with him, nor cowardice its punishment. He had a noble publick spirit, for after all his services for his country, and opportunities of acquiring immense riches from the Spaniards, he died not five hundred pounds richer than his father left him. His body was brought by water to Greenwich, and deposited in a most magnificent manner, in a vault made on purpose in king *Henry* seventh's chapel, at the publick expence; but at the restoration his body was taken out of the grave, and flung with others into a common pit;|| and his brother, being a dissenter, suffered so many hardships for religion in king *Charles* the second's reign, that he was obliged to sell the little estate the admiral left him, and transport himself and children to Carolina.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 113, 14.

§ It is remarkable, that *Blake* did not take the command of the fleet till he was above fifty years of age. "His want of experience," says Mr. *Granger*, "seems to have been of great advantage to him; he followed the light of his own genius only, and was presently seen to have all the courage, the conduct, and precipitancy of a good sea-officer." Ed.

|| Bishop *Kennet*, whom Dr. *Grey* quotes here, being ashamed, it is probable, of the base contempt with which the body of *Blake* was treated, says, "it was taken up and buried in the church-yard." But *Wood* plainly says, that his body with others, by his majesty's express command sent to the dean of Westminster, was taken up and buried in a *pit* in St. Margaret's church-yard. The other bodies treated thus ignominiously were admiral *Dean's*, a brave man, who lost his life in the service of his country; Col. *Humphrey Mackworth's*; sir *W. Constable's*; Col. *Boscaewen's*, a Cornish gentleman of a family distinguished by its constant attachment to liberty; and many others too long to be here mentioned. "Such," observes Dr. *Harris*, "was the politeness and humanity introduced by the restoration!" Life of Cromwell, p. 400. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. p. 825, 26. Ed.

By

By the second article of the *humble advice*, which appoints all future parliaments to consist of two houses, the form of the present government began to change in favour of the antient constitution. The *protector*, pursuant to the powers given him, made several promotions of knights, and lords, and in the month of December issued out writs, by advice of his council, to divers lords and gentlemen, to sit as members of the *other house*,|| at the next session of parliament, Jan. 20. His intention was to have this house considered as a house of peers, though he declined giving it that name till a more favourable conjuncture. Some declined the honour, and chose to sit in the lower house, but between fifty and sixty appeared, among whom were seven or eight of the antient peers, divers knights and gentlemen of good families, and some few chief officers of the army. They met in the house of lords, whither *his highness* came at the time of their meeting, and according to antient custom, sent the *usher of the black rod* to bring up the commons, to whom he made a short speech from the throne, beginning with the usual form, *My lords, and you the knights, citizens, and burgessees, &c.* and then as our kings used to do, he referred them to the lord commissioner *Fiennes*, who tired them with a long and perplexed harangue before they entered upon business.

This hasty resolution of the protector and his council had like to have subverted the infant government, for many of the protector's best friends being called out of the lower house to the upper, the balance of power among the commons was changed; whereas, if he had deferred the settling of the upper house till the present parliament had been dissolved, they would have gone through their business without interruption; but the lower house was now in a flame, some being disappointed of their expectations, and others envied for their advancement, insomuch that as soon as they returned to their house, they called for the third article of the *humble advice*, which says, that no *members legally chosen, shall be excluded from performing their duty, but by consent of the house of which they are members*; and then to strengthen their party, they ordered all those who had been excluded last ses-

|| Dr. Grey gives a catalogue of the names of the persons whom the writ summoned; with degrading anecdotes of some of them. Ed.

sions, because they would not recognize the new government to return to their places; which was no sooner done, than they began to call in question the authority and jurisdiction of the *other house*, though themselves had advised it, and though there was almost as good reason for their being an *upper*, as for the other being a *lower house*; but these gentlemen were determined to erect an absolute commonwealth, on the ruins of the present family. Many degrading speeches were made in the lower house against the persons who had been thus promoted, who were no less resolute in defending their honours and characters; so that there was no prospect of an agreement, till the protector himself appeared, and having sent for them to Whitehall, spoke with such an accent in favour of the *other house*, that they returned and acknowledged it; but then they went on to re-examine the validity of the whole *instrument of government*, as being made when many members were excluded. Upon which the *protector*, being out of all patience, went to the house and dissolved them, after they had sat about fifteen days.

The protector's speech upon this occasion will give the reader the best idea of the state of the nation: "I had comfortable expectations that God would make the meeting of this parliament a blessing for the improvement of mercy, truth, righteousness and peace. I was drawn into this office of PROTECTOR by your *petition* and *advice*; there is not a man living that can say I fought it; but after I was petitioned and advised to take the government upon me, I expected that the same men that made the frame, should make it good to me.—I told you at a conference, that I would not accept the government, unless there might be some persons to interpose between me and the house of commons, and it was granted I should name *another house*, which I did, of men of your own rank and quality, who will shake hands with you while you love the interest of England and religion.—Again, I would not have accepted the government, unless mutual oaths were taken to make good what was agreed upon in the *petition and advice*; and, God knows, I took the oath upon the condition expressed, and thought we had now been upon a foundation and bottom, otherwise we must necessarily have been

“ in confusion. I do not say what the meaning of the oath
“ was to you, that were to go against my own principles,
“ but God will judge between us; but if there had been any
“ intention in you of a settlement, you would have settled
“ on this basis.

“ But there have been contrivances in the army against
“ this settlement by your consent. I speak not this to the
“ gentlemen, or lords, (pointing to his right hand) whatsoever
“ you will call them, of the *other house*, but to you; *you* ad-
“ vised me to accept of this office, and now you dispute the
“ thing that was taken for granted, and are in danger of
“ running the nation back into more confusion within these
“ fifteen days you have sat, than it has been in since the ri-
“ sing of the last session, from an immoderate design of re-
“ storing a commonwealth, that some people might be the
“ men that might rule all, and they are endeavouring to en-
“ gage the army in the design; which is hardly consistent
“ with the oath you have taken to the present government.
“ Has that man been true to the nation, whosoever he is,
“ that has taken an oath, thus to prevaricate? These things
“ are not according to truth, pretend what you will, but tend
“ to play the *king of Scots* game, which I think myself bound
“ before God to do what I can to prevent. There are pre-
“ parations of force to invade us; the king of Scots has an
“ army at the water-side, ready to be shipped for England.
“ I have it from those who have been eye-witnesses of it;
“ and while this is doing, there are endeavours of some not
“ far from this place, to stir up the people of this town into
“ tumulting, what if I had said rebellion, and I hope to make
“ it appear to be no better, if God assist me. You have
“ not only endeavoured to pervert the army while you have
“ been sitting, but some of you have been lifting persons by
“ commission from *Charles Stuart* to join with any insurrec-
“ tion that may be made; and what is like to be the end of
“ this but blood and confusion! Now if this be the case, I
“ think it high time to put an end to your sitting, and I do
“ accordingly dissolve this parliament; and let God judge
“ between me and you.” §

§ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 598, folio.

The

The *protector*, being now convinced that the disturbances in parliament arose from the chief officers of the army, who clogged his affairs, in order to introduce a commonwealth government, resolved to clear his hands of them at once; *Harrison* and *Ludlow* were laid aside; *Fleetwood* was recalled from his government in Ireland; major-general *Lambert* was ordered to surrender his commission; and the rest were obliged to take an oath not to oppose the present government. By such methods he went on purging the army and navy; and if he had lived a little longer would have had none in power, but such as were thoroughly attached to his person and government. It was observed after this, that all things succeeded at home and abroad according to his wish; and that his power and greatness were better established than ever, though there were a few malecontents who were hardy enough to attempt some little disturbances; but the disasters that befel the protector's family soon after broke the firmness of his constitution, and hastened his end.

It was *his highness's* ambition, not only to set himself at the head, but to strengthen the whole body of the protestant interest, and unite its several members, so that it might maintain its ground against the church of Rome. Bishop *Burnet* informs us, that he had projected a sort of general council, to be set up in opposition to the congregation *de Propaganda Fide* at Rome: it was to consist of seven counsellors, and four secretaries for different provinces; the first was for France, Switzerland, and the Vallies; the second for the Palatinate, and other *calvinists*; the third for Germany, for the North, and for Turkey; the fourth for the East and West Indies. The secretaries were to have five hundred pounds a year each, and to hold a correspondence every where, to acquaint themselves with the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs for the welfare of the whole, and of the several parts, might by their means be protected and encouraged. They were to have a fund of ten thousand pounds a year, and to be further supplied as occasion should require. Chelsea college was to be fitted up for them. This was a noble project, (says the bishop) and must have been attended with extraordinary effects under the protection of a power,

§ Burnet, vol. i. p. 109, 12mo.

which was formidable and terrible to all nations to whom it was known.

About the beginning of this year Dr. *Bryan Walton*, afterwards bishop of Chester, published the *Biblia Polyglotta*, in six volumes in folio, wherein the sacred text is printed in the *vulgar Latin, Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Chaldee, Samaritan, Arabic, Æthiopic, and Persic languages*, each having its peculiar *Latin* translation, with an *apparatus* for the better understanding those tongues. This laborious performance, by the assistance of several who engaged in it, was compleated in about four years, and was reckoned the most absolute edition of the bible that the world had ever seen. Several learned persons, both puritans and others, assisted in correcting the press, and in collating the copies. Many noblemen, and gentlemen of quality, contributed to the expence of printing this work, without which it could not have seen the light. || After the restoration, the doctor presented king *Charles II.* with the six volumes, which his majesty received very graciously, and rewarded the author with the bishoprick of Chester.

The learned Dr. *Owen* made some remarks on the *prolegomena* of this work; but after an high commendation of the performance in general, complains that he had weakened the certainty of the sacred text, (1.) By maintaining that the *points* or *vowels* of the *Hebrew* language were of novel invention. (2.) By producing a great number of *various readings* from antient copies of little moment. (3.) By his own critical remarks and amendments not supported by antient authorities. The doctor maintains, on the other hand, the antiquity of the *Hebrew* points, and their absolute necessity to fix the determinate sense of scripture; that the various readings are of little consequence, and that conjectural amendments ought not to be admitted without the authority of antient copies. The doctor writes with great modesty, but the validity of his arguments must be submitted to the learned reader.

On the third of July the protector resigned his chancellorship of Oxford, and upon the eighteenth day of the same

|| "This," Mr. *Granger* says, "was the first book published in England by subscription. The design of this great work was formed in 1645. Dr. *Walton* died 1661." Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 29, 8vo. Ed. month

month his eldest son RICHARD was chosen his successor, and installed* at Whitehall on the twenty-ninth. About six weeks after, the new chancellor dismissed Dr. *Owen*, who had been vice-chancellor of the university about five years, and appointed Dr. *John Conant*, rector of Exeter college, to succeed him. This gentleman, says the Oxford historian,† was a good *Latinist* and *Grecian*, a profound *theologist*, a learned, pious, and meek *divine*, and an excellent *preacher*. He had been one of the assembly of divines, and was elected rector of this college, upon the death of Dr. *Hakewell*, in June 1649. In the latter end of the year 1654, he became king's professor of divinity in the room of Dr. *Hoyle*. He continued in the vice-chancellorship two years with due commendation, keeping a severe discipline in his college, as did all the heads of colleges in these times. He was ejected out of every thing in 1662 for non-conformity; but some time after, being persuaded to comply with the establishment, he became vicar of All-Saints in Northampton, archdeacon of Norwich, and prebendary of Worcester; which places he held till his death, which did not happen till 1693.

Nov. 24, *his highness* signed a commission, appointing his younger son *Henry* to be lord lieutenant of Ireland, with a power of conferring the honour of knighthood. *Henry* was a wise and discreet governor, and by his prudent behaviour kept the Irish in awe, and brought the nation into a flourishing condition. Upon the accession of *Richard* to the protectorship, he advised him to abide by the parliament, and have a watchful eye over the army, whom he suspected to be designing mischief (as appears by his letters now before me.) Nay, he offered to come over to his assistance, but was forbid till it was too late. When *Richard* was deposed, his brother *Henry* laid down his charge, and came over to England, and lived privately upon an estate of his own, of about 600l. a year, at Spinny-Abbey in Cambridgeshire, not far from Newmarket, till his death. While he was in Ireland he behaved with such a generous impartiality as gained him the esteem even of the royalists themselves;

* The ceremonial of the instalment may be seen in Dr. *Grey*, vol. iii. p. 200, note. Ed.

† *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 785.

and

and after his retirement king *Charles II.* did him once the honour of a visit: he had a son *Henry*, who was bred to arms, and had a *major's* commission, and died in the service of the crown about the year 1711, and left behind him several children; some of the sons are yet living in good reputation in the city of London, and are the only male descendants of the *protector Cromwell*, the posterity of *Richard* being extinct.

The ROYAL SOCIETY, which has been the ornament of the English nation, by the vast improvements it has made in natural and experimental philosophy, was formed at Oxford in these times, which some have represented as covered with ignorance, barbarism, and pedantry: The words of bishop *Sprat*, § their historian, are these: “It was some space after
“the end of the civil wars at Oxford, in Dr. *Wilkins's*
“lodgings, in Wadham college, which was then the place
“of resort for virtuous and learned men, *that the first meet-*
“*ings were made which laid the foundation of all that followed.*
“The university had, at that time, many members of its
“own, who had begun a free way of reasoning, and was
“also frequented by some gentlemen of philosophical minds,
“whom the misfortune of the kingdom, and the security
“and ease of a retirement among gownsmen, had drawn thi-
“ther. The principal and most constant of them were, Dr.
“*Seth Ward*, Mr. *Boyle*, Dr. *Wilkins*; Sir *William Petty*, Mr.
“*Matthew Wren*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Goddard*, Dr. *Willis*, Dr.
“*Bathurst*, Dr. *Christopher Wren*, and Mr. *Rook*, besides se-
“veral others who joined them on occasions.—Their meet-
“ings were as frequent as their occasions would permit; their
“proceedings were upon some particular trials in *chymistry*
“or *mechanicks*, which they communicated to each other.
“They continued without any great interruption till the
“death of the protector, when their meetings were trans-
“ferred to London.” Here they began to enlarge their design, and formed the platform of a philosophical college, to enquire into the works of nature: They set up a correspondence with learned foreigners, and admitted such into their numbers without distinction of names or parties in religion; and were at length incorporated by royal patent or charter, in the year 1663.

This year [1657] died Mr. *John Langley*, the noted master of St. Paul's school, London; he was born near Banbury in Oxfordshire, and became a commoner or brother of Magdalen-hall about 1612; was also prebendary of Gloucester, where he kept the college school for twenty years. In the year 1640 he succeeded Dr. *Gill*, chief master of St. Paul's school, where he educated many who were afterwards eminent in church and state. He was an universal scholar, an excellent linguist, grammarian, historian, cosmographer, a most judicious divine, and so great an antiquarian, (says the Oxford historian) that his delight and acquaintance in antiquity deserves greater commendation than can be given in a few lines. || He was esteemed by learned men, and particularly by Mr. *Selden*; but was not regarded by the clergy, because he was a *puritan*, and a witness against archbishop *Laud* at his trial. He was a member of the assembly of divines, and died at his house next adjoining to St. Paul's school Sept. 13, 1657. Dr. *Reynolds* preached his funeral sermon, and gave him a very high encomium.*

Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick* was born at Marlborough in the year 1600, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was afterwards chaplain to Sir *Horatio Vere*, with whom he travelled into the Low Countries. After his return he became reader of the sentences 1629, and was afterwards chosen preacher to the inhabitants of St. Mildred, Bread-street, London; but being driven from thence by the severity of the governors of the church, he retired to Coggeshall in Essex, where he continued till the breaking out of the civil wars. In 1643 he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines. In 1646 he became preacher at St. Paul's Covent-garden: He often preached before the parliament, and was esteemed an orthodox,

|| Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 135.

* Dr. *Fuller* calls him "the able and religious schoolmaster." He had a very awful presence and speech, that struck a mighty respect and fear in his scholars; yet his behaviour towards them was such, that they both loved and feared him. When he was buried, all the scholars attended his funeral, walking before the corps, hung with verses instead of escutcheons, with white gloves, as he died a single man, from the school thro' Cheapside to Mercer's chapel; where he was buried. He was so much in favour with the worshipful company of Mercers, that they accepted his recommendation of his successor. Knight's Life of Dr. John Colet, p. 379, &c. Ed.

dox, as well as an admired preacher.* In the year 1653 he was appointed one of the *triers*, and the year after, one of the commissioners for ejecting scandalous ministers; but finding his health declining he resigned his preferments, and retired to his native town of Marlborough, where he died the beginning of January 1657.†

Mr. *Edward Corbet* was born in Shropshire, and educated in Merton college, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was made probationer fellow of his college.‡ In 1638 he was one of the proctors of the university; but being a puritan divine, was denied the rectory of Chatham by archbishop *Laud*, then in the Tower; upon which an ordinance of parliament came out May 17, 1643, appointing him rector of Chatham. He was a member of the assembly of divines, a witness against the archbishop at his trial; one of the preachers appointed to reconcile the Oxford scholars to the parliament; and afterwards one of the visitors, orator, and canon of Christ-church, in the room of Dr. *Hammond*, which he soon after quitted, and became rector of Great-Haseley in Oxfordshire, where he continued to his death. He was a very considerable divine, a valuable preacher, and a person of remarkable integrity and steadiness of conscience.

Mr. *James Cranford* was born in Coventry, and sometime master of the free-school there: He was educated in Baliol college, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was at length rector of St. Christopher's le Stocks, near the Old Exchange, London.§ He was an exact linguist, well acquainted with the fathers and schoolmen, as well as with the modern divines; a zealous presbyterian, and a laborious preacher. Mr. *Fuller* adds,|| that he was a subtle disputant, orthodox in judgment, and a person of great humility, charity, and moderation towards all men. In the beginning of the civil wars, he was appointed licenser of the press in London, which gave him an occasion to write several epistles before books, besides some treatises that he published of his own. He died April 27, 1657, aged about fifty-five years.

* Dr. *Grey* quotes passages from some of Mr. *Sedgwick's* sermons to shew, that he was a preacher of treason, rebellion, and nonsense. Ed.

† Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 138.

‡ Ibid. 749.

§ Ibid. p. 133.

|| Fuller's *Worthies*, book iii. p. 128.

The protector's arms were no less successful this summer than they had been the last, for in the month of June, marshal *Turenne*, in conjunction with the English forces, laid siege to Dunkirk, then in possession of the Spaniards, which brought on an engagement between the two armies: The Spanish forces consisted of 30,000 men, but major-general *Morgan*, who covered the siege, attacked the right wing of the Spanish army which came to relieve it with 6000 English, who routed the whole army, which was followed with the surrender of the town June 25. The French looked on, and said, they never saw a more glorious action in their lives.* Cardinal *Mazarine* intended to keep this important place in French hands, contrary to the late treaty; of which his highness being informed, acquainted the ambassador; but his excellency denying any such intended breach of contract, the protector pulled out of his pocket a copy of the cardinal's private order, and desired him to let his *eminence* know, that if the keys of Dunkirk were not delivered to *Lockhart* within an hour after it was taken, he would come in person, and demand them at the gates of Paris;† and the cardinal had too great a dread of the name of *Cromwell*, to deny any

* Dr. *Grey*, though he allows that Mr. *Neal* had the authority of *Ea-chard* for the merit which he imputes to the English forces in the siege of Dunkirk, yet contends that the French had their share in the glories of the day. And, to prove this, he gives a full detail of the action from the History of Visc. *Turenne*. Impartial Examination, v. iii. p. 207—213. Ed.

† Dr. *Grey*, while he grants that *Cromwell* was a vain man, very much questions the truth of what is said above; as it does not agree with what *Whitlocke* says concerning the surrender of Dunkirk. The story Mr. *Neal* relates is the same, that we find in Welwood's Memoirs, p. 97, 6th edition. Dr. *Harris* treats it as all falsehood and invention; and as, authoritatively, confuted by *Thurloe's* State-Papers, vol. vii. p. 173; where *Lockhart*, in his letter to *Thurloe* written the day before the surrender of Dunkirk, has these expressions: "To-morrow before five of
" the clock at night, his Highness's forces under my command will be
" possessed of Dunkirk. I have a great many disputes with the cardinal
" about several things;—nevertheless, I must say, I find him willing to
" hear reason; and though the generality of court and arms are even mad
" to see themselves part with what they call *un si bon morceau*, or so delicate
" a bit, yet he is still constant to his promises, and seems to be as glad in
" the generall, (notwithstanding our differences in little particulars) to
" give this place to his highness, as we can be to receive it. The king
" is also exceeding oblyging and civil, and hath more trew worth in him
" than I could have imagined." Life of *Cromwell*, p. 402, 3. Ed.

thing

thing he required. By this conquest the protector gained immortal glory, because it gave the English a settlement on the continent, and made them masters of both sides of the channel. How basely it was sold by lord *Clarendon* to the French, will be seen hereafter.

The enthusiastick republicans, or fifth monarchy men, having failed in their design in parliament, agreed, to the number of three hundred, to attempt a revolution of government by force, and having killed the protector, to proclaim KING JESUS; but secretary *Thurloe*, who never spared expence to gain intelligence, had a spy among them, who discovered their intrigues, and seized their arms and ammunition in Shoreditch, with their standard, containing a *lion couchant*, alluding to the lion of the tribe of Judah, with this motto, WHO WILL ROUSE HIM UP? The chief of the conspirators, as *Venner*, *Grey*, *Hopkins*, &c. were imprisoned in the Gate-House till the protector's death, with their accomplices, major-general *Harrison*, colonel *Rich*, colonel *Danvers*, and others, after which they created new disturbances, which hastened their own destruction soon after the king's restoration.

But the most formidable conspiracy against the government, was a new one of the *cavaliers*, with which the protector acquainted the lord-mayor and common-council of the city in a speech, wherein he takes notice, that the marquis of *Ormond* had been privately in London three weeks, to promote the king's affairs, who lay ready on the coast with an army of eight thousand men, and twenty-two ships; that there was a design to seize the Tower; and that several ill-affected persons were endeavouring to put themselves in arms for that purpose; he therefore desired them to put the city into a posture of defence, professing a more passionate regard for their safety than his own. The citizens returned *his highness* thanks, and in an address promised to defend his person and government with their lives and fortunes. The like addresses came from several of the regiments at home, and from the English army in Flanders. This was the plot the protector mentioned in his speech to the parliament, and was discovered by one *Stapley*, whose father

|| Compl. Hist. p. 223. Eachard, p. 730.

had

had been one of the king's judges. Immediately after the dissolution of the parliament, three of the conspirators were apprehended, and tried before an *high court of justice*, according to the late act *for the security of his highness's person*. Mr. *Mordaunt*, youngest son and brother of the earl of *Peterborough*, was acquitted by one vote; but the other two, Sir *Henry Slingsby* and Dr. *Hewet* were condemned. The doctor was indicted for holding correspondence with CHARLES STUART, for publishing him to be king of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and for sending him money. He behaved with great boldness towards his judges, keeping his hat upon his head while the indictment was reading; but an officer being sent to take it off, he saved him the trouble. The doctor then refused to plead three times, disowning the jurisdiction of the court; but though they read the clause in the late act, by which they were empowered to be his judges, he continued mute; upon which one of the judges summed up the charge, and was going to pronounce sentence, when he offered to put himself upon his trial, but was told it was then too late, so judgment was given against him as a *mute*. The doctor had prepared a plea and demurrer to the jurisdiction and proceedings of the court, and exceptions to their judgment, drawn up in form by counsel, and ready to be engrossed, but was not suffered to have them argued. However, he had the favour of being beheaded on Tower-hill, June 8, 1658, being attended by Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Warmestry*, and Dr. *Barwick*. His funeral sermon was preached the Sunday following, by Mr. *Nath. Hardy*, at St. Dionis Back-Church, in Lime-street; and soon after, both the sermon and the doctor's intended defence were published, entitled, *Beheaded Dr. John Hewet's Ghost crying for justice*; containing his legal plea, demurrer, and exceptions to the jurisdiction of the court, &c. drawn up by his council Mr. *Wm. Prynne*. The doctor was a Cambridge divine, but lived at Oxford, and in the army, till the end of the war, when he came to London, and was permitted to preach in the church of St. Gregory's, London, though he was known to be a malignant. After his conviction, the lady *Claypole* and lady *Falconbridge*, the protector's daughters, interceded with their

* Life of Barwick, p. 175.

father for his life; but because he disputed the authority of the court, which struck at the very life of his government, the protector would not pardon him. He told Dr. *Manton*, one of his chaplains, that if Dr. *Hewet* had shewn himself an ingenuous person, and would have owned what he knew was his share in the design against him, he would have spared his life; but he said he would not be trifled with, and the doctor was of so obstinate a temper that he was resolved he should die; and the protector convinced Dr. *Manton* before they parted, that he knew, without his confession, how far he was engaged in the plot. Three more of the conspirators were executed in other parts of the city, but the rest were pardoned.

A little before the protector's death, the independants petitioned *his highness* for liberty to hold a synod, in order to publish to the world an uniform confession of their faith. They were now become a considerable body, their churches being increased both in city and country,* by the addition of

* The number of these churches was, proportionally, much greater in the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, than in most other parts of the kingdom. This was owing to the particular intercourse which those counties have with the city of Rotterdam and Holland, where the more rigid *puritans*, who were driven out of England by the severities of the times, before the civil wars began, had taken refuge, and formed several congregational churches. On the return of the English exiles to England, at the commencement of those dissensions, they brought with them their sentiments on church government, and formed churches on the *independant* plan. Of these the most ancient was the church of Yarmouth, consisting of members resident in that town and at Norwich: and the Lord's supper was administered alternately at the two places. This, after a time, was found very troublesome, and by a majority of votes the seat of the church was fixed at Yarmouth. This new arrangement was attended with great inconvenience to those who lived at Norwich. They therefore, with the consent of the other part who resided at Yarmouth, formed a separate church, June 10, 1644. This consent was given with expressions of the most tender and endeared affection; as having been, many of them, "companions together in the patience of our Lord Jesus in their own and in a strange land, and having long enjoyed sweet communion together in divine ordinances." On these models other churches were settled through these counties. As at Denton in May or June of the year 1655. At Tunstead, North-Walsham, Wymondham, and Guestwick, in 1652. In the same year was laid the foundation of the congregational church of Beccles in Suffolk, by nine persons joining together in church fellowship, and by July 29, 1653, their number was increased to forty. The church at Walpole

of great numbers of rich and substantial persons; but they were not agreed upon any standard of faith or discipline. The presbyterians in the assembly of divines had urged them to this; and their brethren in New-England had done it ten years ago; nor were the English independants insensible of the defect; for hitherto, (say they) there have “ been no
 “ association of our churches, no meetings of our ministers
 “ to promote the common interest; our churches are like
 “ so many ships launched singly, and sailing apart and alone
 “ in the vast ocean of these tumultuous times, exposed to
 “ every wind of doctrine; under no other conduct than the
 “ *word* and *spirit*, and their particular elders, and principal
 “ brethren, without associations among themselves, or so
 “ much as holding out a common light to others, whereby
 “ to know where they were.”* To remedy this, some of their divines and principal brethren in London met together, and proposed that there might be a correspondence among their churches in city and country for counsel and mutual edification; and for as much as all sects and parties of christians had published a *confession of their faith*, they apprehended the world might reasonably expect it from them; for these reasons they petitioned the *protector* for liberty to assemble for this purpose. This was opposed by some of the court, as tending to establish a separation between them and the presbyterians; nor was the protector himself fond of it; however, he gave way to their importunity; and, as Mr. *Eachard* represents that matter, when he was moved upon his death-bed to discountenance their petition, he replied, *They must be satisfied, they must be satisfied, or we shall all run back into blood again.*

Walpole was settled into fellowship in the year 1647. That of St. Edmund's Bury, in 1648. That of Woodbridge, in 1651. That at Wattesfield, May 2, 1678. That of Wrentham was first gathered Feb. 1, 1649, under Mr. *John Philip*, and one of its first members was *Francis Brewster*, esq; lord of the manor of Wrentham, who gave the church plate which bears his arms; and some considerable legacies were left by him and different branches of his family. The hall was a place of refuge and concealment for the ministers or any of the people in time of persecution. Mr. *Thompson's* MSS. Collections, under the words Norfolk and Suffolk. Ed.

* Confess. Pref. p. 6.

However,

However, the protector did not live to see the fruits of this assembly, which was appointed to be held at the Savoy, October 12, 1658, where ministers and messengers from above one hundred congregational churches met together, of which the majority were laymen, the rest pastors in churches, and some younger divines about the court, as the reverend and learned Mr. *John Howe*, at that time chaplain to the young protector and others.* They opened their synod with a day of fasting and prayer, and after some debate, whether they should adopt the doctrinal articles of the Westminster assembly for their own, with some amendments and additions, it was thought more adviseable to draw up a *new confession*, but to keep as near as possible to the method and order of the other. A committee of the most eminent divines was chosen for this work, viz. Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Phil. Nye*, Mr. *William Bridge* of Yarmouth, Mr. *Jos. Caryl*, and Mr. *William Greenhill*. While these were employed in preparing, and putting together the articles of their confession, the synod heard complaints, and gave advice in several cases which were brought before them, relating to disputes or differences in their churches. The particular heads of doctrine agreed to by the committee, were presented to the synod every morning, and read by the reverend Mr. *George Griffith* their scribe. There were some speeches and debates upon words and phrases, but at length all acquiesced, and the whole was soon after published in quarto, under the title of *A declaration of the faith and order owned and practised in the congregational churches in England, agreed upon, and consented unto by their elders and messengers in their meeting at the Savoy, October 12, 1658*. Next year it was translated into Latin by professor *Hornbeck*, and published at the end of his *Epistola ad Duræum de Independentissimo*. Some imputed their unanimity to the authority and influence of Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, and the rest of the elder divines over the younger; but they themselves, in their preface, “look upon it as a great and special work of the Holy Ghost, that so numerous a company of ministers, and other principal brethren, should so readily, speedily, and jointly give up themselves to such a whole body of truths

* Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 444.

“as is there collected.” They add further, “that this agreement of theirs fell out without their having held any correspondence together, or prepared consultation, by which they might be advised of one another’s minds.” Which I confess is very extraordinary, considering the confession consists of thirty-three chapters, in which are almost two hundred distinct articles of faith and discipline; and that the whole time of the synod’s sessions or continuance, was not above eleven or twelve days.

The Savoy *confession* proceeds upon the plan of the Westminster assembly, which made the work very easy; and in most places retains their very words. They tell the world in their preface, that they fully consent to the Westminster *confession* for the substance of it, but have taken liberty to add a few things, in order to obviate some erroneous opinions that have been more boldly maintained of late than in former times. They have likewise varied the method in some places, and have here and there expressed themselves more clearly, as they found occasion. They have omitted all those chapters in the assembly’s confession which relate to discipline, as the 30th and 31st, with part of the 20th and 24th, relating to *the power of synods, councils, church censures, marriage and divorce, and the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion*. These (say they) were such doubtful assertions, and so unsuited to a confession of faith, that the English parliament would never ratify them, there being nothing that tends more to heighten dissensions among brethren, than to place these doubtful speculations under so high a title as *a confession of faith*. After the 19th chapter of the assembly’s confession, *of the law*, the Savoy divines have added an entire chapter, *of the gospel*, in which what is dispersed up and down the assembly’s confession is collected, and put together. Upon the whole, the difference between these two confessions, in points of doctrine, is so very small, that the modern independants have in a manner laid aside the use of it in their families, and agreed with the presbyterians in the use of the assembly’s catechism.

At the end of the Savoy confession there is a chapter of discipline, entitled, *of the institution of churches, and the order appointed in them by Jesus Christ*; in which they assert,

“That

“ That every particular society of visible professors agree-
 “ ing to walk together in the faith and order of the gospel
 “ is a complete church, and has full power within itself to
 “ elect and ordain all church officers, to exclude all offenders,
 “ and to do all other acts relating to the edification and well-
 “ being of the church.

“ That the way of ordaining officers, that is, *pastors*,
 “ *teachers*, or *elders*, is after their election, by the suffrage
 “ of the church, to set them apart with fasting and prayer,
 “ and imposition of the hands of the eldership of the church,
 “ though if there be no imposition of hands, they are never-
 “ theless rightly constituted ministers of Christ; but they do
 “ not allow that ordination to the work of the ministry,
 “ though it be by persons rightly ordained, does convey any
 “ office-power, without a previous election of the church.

“ That no persons may administer the sacrament but such
 “ as are ordained and appointed thereunto. Nor are the
 “ pastors of one church obliged to administer the sacraments
 “ to any other, than to the members of that church to whom
 “ they stand related in that capacity. Nor may any person
 “ be added to the church, as a private member, but by the
 “ consent of the church, after a confession of his faith,† de-
 “ clared by himself, or otherwise manifested.

“ They disallow the power of all stated synods, presby-
 “ teries, convocations, and assemblies of divines, over par-

† It was also a practice of the *independants*, at the first formation of their churches, to sign an agreement, or covenant, which they entered on their church-books. This, sometimes, ran out into various articles, expressive of their devotedness to the service of God, their trust in *Christ*, their determination to study the scriptures, and to form their faith and worship by them, of their mutual engagement to keep the christian ordinances, to watch over one another in the Lord, to bear one another's burthens, and to preserve union and love, and of their resolutions to persevere in a course of faith and holiness. Of these forms of agreement, one of the most simple is that which was adopted by the church at Wattesfield in Suffolk. It was in these words:
 “ We do covenant or agree in the presence of God, through the assistance
 “ of his holy spirit, to walk together in all the ordinances of the Lord
 “ *Jesus*, as far as the same are made clear unto us, endeavouring the ad-
 “ vancement of the glory of our Father, the subjection of our will to the
 “ will of our Redeemer, and the mutual edification of each other in his
 “ most holy faith and fear.” Mr. *Thompson's* MSS. Collections, under the name Wattesfield. Ed.

“ ticular

“ ticular churches, but admit, that in cases of difficulty, or
“ difference relating to doctrine or order, churches may meet
“ together by their messengers in synods or councils, to con-
“ sider and give advice, but without exercising any jurif-
“ diction.

“ And lastly, they agree, that churches, consisting of per-
“ sons found in the faith and of good conversation, ought
“ not to refuse communion with each other, though they
“ walk not in all things according to the same rule of church
“ order; and if they judge other churches to be true
“ churches, though less pure, they may receive to occasional
“ communion such members of those churches as are credi-
“ bly testified to be godly, and to live without offence.

“ These opinions (say they) may appear new to a great
“ many people, because they have not been openly and pub-
“ lickly professed in the English nation, but we are able to
“ trace the footsteps of an independant congregational way,
“ in the antientest practice of the church, and in the writings
“ of the soundest protestant divines.” They add, “ that
“ their principles do not in the least interfere with the autho-
“ rity of the civil magistrate, nor do they concern themselves
“ upon any occasions with him, any further than to implore
“ his protection, for the preservation of the peace and li-
“ berty of their churches.” They glory in this, that ever
since they appeared in the world, they have distinguished
themselves in the cause of christian liberty. “ We have al-
“ ways, say they, maintained this principle, *that among all*
“ *christian states and churches, there ought to be a forbear-*
“ *ance, and mutual indulgence to christians of all persua-*
“ *sions, that keep to, and hold fast the necessary foundations of*
“ *faith and holiness.* This principle we have maintained for
“ the sake of others, *when we ourselves had no need of it.*”
They conclude with thankfulness to their present governors,
for permitting those who could not comply with the presby-
terian establishment to enjoy the liberty of their consciences,
and equal encouragement and protection with others; and
that this liberty is established by a law, as long as they disturb
not the publick peace. This should engage us (say they)
to promote the honour and prosperity of such a government,
to be peaceably disposed one towards another, and to love

as brethren; forasmuch as the differences between presbyterians and independants are differences between fellow-servants, neither of them having authority from God or man, to impose their opinions upon one another.

Mr. *Baxter*, in the main a very peaceable and candid divine, loses all temper when he speaks of this assembly: He finds fault with their definition of *justification*, and makes these remarks: “They thought it not enough expressly to contradict St. *James*, and to say unlimitedly, that *we are justified by the righteousness of Christ only, and not by any works*, but they contradicted St. *Paul* also, who says, that *faith is imputed for righteousness*; and not only so, but they asserted, that *we have no other righteousness but that of Christ*. A doctrine abhorred by all the reformed and christian churches, and which (says he) would be an utter shame of the protestant name, if what such men held and did, were imputable to sober protestants.” But is it possible that Mr. *Baxter* could believe, that the Savoy divines denied the necessity of sanctification, or personal holiness? when they have a whole chapter in their confession upon *sanctification*, another upon repentance and good works, and a third upon the moral law, which they declare does for ever bind all men to obedience, both justified and unjustified. When Mr. *Baxter* asked some honest men who joined them, whether they subscribed the confession? They said, no; he then enquired, why they did not contradict this? To which they answered, because the meaning was, that they had no other righteousness but that of Christ *to be justified by*; which is certainly the doctrine of the Westminster assembly. What does Mr. *Baxter* reply to this? Why nothing, but adds very uncharitably, “that the independent confessions are like such oaths as speak one thing and mean another; so much could two men, [Dr. *Owen* and *Goodwin*] do with many honest tractable young men, who had more zeal for separating strictness than judgment to understand the word of God, the interest of the churches and of themselves.” And yet there were in that assembly many divines of as great age and learning as himself; their design was not to undervalue the Westmin-

|| Life, p. 104.

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fter confession, but rather to answer the desires of that assembly, by publishing to the world such a declaration of their faith and discipline as they had demanded. And the *confession* was so far from raising any new divisions, that Mr. *Philip Henry* observes, upon the death of *Cromwell*, that there was a great change in the tempers of good people throughout the nation, and a mighty tendency to peace and unity, as if they were by consent weary of their long clashings. However, the *independants* lost their best friend in the *protector*, who was not only their patron upon the principle of liberty, but a balance to the presbyterian pretences to ecclesiastical power.

The hierarchy of the church of England was now at a very low ebb, and in danger of being lost beyond recovery; for if the bishops, who were now very antient, had all died off, before others had been consecrated, the line of succession must have failed; for the church of Rome was so far from supporting it, that they published a treatise this year, *of the nature of the catholick faith, and of heresy*; in which they endeavour to invalidate the English ordinations, and revived the story of the Nags-head club; for the truth of which they appealed to Dr. *Moreton*, the antient bishop of Durham, who in a solemn speech made in full parliament (say they) declared in express words, that our first bishops after the reformation had been consecrated in a tavern; and that this was so far from being doubted, that it was a fact most notorious to all the world; adding, that the rest of the bishops present rather approved, than in the least opposed what he had said. The bishop, then in the ninety-fourth year of his age, being advised of this calumny, sent for a publick notary from London, and in the presence of proper witnesses, made a solemn protestation of the falshood of this story, and signed it in due form July 17, 1658. He then sent his chaplain Dr. *Barwick*, to all the lords spiritual and temporal then alive, who had sat in that parliament, desiring, that if they believed him undeservedly aspersed, they would attest it by subscribing their names; which was done by six bishops, and fourteen temporal lords, and by the several clerks and registers of the house. The bishop died soon

|| Life, p. 40.

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after, but his protestation, with the proofs, was afterwards published by Dr. *Bramhal*, bishop of Derry, in a treatise entitled, *The consecration and succession of protestant bishops justified; the bishop of Duresme vindicated; and the fable of the ordination of the Nags-head club clearly confuted*. This awakened the clergy to enter upon measures for the continuance of a succession of bishops, though they could not be regularly chosen, lest the validity of the episcopal ministry should cease; which will come under consideration in the transactions of the next year.

Lord *Clarendon* mentions an address of the *anabaptists* to the king, who, being disappointed in their expectations of a commonwealth, threw themselves at his majesty's feet, offering their assistance to pull down the present government. In their address they say, "they took up arms in the late war for liberty and reformation, but assure his majesty that they were so far from entertaining any thoughts of casting off their allegiance, or extirpating the royal family, that they had not the least intent to abridge him of his just prerogatives, but only the restraining those excesses of government, which were nothing but the excrescences of a wanton power, and were rather a burthen, than an ornament to the royal diadem." They then go on to declaim against the *protector*, calling him, that *grand impostor*, that *loathsome hypocrite*, that *detestable traitor*, the *prodigy of nature*, the *opprobrium of mankind*, a *landskip of iniquity*, a *sink of sin*, a *compendium of baseness*. And then, begging pardon for their former offences, they promise to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for his majesty's restoration, provided his majesty would be so gracious as to restore the remains of the long parliament; to ratify the treaty of the Isle of Wight; to establish liberty of conscience; to take away tithes, and provide some other maintenance for the national clergy; and to pass an act of oblivion, for all who had been in arms against his father and himself, except those who should adhere to that ungodly tyrant who calls himself *protector*. His lordship adds, that the messenger that brought these propositions, asking the sum of two thousand pounds to carry on the project, his majesty dismissed him with civil expressions, telling him, he had no designs to trouble any
man

man for his opinion. However, if there had been such an address from the body of the anabaptists, it is a little strange that after the restoration it was not remembered to their advantage. But his lordship seems to have had no great acquaintance with these men, when he says, they always pretended a just esteem and value for all men who faithfully adhered to the king, whereas they were of all sects the most zealous for a commonwealth, and were enemies to the *protector* for no other reason but because he was for government by a single person. In truth, this whole affair seems no more than an artifice to get a little money out of the poor king's purse. §

The protector's health was now declining, through his advanced age, and excessive toils and fatigues. The restless spirits of the royalists and republicans put him upon his guard, insomuch that he usually wore under his clothes a piece of armour, or a coat of mail. The loss of his beloved daughter *Glaxpole*, who died this summer, had also a very sensible influence on his health. About the middle of August he was seized with a slow fever, which turned to a tertian ague; but the distemper appeared so favourable for a while, that he walked abroad in the gardens at Hampton-court. *Ludlow* says, the protector had a humour in his leg, which he desired the physicians to disperse, by which means it was thrown into his blood: At length his pulse began to intermit, and he was advised to keep his bed; and his ague fits growing stronger, it was thought proper to remove him to Whitehall, where he began to be light-headed; upon which his physicians declared his life in danger, and the council being summoned to desire him to nominate his successor, he appointed his eldest son *Richard*. In the intervals of his fits, he behaved with great devotion and piety, but manifested no remorse for his publick actions; he declared in general, that he designed the good of the nation, and to preserve it from anarchy and a new war. He once asked *Dr. Goodwin*, who attended at his bed-side, and is said to have expressed an un-

§ Notwithstanding the suspicions which rest upon this affair, *Crosby* has seen fit to preserve the address, propositions, and letter, in the Appendix to his first volume, No. v. Ed.

becoming

becoming assurance† to Almighty God in prayer of his recovery, *whether a man could fall from grace?* which the doctor answering in the negative, the protector replied, *then I am safe, for I am sure I was once in a state of grace.*‡ About twelve hours before he died he lay very quiet, when major Butler being in his chamber, says he heard him make his last prayer to this purpose: “Lord, I am a poor foolish creature; this people would fain have me live; they think it best for them, and that it will redound much to thy glory, and all the stir is about this. Others would fain have me die; Lord pardon them, and pardon thy foolish people, forgive their sins, and do not forsake them, but love and bless, and give them rest, and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest, for Jesus Christ’s sake, to whom, with thee, and thy Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory, now and for ever, *Amen.*” The protector died, Sept. 3, 1658, about three in the afternoon, the day on which he had triumphed in the battles of Marston-Moor,§ Dunbar, and Worcester, when he had lived fifty-nine years, four months, and eight days: four years and eight months after he had been declared protector by the *instrument of government*; and one year and three months after his confirmation by the *humble petition and advice*. As he had lived most part of his life in a storm, his death was attended with one of the greatest hurricanes, that had been known for

† The language of Dr. Goodwin was thus extravagant: “Lord, we beg not for his recovery; for that thou hast already granted and assured us of; but for his speedy recovery.” And when news was brought of his death. Mr. Peter Sterry stood up, and desired them not to be troubled. “For” said he, “this is good news: because if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occasions.” *Ludlow’s Memoirs*, 4to. p. 258, 9. Dr. Grey does not fail to notice these strange flights. And Sewel the historian’s reflection on this last instance of the flattery, or phrensy, of these courtiers, was just. “O horrid flattery! Thus I call it, though he had been the greatest saint on earth; which he came much short of, though he was once endued with some eminent virtues.” *History of the Quakers*, p. 189. Ed.

‡ Baxter’s Life, p. 98.

§ This, as Dr. Grey notices, is an error; the battle of Marston-Moor was fought on the 2d of July, 1644. Ed.

many

many years.* Some have said, that next night after his death, his body was wrapped up in lead and buried in Naseby-field, according to his desire. Others, more probably, that it was deposited privately in a vault in king *Henry* the seventh's chapel, sometime before the publick funeral, which was performed Nov. 23, with all imaginable grandeur and military pomp,† from Somerset-house, where he had lain in state, to the Abbey-church in Westminster, where a fine mausoleum was erected for him, on which his effigies was placed, and exhibited to the view of all spectators for a time; but after the king's restoration, his coffin was taken out of the vault, and drawn upon a sledge to Tyburn, where he was hanged up till sun-set, and then buried under the gallows.

Thus died the mighty *OLIVER CROMWELL*, the greatest soldier and statesman of his age, after he had undergone excessive fatigues and labours in a long course of warlike actions, and escaped innumerable dangers from the plots and conspiracies of domestick enemies. Few historians have spoken of him with temper, though no other genius, it may be, could have held the reins, or steered the commonwealth, through so many storms and hurricanes, as the factions of these times had raised in the nation. He was born at Hun-

* *Dr. Grey* tells us also, that on the day his coffin was taken up and hung at Tyburn, almost as remarkable a storm rose in the northern parts of the kingdom. Superstition and a hatred of *Cromwell* construed these circumstances as appearances of nature or the God of nature, by physical phenomena, expressing an abhorrence of his character. But sound philosophy sees nothing but a singular coincidence of events, happening together, but without any correspondence in their causes: and will reflect, how many storms disturb the elements, when no wicked tyrant dies in the political world! *ED.*

† The expences of *Cromwell's* funeral amounted to 60,000*l.* The body laid in a more private apartment, till the first of November; in imitation of the solemnities used upon the like occasion for *Philip II.* king of Spain, who was thus represented to be in purgatory for two months. It was then removed into the great hall of Somerset-House; the part where the bed stood was railed in, and the rails and ground within covered with crimson velvet. Four or five hundred candles set in flat shining candlesticks were so placed round near the roof of the hall, that the light they gave seemed like the rays of the sun: by all which he was represented to be in a state of glory. This folly and profusion so far provoked the people, that they threw dirt, in the night, on his escutcheon, placed over the great gate. *Ludlow's Memoirs*, 4to. p. 260. *ED.*

tingdon,

tingdon, April 25, 1599, and descended of the family of *Williams*, of Glamorgan in Wales, which assumed the name of *Cromwell* by marrying with a daughter of *Cromwell* earl of *Essex*, in the reign of king *Henry VIII.* The seat of the eldest branch of the family was called Hinchinbrook, now belonging to the earl of *Sandwich*, who were reputed to possess an estate of 30,000l. a year. *Oliver*, who was descended of a younger branch, was educated in Cambridge, and from thence became a student of Lincoln's-Inn, being a wild and extravagant youth till about the thirty-fifth year of his age, when he quitted his irregular life, and became remarkably sober. In the year 1640, he was chosen representative in parliament for the town of Cambridge, and sat two years undistinguished in the house, as a mere country gentleman, appearing (says Sir *Philip Warwick*) in a plain cloth suit of clothes made by a country taylor, his linen not very clean, his band unfashionable, his hat without an hat-band, and his sword close by his side; his countenance was swoln and reddish, his voice hoarse and untunable, but his elocution was full of fervor and warmth, and he was well heard in the house. His person somewhat exceeded the middle stature,* but was well proportioned, compact, and strong. He had a masculine countenance, a sparkling eye, a manly stern look, a vigorous constitution, and was an enemy to ease and excess; the motto upon his coat of arms was, *pax quæritur bello.*

* Sir *John Reresby* calls *Cromwell* "one of the greatest and bravest men, had his cause been good, the world ever saw. His figure did not come up to his character; he was indeed a likely person, but not handsome, nor had he a very bold look with him. He was plain in his apparel, and rather negligent than not. Tears he had at will, and was, doubtless, the greatest dissembler on earth." *Memoirs*, p. 2. Since Mr. *Neal* wrote, various historians have reviewed the actions and character of *Cromwell*. Amongst whom the faithful and judicious Dr. *Harris* deserves particular mention. The candid and copious account of this extraordinary man in the first edition of the "*Biographia Britannica*," has been enriched with new and curious matter by the learned and accurate pen, which has conducted the second edition. The history of the *Cromwell* family has been accurately investigated by Mr. *Noble*, in his "*Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*:" not to mention other writers, who have elucidated this subject. To other particulars, with which Dr. *Kippis* has improved the article *Cromwell*, in the *Biogr. Britan.* is added an ample exhibition of the characters of him, drawn by foreigners and natives. Ed.

Upon

Upon the breaking out of the civil war he took arms for the parliament, and though he was forty-three years of age before he drew a sword, he soon became colonel of a regiment of chosen men, who declared they fought not for gain, but for the *cause of religion and liberty*. He always went to prayer before battle, and returned solemn thanks for his success afterwards. He was careful to promote an exact discipline in the army, and would not have pardoned his own brother, (says my author*) if he had found him plundering the country people. The army had not an officer who faced danger with greater intrepidity, or more eagerly sought occasions to distinguish his personal valour. He had a great presence of mind in the heat of action, and taught his soldiers to fight in a more desperate manner than usual, not allowing them to discharge their musquets, till they were so near the enemy as to be sure of doing execution. His reputation rose so fast, that he quickly became a major-general, then lieutenant-general under *Fairfax*, and at last supplanted him. His troops believed themselves invincible under his conduct; he never lost a battle where he had the chief command. The victory of Marston-Moor was chiefly ascribed to his valour. The reduction of Ireland in less than a year made him the terror of his enemies; and the battles of Dunbar and Worcester completed his martial glory.

How far his usurping the *protectorship* of the three nations, without the previous consent of a free parliament, was the result of ambition or necessity, has been considered already; but if we view him as a *statesman*, he was an able politician, a steady resolute governor; and though he had more numerous and powerful enemies than any man of the age, he was never intimidated, having a peculiar art of keeping men quiet, and giving them by turns hopes of his favour. He had a wonderful knowledge of mankind, and an inimitable sagacity and penetration. If there was a man in England who excelled in any faculty or science, he would find him out, and reward him according to his merit. In nothing was his good understanding better discovered (says bishop *Burnet*) than in seeking out able and worthy men for all employments, which gave a general satisfaction. By these me-

* Carrington's Life of Cromwell, p. 243. Welwood's Mem. p. 104.

thods, in the space of four or five years, he carried the reputation and glory of the English nation as high as it was capable of being raised. He was equally dreaded by France, Spain, and the United Provinces, who condescended to servile compliances to obtain his friendship; *Charles Gustavus*, king of Sweden, thought himself honoured by his alliance; and cardinal *Mazarine* said, that nothing but the king of France's having the small-pox could have hindered him from coming over to England, that he might have the honour of waiting on one of the greatest men.

The protector had an uncommon command of his passions, and knew how to behave in character upon all occasions; though in private life he would be jocular and merry with his inferiors; yet no prince was more jealous of his dignity on publick occasions. His ambassadors in foreign courts had all the respects paid them that our kings ever had. All Europe trembled at his name! And though he could converse with no foreigners but in broken Latin, yet no man ever had better intelligence, nor understood the views and interests of the several courts of Europe better than himself. He had spies at Madrid and Paris, and was so happy as to fix upon persons who never failed him. Mr. *Algernon Sydney*, who was not inclined to think or speak well of kings, commended him to bishop *Burnet*, as one who had just notions of publick liberty; and though he made some severe and cruel laws against the episcopal clergy, it was not for their religion, but because they were open and declared enemies to his person and government.

The protector was a protestant, but affected to go under no denomination or party: He had chaplains of all persuasions; and though he was by principle an *independant*, he esteemed all reformed churches as part of the catholick church; and without aiming to establish any tenets by force or violence, he witnessed, on all occasions, an extreme zeal for the protestant religion, and a just regard for liberty of conscience.

As to his moral character, his greatest enemies have not charged him with any publick vices. Dr. *Welwood* admits, that he was not addicted to swearing, gluttony, drunkenness, gaming, avarice, or the love of women, but kept close to his marriage

marriage bed. Nor is he chargeable with covetousness, for it has been computed (says the writer of his life†) that he distributed forty thousand pounds a year out of his privy purse to charitable uses. § He promoted virtuous men, and was inflexible in his punishment of ill actions. His court was regulated according to a most strict discipline (says Mr. *Eachard*) where every vice was banished or severely punished. He maintained a constant appearance of piety, and was regular in his private and publick devotions: He retired constantly every day to read the scriptures and prayer; and some who watched him narrowly have reported, that after he had read and expounded a chapter, he prostrated himself with his face on the ground, and with tears poured out his soul to God for a quarter of an hour. He was a strict observer of the sabbath, and an encourager of goodness and austerity of life. § Mr. *Baxter* admits, that “he kept as much honesty and godliness as his cause and interest would allow; that he had a zeal for religion, meant honestly in the main, and was pious in the main course of his life,† till prosperity corrupted him.”

But with all these good qualities it is certain, the protector was a strong enthusiast, and did not take up his religion

† Carrington, p. 248.

§ An observation of Dr. *Gibbons*, as just in itself and doing honour to *Cromwell*, deserves to be mentioned here. It is this; “that it does not appear that in the height of his power he ever diverted any part of the national property to the private emolument of himself or family, as he left them possess of the small estates only which he enjoyed before he arrived to the protectorate.” Funeral Sermon for *William Cromwell*, p. 48. Ed.

§ To this must be ascribed his prohibition of all theatrical exhibitions. There was, indeed, a remarkable exception, in his permitting, from hatred to the Spaniards, the representation of a performance entitled, “The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru.” Roscius Anglicanus, p. 29, in the Literary Museum, 8vo. printed in 1792. Ed.

† That his religious character was not originally assumed, however it might afterwards be abused, to carry political views, and was prior to his dignity and power, it has been observed, is evinced from his letters written long before that period, and from what *Milton* says of him; “that being arrived to manly and mature age, which he spent as a private person, and noted for nothing than the cultivation of pure religion and integrity of life; he was grown wealthy in retirement at home.” *Gibbons's* Funeral Sermon for *William Cromwell*, p. 47, 8. Ed.

upon

upon rational or solid principles, which led him into sundry mistakes, not supported by reason or scripture. One of his favourite principles was a *particular faith*; that is, if any thing was strongly impressed upon his mind in prayer, he apprehended it came immediately from God, and was a *rule of action*; but if there were no impressions, but a flatness in his devotions, it was a *denial*. Upon this maxim he is said to suffer the late king to be put to death, in an arbitrary and illegal manner.—Another maxim was, that *in extraordinary cases something extraordinary, or beyond the common rules of justice, may be done; that the moral laws, which are binding in ordinary cases, may then be dispensed with; and that PRIVATE JUSTICE must give way to PUBLIC NECESSITY*. Which was the protector's governing principle in all his unwarrantable stretches of power. A third principle by which the protector was misled, was, *his determining the goodness of a cause by the success*. An appeal to the sword was with him *an appeal to God*; and as victory inclined, God owned or discountenanced the cause.—It is impossible that a man's conduct could be just or consistent, while it was directed by such mistaken principles.

It has been further objected to the protector's character, that he was notoriously guilty of *hypocrisy and dissimulation both to God and man; that he mocked God by the pretence of piety and devotion, and by long prayers full of hypocritical zeal*. But who can penetrate the heart, to see whether the outward actions flow from an inward principle? With regard to men, it is certain the protector knew how to address their passions, and talk to them in their own way; and if in his devotions he uttered with his mouth what his heart never meant, no one can vindicate him: But men are not slightly to be arraigned (says *Rapin*) for the inward motions of their heart, which pass all human knowledge.—Besides, it is not easy to conceive the watchful eyes that were upon him, and the vast difficulties he had to contend with. Queen *Elizabeth's* dissimulation has been extolled, for the very same reason that the protector's is condemned: If therefore such a conduct was necessary to govern the several parties, there is nothing greatly blame-worthy in it, (says the same author) unless

unless it was a crime in him not to put it into the power of his enemies, to destroy him with the greater ease.

Ambition and thirst of glory might sometimes lead the protector aside, for he imagined himself to be a second *Phineas*, raised up by Providence to be the scourge of idolatry and superstition, and in climbing up to the pinnacle of supreme power, did not always keep within the bounds of law and equity: To this passion some have ascribed his assuming the protectorship, and putting himself at the head of three kingdoms; though others are of opinion, it was owing to *hard necessity* and *self-preservation*. I will not venture to decide in this case; possibly there might be a mixture of both. When he was in possession of the sovereign power, no man ever used it to greater publick advantage, for he had a due veneration for the laws of his country, in all things wherein the life of his jurisdiction was not concerned: And though he kept a standing army, they were under an exact discipline, and very little burthen to the people.

The charge of *cruelty*, which is brought against him, for having put some men to death for conspiring against his person and government, deserves no confutation, unless they would have had him sit still, till some conspiracy or other had succeeded. Cruelty was not in his nature;|| he was not for unnecessary effusion of blood. Lord *Clarendon* assures us, that when a general massacre of the royalists was proposed by the officers in council, he warmly opposed and prevented it.

Dr. *Welwood* compares the protector to an unusual meteor, which with its surprising influences over-awed not only three kingdoms, but the most powerful princes and states about us. A great man he was, (says he) and posterity might have paid a just homage to his memory, if he had

|| Such was the sensibility of his spirit, that if an account were given him of a distressed case, the narration would draw tears from his eyes. It speaks strongly in favour of his temper and his domestick deportment, that the daughter of Sir *Francis Russel*, married to his second son *Henry*, who before her marriage had entertained an ill opinion of his father *Oliver*, upon her coming into the family felt all her prejudice removed and changed into a most affectionate esteem for her father-in-law, as the most amiable of parents. *Gibbons's Funeral Sermon for William Cromwell, esq; p. 46. Ed.*

§ Page 102.

not

not embrued his hands in the blood of his prince, and trampled upon the liberties of his country.

Upon the whole, it is not to be wondered, that the character of this great man has been transmitted down to posterity with some disadvantage, by the several factions of *royalists*, *presbyterians*, and *republicans*; because each were disappointed, and enraged to see the supreme power wrested from them; but his management is a convincing proof of his great abilities: He was at the helm in the most stormy and tempestuous season that England ever saw; but by his consummate wisdom and valour, he disconcerted the measures and designs of his enemies, and preserved both himself and the commonwealth from shipwreck. I shall only observe further, with *Rapin*, that the confusions which prevailed in England after the death of *Cromwell*, clearly evidence the necessity of this usurpation, at least till the constitution could be restored. After his death his great achievements were celebrated in verse, by the greatest wits of the age, as *Dr. Sprat*, afterwards bishop of Rochester, *Waller*, *Dryden*, and others, who in their panegyricks out-did every thing, which till that time had been written in the English language.

Four divines of the assembly died this year: *Dr. John Harris*, son of *Richard Harris* of Buckinghamshire, born in the parsonage-house of Hardwick in the same county, educated in Wickham school near Winchester, and in the year 1606 admitted perpetual fellow of New-college. He was so admirable a Grecian, and eloquent a preacher, that *Sir Henry Saville* called him a second *St. Chrysostom*. In 1619 he was chosen Greek professor of the university. He was afterwards prebendary of Winchester, rector of Meonstoke in Hampshire, and in the year 1630, warden of Wickham-college near Winchester; in all which places he behaved with great reputation. In the beginning of the civil wars he took part with the parliament, was chosen one of the assembly of divines, took the covenant, and other oaths, and kept his wardenship till his death; he published several learned works, and died at Winchester, August 11, 1658, aged seventy years.

Mr. Sydrach Sympson, a meek and quiet divine, of the independent persuasion, was educated in Cambridge, but forced

to fly his country for non-conformity, in the times of archbishop *Laud*. He was one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly, and behaved with great temper and moderation. Bishop *Kennet* says, he was silenced for some time from preaching, because he differed in judgment from the assembly in points of church discipline, but was restored to his liberty October 28, 1646. He afterwards gathered a congregation in London, after the manner of the *independants*, which met in Abchurch near Canon-street. Upon the resignation of Mr. *Vines* in the year 1650, for refusing the *engagement*, he was by the visitors made master of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge. He was a divine of considerable learning, and of great piety and devotion. In his last sickness he was under some darkness, and melancholy apprehensions; upon which account some of his friends and brethren assembled in his own house to assist him with their prayers; and in the evening, when they took their leave, he thanked them, and said, he was now satisfied in his soul; and lifting up his hands towards heaven said, *He is come, he his come*. And that night died.

Dr. *Robert Harris* was born at Broad-Campden in Gloucestershire, 1578, and educated in Magdalen-college, Oxon. He preached for some time about Oxford, and settled afterwards at Hanwell, in the place of famous Mr. *Dodd*, then suspended for non-conformity; here he continued till the breaking out of the civil wars, when by the king's soldiers he was driven to London. He was appointed one of the assembly of divines, and minister of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. In the year 1646, he was one of the six preachers to the university of Oxford, and next year one of their visitors, when he was created *D. D.* and made president of Trinity-college, and rector of Garlington near Oxford, which is always annexed to it. Here he continued till his death, governing his college with a paternal affection, being revered by the students as a father. The inscription over his grave gives him a great character; but the royalists charge him, and I believe justly, with being a notorious pluralist.*

* Against this charge, if the truth of it should be admitted, ought to be set his charity; which, we are told, exceeded the ordinary proportion of his revenues. ED.

He

He died December 11, 1658, in the eightieth year of his age. §

Mr. *William Carter* was educated in Cambridge, and afterwards a very popular preacher in London. He was a good scholar, of great seriousness, and though a young man, appointed one of the assembly of divines. After some time he joined the *independants*, and became one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly. He had offers of many livings but refused them, being dissatisfied with the parochial discipline of those times; nevertheless, he was indefatigable in his ministry, preaching twice every Lord's-day to two large congregations in the city, besides lectures on the week days: This wasted his strength, and put an end to his life about Midsummer 1658, in the fifty-third year of his age. His family were afterwards great sufferers by the purchase of bishops lands.

§ Clarke's Lives in his Martyrology, p. 314—339.



CHAP. IV.

The Inter-Regnum from the Death of OLIVER CROMWELL to the Restoration of King CHARLES II. and the Re-Establishment of the Church of England.

—1659.—

UPON the death of the *protector*, all the discontented spirits who had been subdued by his administration resumed their courage, and within the compass of one year, revived the confusions of the preceding ten. RICHARD CROMWELL, being proclaimed protector upon his father's decease, received numberless addresses from all parts,* congratulating his accession to the dignity of protector, with assurances of lives and fortunes cheerfully devoted to support his title. He was a young gentleman of a calm and peaceable temper, but had by no means the capacity or resolution of his father, and was therefore unfit to be at the helm in such boisterous times. He was highly caressed by the presbyterians, though he set out upon the principles of general toleration, as appears by his declaration of Nov. 25, entitled, *A proclamation for the better encouraging godly ministers and others*; and for their enjoying their dues and liberties according to law, without being molested with indictments for not using the common-prayer book.

The young protector summoned a parliament to meet on the 27th of Jan. 1658-9. The elections were not according to the method practised by his father, but according to the old constitution, because it was apprehended that the smaller boroughs might be more easily influenced than

* Of these addresses, Dr. Grey says, "nothing ever exceeded them in point of flattery, except those canting addresses of the *dissenters* to king James upon his indulgence:" and he gives several at length, as specimens of the strain of adulation in which they were drawn up, from different corporations: from which the reader will see that mayors, recorders, and aldermen of that day could rival the *independant ministers*, whom the doctor reproaches as "most foully guilty," in their effusions of flattery. In truth, all were paying their *devoirs* to the rising sun. ED.

cities and counties; but it was ill judged to break in upon the instrument of government, by which he held his protectorship. The parliament met according to appointment, but did little business, the lower house not being willing to own the upper. The army was divided into two grand factions; the Wallingford-house party, which was for a commonwealth; and the presbyterian, which with the majority, of the parliament, was for the protector. The Wallingford-house party, of which *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* were the head, invited Dr. *Owen* and Dr. *Manton* to their consultations. Dr. *Owen* went to prayer before they entered on business, but Dr. *Manton*, being late before he came, heard a loud voice from within, saying, *He must down, and he shall down.* *Manton* knew the voice to be Dr. *Owen's*, and understood him to mean the deposing of *Richard*, and therefore would not go in. But the writer of Dr. *Owen's* life discredits this story; though, in my opinion, it is very probable, for the doctor inclined to a republican government: He sided with the army, and drew up their address against *Oliver's* being king: upon which he declined in the protector's favour, and as soon as *Richard* became chancellor of Oxford, he turned him out of the vice-chancellorship. The cabinet council at Wallingford-House having gained over several to their party, prevailed with *Richard* to consent to their erecting a *general council* of officers, though he could not but know they designed his ruin, being all republicans; and therefore, instead of supporting the protector, they presented a remonstrance, complaining of the advancement of disaffected persons, and that the *good old cause* was ridiculed. *Richard*, sensible of his fatal mistake, by the advice of lord *Broghil*, dissolved the council, and then the parliament voted they should meet no more; but the officers bid him defiance, and like a company of sovereign dictators armed with power, sent the protector a peremptory message to dissolve the parliament, telling him that it was impossible for him to keep both the parliament and army at his devotion, but that he might choose which he would prefer; if he dissolved the parliament he might depend upon the army, but if he refused, they would quickly pull him out of Whitehall. Upon this the timorous gentleman being at a plunge, and destitute of his

his father's courage, submitted to part with the only men who could support him.

After the dissolution of the parliament, *Richard* became a cypher in the government; lord *Broghil*, afterwards earl of *Orrery*, advised him to the last to support the parliament and declare against the council of officers; and if he had allowed the captain of his guard at the same time to have secured *Fleetwood* and *Desborough*, as he undertook to do, with the hazard of his life, he might have been established; but the poor-spirited protector told him, that *he was afraid of blood*; upon which the captain, lord *Howard*, made his peace with the king. The officers at Wallingford-house, having carried their point, published a declaration about twelve days after, without so much as asking the protector's leave, inviting the remains of the long-parliament to resume the government, who immediately declared their resolutions for a commonwealth without a single person, or house of peers. Thus was the grandeur of *Cromwell's* family destroyed by the pride and resentment of some of its own branches: *Fleetwood* had married the widow of *Ireton*, one of *Oliver's* daughters, and being disappointed of the protectorship by his last will, was determined that no single person should be his superior. *Desborough*, who had married *Oliver's* sister, joined in the fatal conspiracy. *Lambert*, whom *Oliver* had dismissed the army, was called from his retirement to take his place among the council of officers. These, with Sir *H. Vane*, and one or two more behind the curtain, subverted the government, and were the springs of all the confusions of this year, as is evident by the letters of Mr. *Henry Cromwell*, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, now before me, who saw farther into their intrigues at that distance, than the protector who was upon the spot. I shall take the liberty to transcribe some passages out of them to my present purpose.

Upon the surprising news of *Oliver's* death he writes to his brother, Sept. 18, 1658,——“ I am so astonished at the
“ news of my dear father's sickness and death, that I know
“ not what to say or write on so sad and grievous an occa-
“ sion; but the happy news of leaving your highness his
“ successor gives some relief, not only on account of the
“ publick, but of our poor family, which the goodness of

“ God has preserved from the contempt of our enemies. I
 “ may say without vanity, that your highness has been pro-
 “ claimed here with as great joy, and general satisfaction (I
 “ believe) as in the best-affected places of England; and I
 “ make no doubt of the dutiful compliance of the army.
 “ Now, that the God of your late father and mine, and
 “ your highness’s predecessor, would support you, and pour
 “ down a double portion of the same spirit that was so emi-
 “ nently in him, and would enable you to walk in his steps,
 “ and do worthily for his name-sake and people, and conti-
 “ nually preserve you in so doing, is the prayer of

“ Your’s, &c.

“ H. C.”

In another letter of the same date, sent by an express mes-
 senger, he writes, that “ he had caused a very dutiful address
 “ to be sent to the army, which had been already signed by
 “ several of the field officers, and when perfected, should be
 “ sent to him as a witness against any single officer that should
 “ hereafter warp from his obedience; so that I may and do
 “ assure your highness of the active subjection of this army to
 “ your government, and will answer for it with my life.—”

In his letter of October 20, 1658, he says, “ If the ac-
 “ count be true which I have received of the state of affairs
 “ in England, I confess it is no more than I looked for, only
 “ I had some hopes it might have been prevented by keep-
 “ ing all officers at their respective charges; but as things
 “ now stand, I doubt the flood is so strong you can neither
 “ stem it, nor come to an anchor, but must be content to go
 “ adrift and expect the ebb. I thought those whom my fa-
 “ ther had raised from nothing would not so soon have for-
 “ got him, and endeavour to destroy his family before he
 “ is in his grave. Why do I say I thought, when I know
 “ ambition, and affection of empire, never had any bounds.
 “ I cannot think these men will ever rest till they are in the
 “ saddle; and we have of late years been so used to changes,
 “ that it will be but a nine days’ wonder; and yet I fear there
 “ is no remedy, but what must be used gradually and *pede-*
 “ *tentim*. Sometimes I think of a parliament, but am doubt-
 “ ful whether sober men will venture to embark themselves
 “ when

“ when things are in so high a distraction; or if they would,
 “ whether the army can be restrained from forcing elections.
 “ —I am almost afraid to come over to your highness, lest
 “ I should be kept there, and so your highness lose this
 “ army, which, for ought I know, is the only stay you have,
 “ though I cannot but earnestly desire it. I also think it
 “ dangerous to write freely to you, for I make no question
 “ but all the letters will be opened that pass between us,
 “ unless they come by a trusty messenger. I pray God
 “ help you, and bless your councils.

“ I remain, your’s, &c.

“ H. C.”

In a letter of the same date to his brother-in-law *Fleetwood*, he writes:

“ *Dear BROTHER,*

“ I received your account of the petition of the officers;
 “ but pray give me leave to expostulate with you; how came
 “ these two or three hundred officers together? If they came
 “ of their own heads, their being absent from their charge
 “ without licence would have flown in their face when they
 “ petitioned for a due observance of martial discipline. If
 “ they were called together, were they not also taught what
 “ to say and do? If they were called, was it with his high-
 “ ness’s privy? If they met without leave in so great a
 “ number, were they told their error? I shall not meddle
 “ with the matter of their petition; but, *dear brother*, I must
 “ tell you, I hear that dirt was thrown upon his late high-
 “ ness at that great meeting: that they were exhorted to
 “ stand up for that good old cause which had long lain asleep.
 “ —I thought my father had pursued it to the last. He
 “ died, praying for those that desired to trample on his dust.
 “ Let us then not render evil for good, and make his me-
 “ mory stink before he is under ground. Let us remember
 “ his last legacy, and for his sake render his successor confi-
 “ derable, and not make him vile, a thing of nought, and a
 “ by-word. Whither do these things tend? What a hurly-
 “ burly is there? One hundred independant ministers called
 “ together; a council, as you call it, of two or three hun-
 “ dred officers of a judgment. Remember what has always
 “ befallen

“ befallen imposing spirits. Will not the loins of an impos-
“ sing independant, or anabaptist, be as heavy as the loins of
“ an imposing prelate, or presbytery? And is it a dangerous
“ opinion, that *dominion is founded in grace*, when it is held
“ by the church of Rome, and a sound principle when it is
“ held by the fifth monarchy men. *Dear brother*, let us
“ not fall into the sins of other men, lest we partake of their
“ plagues. Let it be so carried, that all the people of God,
“ though under different forms; yea, even those whom you
“ count *without*, may enjoy their birthright and civil liberty;
“ and that no one party may tread upon the neck of ano-
“ ther. It does not become the magistrate to descend into
“ parties; but can the things you do tend to this end? Can
“ these things be done, and the world not think his high-
“ nefs a knave or a fool, or oppressed with mutinous spirits?
“ *Dear brother*, my spirit is sorely oppressed with the confi-
“ deration of the miserable state of the innocent people of
“ these nations: What have these sheep done that their blood
“ should be the price of our lust and ambition? Let me beg
“ you to remember, how his late highness loved you; how
“ he honoured you with the highest trust, by leaving the
“ sword in your hand, which must defend or destroy us.
“ And his declaring his *highness* his successor, shews, that
“ he left it there to preserve him and his reputation. O
“ *brother!* use it to curb extravagant spirits, and busy-bodies,
“ but let not the nations be governed by it. Let us take
“ heed of arbitrary power; let us be governed by the known
“ laws of the land; and let all things be kept in their proper
“ channels; and let the army be so governed, that the world
“ may never hear of them unless there be occasion to fight.
“ And truly, *brother*, you must pardon me, if I say God and
“ man may require this duty at your hand, and lay all mis-
“ carriages of the army, in point of discipline, at your door.
“ You see I deal freely and plainly with you, as becomes
“ your friend, and a good subject. And the great God, in
“ whose presence I speak, knows that I do it not to reproach
“ you, but out of my tender affection and faithfulness to
“ you. And you may rest assured, that you shall always
“ find me, *Your true friend, and loving brother,*
“ H. C.”

In

In other letters to lord *Broghil*, afterwards earl of *Orrery*, with whom he maintained an intimate correspondence, “ he complains of his being forbid to come over into England; “ and that the clause in his new commission was left out; “ namely, the power of appointing a deputy, or juries, in “ order to prevent his coming over to England, which he “ hopes his highness will permit, there being much more “ cause to press it now than ever.” “ I find (says he in a “ letter to the protector) that my enemies have sentenced “ me to an honourable banishment; I am not conscious of “ any crime which might deserve it; but if they can de- “ nounce judgment upon my innocence they will easily be “ able to make me criminal. — They have already begot a “ doubt among my friends, whether all be right; but I will “ rather submit to any sufferings with a good name, than be “ the greatest man upon earth without it.” — In a letter to secretary *Thurloe*, he writes, “ that since he was not allowed “ to leave Ireland, he could do no more than sit still and look “ on. The elections for parliament are like to be good here, “ (says he) though I could wish the writs had come so timely “ that the members might have been there before they had “ been excluded by a vote, which, it is said, will be the first “ thing brought upon the stage.—” From these, and some other of his letters, it is natural to conclude, that lieutenant-general *Fleetwood* was at the head of the councils which deposed *Richard*, which might be owing either to his republican principles, or to his disappointment of the protectorship. However, when he found he could not keep the army within bounds, who were for new changes, he retired from publick business, and spent the remainder of his life privately among his friends at Stoke-Newington, where he died soon after the revolution, being more remarkable for piety and devotion than for courage and deep penetration in politicks.†

† “ He thought that prayers superseded the use of “ carnal weapons,” and that “ it was sufficient to trust in the hand of Providence without exerting the arm of flesh.” “ He would fall on his knees and pray when he “ heard of a mutiny among the soldiers; and was with the utmost difficulty “ roused to action on several emergencies.” Granger’s Hist. of England, vol. iii. 8vo. p. 17. Ed.

To return:—After the rump parliament had sat about a week, the officers petitioned “ 1. That the laws might have
 “ their free course. 2. That all publick debts unsatisfied
 “ might be paid. 3. That all who profess faith in the holy
 “ trinity, and acknowledge the holy scriptures to be the re-
 “ vealed will of God, may have protection and encourage-
 “ ment in the profession of their religion, while they give no
 “ disturbance to the state, except papists, prelatists, and per-
 “ sons who teach licentious doctrines. 4. That the two
 “ universities, and all schools of learning, may be counte-
 “ nanced. 5. That those who took part with the king in
 “ the late wars, or are notoriously disaffected to the parlia-
 “ ment’s cause, may be removed from all places of trust.
 “ 6. That the protector’s debts be paid, and an allowance
 “ of ten thousand pounds *per ann.* be allowed to *Richard*
 “ and his heirs for ever. 7. That there may be a represen-
 “ tative of the people, consisting of one house, successively
 “ chosen by the people; and that the government of the
 “ nation may be placed in such a representative body, with a
 “ select senate co-ordinate in power; and that the admini-
 “ stration of all executive power of government may be in
 “ a council of state, consisting of a convenient number of
 “ persons eminent for godliness, and who are in principle for
 “ the present cause.”

The parliament thanked the officers for their petition, but postponed the affair relating to *Richard*, till he should acquiesce in the change of government. The protector, having parted with the parliament who were his chief support, had not the resolution to strike a bold stroke for three kingdoms, but tamely submitted to resign his *high dignity*, § by a writing under

§ *Richard Cromwell* has been reproached as “ extremely pusillanimous,” as “ a fool and a sot,” and “ a titmouse prince,” because he yielded to the times, and relinquished power and royalty. “ But, in the name of common-
 “ sense,” says *Dr. Harris*, with virtuous animation, “ what was there
 “ weak and foolish in laying down a burthen too heavy for the shoulders?
 “ What in preferring the peace and welfare of men, to blood and confu-
 “ sion, the necessary consequences of retaining the government? Or what,
 “ in a word, in resigning the power to such as, by experience, had been
 “ found fully equal to it, and intent on promoting the common welfare?
 “ Ambition, glory, fame, sound well in the ears of the vulgar; and men,
 “ excited by them, have seldom failed to figure in the eyes of the world:
 “ but

under his hand, after he had enjoyed it eight months. How little the soul of OLIVER survived in his son *Richard* may be seen by this conduct! His brother *Henry*, who was at the head of an army in Ireland, offered to come immediately to his assistance, but was forbid, and the timorous young gentleman returned to a private life, with more seeming satisfaction than he had accepted the sovereignty. Upon his quitting Whitehall, and the other royal palaces, the parliament voted him a maintenance, but refused to concern themselves with his father's debts,* the payment whereof swept away the greatest part of his estate, which was far from being large, considering the high preferments his father had enjoyed for several years. This was a further contempt thrown upon the *protector's* memory; former obligations were forgotten, and a new council of state being chosen, the nation seemed to slide peaceably into a commonwealth government.

The presbyterians would have been content with *Richard's* government; but seeing no likelihood of restoring the covenant, or coming into power, by the rump parliament,

“but the man who can divest himself of empire for the sake of his fellow-men, must, in the eye of reason, be entitled to a much higher renown, than the purpled hero who leads them on to slaughter, though provinces or kingdoms are gained to him thereby.”

- ‘Ambition, cease: the idle contest end:
- ‘’Tis but a kingdom thou canst win or lose.
- ‘And why must murder’d myriads lose their all,
- ‘(If life be all) why desolation lour,
- ‘With famish’d frown on this affrighted ball,
- ‘That thou may’st flame the meteor of an hour.’

Harris's Life of Charles II. vol. i. p. 214. ED.

MASON.

* The parliament instituted, however, an enquiry into the debts of *Richard Cromwell*, and a schedule of them was given in; by which it appeared, that *Richard*, even after having reduced his father's debts from 28,000l. to 23,550l. owed 29,640l. It was resolved to acquit *Richard Cromwell* from this debt, and to provide for the payment of it by the sale of the plate, hangings, goods, and furniture, in Whitehall and Hampton-Court, belonging to the state, which could be conveniently spared. It was also resolved to settle on him an annuity of 8700l. so as to make to him with his own fortune a yearly income of 10,000l. But, through the changes that followed, *Richard Cromwell* derived no benefit from these resolutions. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 241. Dr. Harris's Life of Charles II. vol. i. p. 208, &c. ED.

which

which was chiefly made up of enthusiasts, and declared enemies to monarchy, they entered into a kind of confederacy with the royalists, to restore the king and the old constitution. The particulars of this union (says *Rapin*) are not known, because the historians who write of it, being all royalists, have not thought fit to do so much honour to the presbyterians. But it is generally agreed, that from this time the presbyterians appeared no longer among the king's enemies, but very much promoted his restoration. Upon the foundation of this union, an insurrection was formed in several parts of the country, which was discovered by sir *Richard Willis*, a correspondent of secretary *Thurloe's*, so that sir *George Booth*, a presbyterian, had an opportunity of appearing about Chester, at the head of five or six hundred men, declaring for a free parliament, without mentioning the king; but he and sir *Thomas Middleton*, who joined him, were defeated by *Lambert*, and made prisoners.* The king and duke of *York* came to Calais, to be in readiness to embark in case it succeeded, but upon the news of its miscarriage they retired, and his majesty, in despair, determined to rely upon the Roman catholick powers for the future. Several of the presbyterian ministers appeared in this insurrection, as the reverend Mr. *Newcomb* of Manchester, Mr. *Eaton* of Walton, and Mr. *Finch* chaplain to sir *George Booth*, all afterwards ejected by the act of uniformity.

The parliament, to secure the *republican* government, first appointed an oath of abjuration, whereby they renounced allegiance to *Charles Stuart*, and the whole race of king *James*, and promised fidelity to the commonwealth, without a single person or the house of peers. They then attempted the reduction of the army, which had set them up, depending upon the assurances general *Monk* had given them from Scotland, of his army's entire submission to their orders; but the English officers, instead of submitting, stood in their own defence, and presented another petition to the house, desiring their former address from Wallingford-House might not lie asleep, but that *Fleetwood*, whom they had chosen for their general, might be confirmed in his high station. The house

* The parliament so much resented this insurrection, that they *disfranchised* the city of Chester. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 242. Ed.

demurred upon the petition, and seeing there was like to be a new contest for dominion, endeavoured to divide the officers, by cashiering some, and paying others their arrears. Upon this the officers presented a third petition to the same purpose; but the parliament, being out of all patience, told them their complaints were without just grounds, and cashiered nine of the chiefs, among whom were lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborough*, *Berry*, *Kelsey*, *Cobbet*, and others of the first rank: by means whereof things were brought to this crisis, that the army must submit to the parliament, or instantly dissolve them. The discarded officers resolved on the latter, for which purpose, October 13, *Lambert* with his forces secured all the avenues to the parliament house, and as the *speaker* passed by Whitehall he rode up to his coach, and having told him there was nothing to be done at Westminster, commanded major *Creed* to conduct him back to his house. At the same time all the members were stopped in their passage, and prevented from taking their seats in parliament; *Fleetwood* having placed a strong guard at the door of the parliament-house for that purpose. Thus the remains of the long parliament, after they had sat five months and six days, having no army to support them, were turned out of their house a second time, by a company of headstrong officers, who knew how to pull down, but could not agree upon any form of government to set up in its place.

There being now a perfect anarchy, the officers, who were masters of the nation, first appointed a council of ten of their own body to take care of the publick, and having restored their general officers, they concluded upon a select number of men to assume the administration, under the title of a *Committee of safety*, which consisted of twenty-three persons, who had the same authority and power that the late *council of state* had, to manage all publick affairs, till they could agree upon a new settlement. The people of England were highly disgusted with these changes, but there was no parliament nor king to fly to; many of the gentry therefore from several parts, sent letters to general *Monk* in Scotland, inviting him to march his army into England to obtain a free parliament, and promising him all necessary assistance.

The

The *committee of safety*, being aware of this, attempted an accommodation with *Monk* by *Clarges* his brother-in-law but without success, for they had not sat above a fortnight before they received letters from Scotland, full of reproaches for their late violation of faith to the parliament, and of the general's resolution to march his army into England to restore them. Upon this *Lambert* was sent immediately to the frontiers, who, quartering his soldiers about Newcastle, put a stop to *Monk's* march for about a month. In the meantime, the general, in order to gain time, sent commissioners to London, to come to terms with the *committee of safety*, who were so supple, that a treaty was concluded November 15 but when it was brought to *Monk* he pretended his commissioners had exceeded their instructions, and refused to ratify it. The *council of state*, therefore, which sat before the rump parliament was interrupted, taking advantage of this resolved to gain over *Monk* to their party, and being assembled privately, sent him a commission, constituting him general of the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which was the very thing he desired.

At this juncture died serjeant *Bradshaw*, who sat as judge and pronounced sentence of death on king *Charles* at his trial: He died with a firm belief of the justice of putting his majesty to death in the manner it was done, and said that if it were to do again, he would be the first man that should do it: He was buried in a very pompous manner in Westminster-Abbey, being attended by most of the members of the long parliament, and other gentlemen of quality, Nov. 22, 1659, but his body was not suffered to rest long in its grave.

The general having secured Scotland, and put garrisons into the fortified places, marched to the borders with no more than five thousand men; but while *Lambert* was encamped about Newcastle to oppose his progress, it appeared that the nation was sick of the frenzies of the officers, and willing to prefer any government to the present anarchy; Portsmouth, and part of the fleet revolted, and declared for a *free parliament*, as did several detachments of the army; upon which *Lambert* retired towards London, and made way for *Monk's* entering England. The *committee of safety*, seeing all things in confusion, and not knowing whom to trust, resigned their authority,

ority, and restored the parliament, which met again Dec. 5, and would now have been glad to have had *Monk* back again in Scotland: for this purpose they sent letters to acquaint him with their restoration, and that now he might turn to his government in Scotland: but the general, having entered England, Jan. 2, continued his march towards London, designing a new as well as a free parliament. When he came to York, lord *Fairfax* received him into that city, and declared for a new and free parliament; as did the London apprentices, and great numbers of all ranks and orders of men both in city and country. The rump, being suspicious that *Monk* had some further design, either of establishing himself after the example of *Cromwell*, or of restoring the king, obliged him to take the oath of abjuration of *Charles Stuart*, already mentioned, and to swear, that by the grace and assistance of Almighty God, he would be true, faithful, and constant to the parliament and commonwealth; and that he would oppose the bringing in, or setting up any single person or house of lords in this commonwealth. They also sent Mr. *Scot* and *Robinson* to be spies upon his conduct, who came to him at Leicester, where he received addresses from divers parts, to restore the secluded presbyterian members of 1648, which was the first step towards the king's restoration. Thus a few giddy politicians at the head of an army, through ambition, envy, lust of power, or because they knew not what to carve out for themselves, threw the whole kingdom back into confusion, and made way for that restoration they were most afraid of, and which, without their own quarrels, and insulting every form of government that had been set up, could not have been accomplished.

When the general came to St. Albans, he sent a message to desire the parliament to remove the regiments quartered in the city to some distance, which they weakly complied with, and made way for *Monk's* entrance with his forces in sort of triumph, February 3, 1659-60. Being conducted to the parliament-house, the speaker gave him thanks for his great and many services; and the general, having returned the compliment, acquainted the house, "that several applications had been made to him in his march from Scotland, for a full and free parliament; for the admission of
" the

“ the seclused members in 1648, without any previous oath
“ or engagement, and that the present parliament would de-
“ termine their sitting. To all which he had replied, that
“ they were now a *free* parliament, and had voted to fill up
“ their house in order to their being a *full* parliament; but
“ to restore the seclused members without a previous oath
“ to the present government, is what had never been done
“ in England; but he took the liberty to add, that he was
“ of opinion, that the fewer oaths the better, provided they
“ took care that neither the *cavaliers* nor *fanaticks* should
“ have any share in the administration.”

The citizens of London being presbyterians fell in with *Monk*, in hopes of a better establishment, and came to a bold resolution in common-council Feb. 17, to pay no more taxes till the parliament was filled up. Upon this the house, to shew their resentments, ordered the general to march into the city; to seize eleven of the most active common-councilmen, and to pull down their gates, chains, and portcullises. This was bidding them defiance, at a time when they ought to have courted their friendship. *Monk*, having arrested the common-councilmen, prayed the parliament to suspend the execution of the remaining part, but they insisting upon his compliance, he obeyed. The citizens were enraged at this act of violence; and *Monk's* friends told him, that his embroiling himself with the city in this manner would inevitably be his ruin, for without their assistance he could neither support himself, nor obtain another parliament; people being now generally of opinion with *O. Cromwell*, that *the rump parliament was designed to be perpetual, and their government as arbitrary as the most despotick king*. *Monk* therefore, convinced of his mistake, resolved to reconcile himself to the magistracy of the city, in order to which, he sent his brother *Clarges* to assure them of his concern for what he had done; and having summoned a council of officers in the night, he sent a letter to the parliament, insisting upon their issuing out writs to fill up their house, and when filled, to rise at an appointed time, and give way to a full and free parliament. Upon reading this letter the house voted him thanks, and sent to acquaint him, that they were taking measures to satisfy his request; but the *general*, not willing

to trust himself in their hands, broke up from Whitehall, and having been invited by the lord-mayor of London, and the chief presbyterian ministers, marched his whole army into the city; and a common-council being called, he excused his late conduct, and acquainted them with the letter he had sent to the house, assuring them, that he would now stand by them to the utmost of his power. This appeased the angry citizens, and caused them to treat him as their friend, notwithstanding what had happened the day before. When the news of this reconciliation was spread through the town, the parliament were struck with surprize; but there was a perfect triumph among the people, the bells rung, bonfires were made, and numbers of *rumps* thrown into them, in contempt of the *parliament*.

The general, being now supported by the citizens, proceeded to restore the secluded members of 1648, who were of the presbyterian party;§ for this purpose he appointed a conference between them and some of the sitting members, which miscarried, because the sitting members could not undertake that the parliament would stand to their agreement. Upon which *Monk* resolved to restore them immediately by force, lest the parliament and their army should come to an accommodation, and dislodge him from the city. Accordingly he summoned the secluded members to Whitehall, Feb. 21, and having acquainted them with his design, exhorted them to take care of the true interest of the nation, and told them, “that the citizens of London were for a *common-wealth*, the old foundations of *monarchy* being so broken “that it could not be restored but upon the ruins of the “people, who had engaged for the parliament; for if the “king should return (says he) he will govern by arbitrary “will and power. Besides, if the government of the state “be *monarchical*, the church must follow, and prelacy be “brought in, which I know the nation cannot bear, and “have sworn against; and therefore a moderate, not a rigid “presbyterian government, with liberty of conscience, will “be the most acceptable way to the church’s settlement.” He then obliged them to subscribe the following articles:

§ Dr. Grey has given a list of those secluded members. Examination, vol. iii. p. 250. Ed.

* Kennet’s Chron. p. 63, 64.

“ 1. To

- “ 1. To settle the armies so as to preserve the peace. 2.
 “ To provide for their support, and pay their arrears. 3.
 “ To constitute a council of state for Scotland and Ireland.
 “ And 4. To call a new parliament and dissolve the present.”

And so dismissed them with a strong party of guards to see them take their places in the house. This speech was very different from what is pretended the general had in view, and seems to have been drawn up by some of the moderate presbyterians, with whom he kept a close correspondence. And though he did not turn the members out of the house as *Cromwell* did, yet his discharging the parliament guards, and placing a strong body of his own horse at the door, without leave of the parliament, gave them sufficiently to understand, what would be the consequence of their making opposition.

The house thus enlarged became entirely presbyterian. They ratified the vote of December 1648, viz. That the king's concessions at the Isle of Wight were a sufficient ground for peace.—They annulled the *engagement* of 1649.—They put the militia into new hands, with this limitation, that *none should be employed in that trust but who would first declare under their hands, that they believed the war raised by both houses of parliament against the king was just and lawful, till such time as force and violence was used upon the parliament in 1648.*—They repealed the oath of abjuration of *Charles Stuart*.—They appointed a new council of state, and declared for a free commonwealth—for a learned and pious ministry—for the continuance of tithes, and for the augmentation of smaller livings by the tenths and first-fruits.—They resolved to encourage the two universities, and all other schools of learning.—And (to content the *independents*) they voted, that provision should be made for a due liberty of conscience in matters of religion, according to the word of God.

Thus all things seemed to return to the condition they were in at the treaty of the Isle of Wight. The presbyterians being now again in the saddle, a day of thanksgiving was kept; after which the city ministers petitioned for the redress of sundry grievances; as, 1. “ That a more effectual
 “ course be taken against papists. 2. That the quakers be
 “ prohibited

“ prohibited opening their shops on the sabbath-day. 3.
 “ That the publick ministers may not be disturbed in their
 “ publick services.” They requested the house to establish
 the assembly’s confession of faith, directory, and catechisms;
 to appoint persons for approbation of ministers, till the next
 parliament should take further order; and to call another
 assembly of divines, to be chosen by the ministers of the se-
 veral counties, to heal the divisions of the nation.*

In answer to these requests, the house agreed to a bill,
 March 2, for approbation of publick ministers, according to
 the directory, and named Mr. *Manton*, and several others of
 the presbyterian persuasion, for that service; which passed
 into an act March 14. They declared for the assembly’s
 confession of faith, except the 30th and 31st chapters of
 discipline, and appointed a committee to prepare an act,
 declaring it to be the *publick confession of faith of the church
 of England*. The act passed the house March 5, and was
 ordered to be printed; Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Manton*, and Mr.
Calamy, to have the care of the press. On the same day they
 ordered *the solemn league and covenant* to be re-printed, and
 set up in every church in England, and read publickly by
 the minister once every year.

Thus presbytery was restored to all the power it had ever
 enjoyed; and the ministers of that persuasion were in full
 possession of all the livings in England. A reform was made
 in the militia; and the chief places of profit, trust, and ho-
 nour, were put into their hands. The army was in disgrace;
 the *independants* deprived of all their influence, and all things
 managed by the presbyterians, supported by *Monk’s* forces.
 After this the long parliament passed an act for their own
 dissolution, and for calling a new parliament to meet April
 25, 1660, the candidates for which were to declare under
 their hands, *that the war against the late king was just and
 lawful;† and all who had assisted in any war against the par-*

* Kennet’s Chron. p. 52, 75.

† This was the requisition put to such as sought a commission in the army,
 rather than to candidates for a seat in parliament: though *Kennet*, in his
 margin, applies it to the eligibility of members. He says nothing of the
 candidates being obliged to *sign* the declaration. So that Mr. *Neal* is not
 quite accurate in his statement of this matter. Ed.

liament since January 1, 1641, they and their sons, were made incapable of being elected, unless they had since manifested their good affection to the parliament.† They then appointed a new council of state, consisting of thirty-one persons, to take care of the government; and dissolved themselves March 16, after they had sat, with sundry intermissions, nineteen years, four months, and thirteen days.

We are now come to the dawn of the restoration, of which general MONK has had the reputation of being the chief instrument. This gentleman was son of sir *Thomas Monk*, of Potheridge in Devonshire, and served the king in the wars for some years, but being taken prisoner he changed sides, and acted for the parliament. He afterwards served *O. Cromwell*, and was by him left commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, from whence he now marched into England to restore the parliament. Lord *Clarendon* and *Eachard* say, “he was of a reserved nature, of deep thoughts, and “of few words; and what he wanted in fine elocution he “had in sound judgment. That he had a natural secrecy in “him, prevalent upon all his qualifications of a soldier; a “strong body, a mind not easily disordered, an invincible “courage, and a sedate and uniform contempt of death, “without any frenzy of fanaticism or superstition to turn “his head.” This is the language of flattery. Others have set him forth in a very different light; they admit, that he was bold and enterprizing, but had nothing of the gentleman, nor had any depth of contrivance; that he was perpetually wavering, and betrayed all whom he served but *Cromwell*. *Ludlow* says, he was a man of a covetous temper, and of no principles; of a vicious life and scandalous conversation. *Father Orleans* says, that he was a man of slow understanding. And *Whitlocke* reports, that the French ambassador said, he had neither sense nor breeding. The truth is, he had a cloudy head, and in no action of his life discovered a quick or fine genius. In the latter part of life he was sordidly covetous, and sunk into most of the vices of the times. No man ever went beyond him in dissimulation and falsehood, as appears in this very affair of the king’s restoration. He took the *abjuration oath* once under *Oliver*;

† Kennet’s Chron. p. 85.

and again this very year, whereby he renounced the title of *Charles Stuart*, and swore *to be true to the commonwealth, without a single person or house of lords.* § And yet in his first message to the king by sir *John Grenville*, he assures his majesty, *that his heart had been ever faithful to him, though he had not been in a condition to serve him till now.** When he came with his army to London, he assured the rump parliament of his chearful obedience to all their commands, and desired them to be very careful that the cavalier party might have no share in the civil or military power. When he restored the seclused members, he promised the parliament *to take effectual care that they should do no hurt.* When the *commonwealth's* men expressed their fears, and asked the general whether he would join with them against the king? he replied, *I have often declared my resolution so to do; and taking sir Arthur Haslerigge by the hand, he said, I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost, the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a house of peers.* He then expostulated with them about their suspicions; *What is it I have done in bringing these members into the house, (says he) are they not the same that brought the king to the block, though others cut off his head, and that justly?* And yet this very man, within six months, condemned these persons to the gallows. Nay further, the general sent letters to all the regiments, assuring *them that the government should continue a COMMONWEALTH, that they had no purpose to return to their old bondage, that is, monarchy; and if any made disturbances in favour of Charles Stuart, he desired they might be secured.* So that if this gentleman was in the secret of restoring the king from his entrance into England, or his first coming to London, I may challenge all history to produce a scene of hypocrisy and dissimulation equal to his conduct. Dr. *Welwood* adds, † that he acted the part of a politician much better than that of a christian; and carried on the thread of dissimulation with wonderful dexterity. Bishop *Burnet* differs from the doctor, and says, that “though he had both the praise and the reward, yet “a very small share of the restoration belonged to him.— “The tide ran so strong that the general only went into it

§ *Welwood's Mem.* p. 117, &c.

* *History of the Stuarts*, p. 459.

† *Memoirs*, p. 117, 120. Q 2

“ dexterously

“ dexterously enough to get much fame and great rewards.
 “ —If he had died soon after, he might have been more
 “ justly admired; but he lived long enough to make it known
 “ how false a judgment men are apt to make upon outward
 “ appearance.”*

But before we relate the particulars of the restoration, it will be proper to consider the abject state of the church of England, and the religion of the young king. If CROMWELL had lived ten or twelve years longer, episcopacy might have been lost beyond recovery, for by that time the whole bench of bishops would have been dead, and there would have been none to consecrate or ordain for the future, unless they could have obtained a new conveyance from the church of Rome, or admitted the validity of presbyterian ordination. This was the *case in view*, which induced some of the ancient bishops to petition the king to fill up the vacant sees with all expedition, in which they were supported by sir *Edward Hyde*, chancellor of the *exchequer*, who prevailed with his majesty to nominate certain clergymen for those high preferments, and sent over a list of the names to Dr. *Barwick*, to be communicated by him to the bishops of London, Ely, Sarum, and others who were to be concerned in the consecration. It was necessary to carry on this design with a great deal of secrecy, lest the governing powers should secure the bishops, and by that means put a stop to the work. It was no less difficult to provide persons of learning and character who would accept the charge, when it would expose them to sufferings, as being contrary to the laws in being, and when there was no prospect of restoring the church. But the greatest difficulty of all was, how to do it in a canonical manner, when there were no *deans* and *chapters* to elect, and consequently no persons to receive a *congé d'elire*, according to antient custom.

Several expedients were proposed for removing this difficulty. Sir *Edward Hyde* was of opinion, that the proceeding should be by a mandate from the king to any three or four bishops, by way of collation, upon the lapse, for the dean and chapters' non-election. But it was objected, that the supposal of a *lapse* would impair the king's prerogative

* Burnet's History, vol. i. p. 126, 12mo.

more than the collation would advance it, because it would presuppose a power of election *pleno jure* in the deans and chapters, which they have only *de facultate regia*; nor could they petition for such a licence, because most of the deans were dead, some chapters extinguished, and all of them so disturbed, that they could not meet in the chapter-house, where such acts regularly are to be performed.

Dr. *Barwick*,* who was in England, and corresponded with the *chancellor*, proposed, that his majesty should grant his commission to the bishops of each province respectively, assembled in provincial council, or otherwise, as should be most convenient, to elect and consecrate fit persons for the vacant sees, with such dispensative clauses as should be found necessary upon the emergency of the case, (his majesty sig-

* The Dr. *Barwick*, to whom Mr. *Neal* refers, was a singular and eminent character at this period; an active and zealous adherent to the kings *Charles I.* and *II.* He managed with great address and dexterity the correspondence of the first with the city of London, when he was at Oxford. He corresponded with the second, while he was abroad: and was sent by the bishops, as will afterwards appear, with their instructions to him at Breda, where he preached before him, and was made one of his chaplains. He had the chief hand in the "*Querela Cantabrigiënsis*," and wrote against the covenant. It was much owing to his influence, that the Cambridge plate was presented to the king: and he is said to have furnished lord *Clarendon* with a great part of the materials for his history. He was so dextrous in all his communications, as to elude the vigilance of *Thurloe*. He was born April 20, 1612, at Wether Slack in Westmoreland, and received his classical learning at Sedberg-School in Yorkshire, where he distinguished himself by acting the part of *Hercules* in one of *Seneca's* tragedies. In the eighteenth year of his age he was sent to St. John's college, Cambridge. Where, so eminent were his abilities and attainment, he was chosen, when he was little more than twenty, by the members of his college, to be their advocate in a controverted election of a master, which was heard before the privy-council. He resided, some time, in Durham-House in London, as chaplain to the bishop, Dr. *Morton*; who bestowed on him a prebend in his cathedral, and the rich rectories of Wolsingham and of Houghton-in-le-Spring. In 1660, *Charles II.* promoted him to the deanery of Durham; and before the end of the year he was removed from that dignity to the deanery of St. Paul's. On the 18th of February, 1661, he was chosen prolocutor of the convocation. He died in the year 1664, aged fifty-two. He united in his character, with his loyalty, sincere devotion with sanctity of manners, and an undaunted spirit under his sufferings in the royal cause, for which he was imprisoned in a dungeon in the Tower. He was then far gone in a consumption; but living upon gruel and vegetables, he, after some time, recovered to a miracle. See his *Life*, and *Granger's History of England*, vol. iii. p. 257, 8vo. Ed.

nifying

nifying his pleasure concerning the persons, and the fees,) which commission may bare date before the action, and then afterward upon certificate, and petition to have his majesty's ratification and confirmation of the whole process, and the register to be drawn up accordingly by the chief actuary, who may take his memorials hence, and make up the record there.*

Dr. *Bramhall*, bishop of Derry, was for the Irish way, where the king has an absolute power of nomination, and therefore no way seemed to him so safe as consecrating the persons nominated to void fees in Ireland, and then removing them to others in England, which he apprehended would clearly elude all those formalities which seemed to perplex the affair; but this was thought an ill precedent, as it opened a door for destroying the privileges of the church of England in their capitular elections. The old bishop of *Ely* was so far from wishing, with Dr. *Bramhall*, that the Irish method might be introduced into England, that he said, if he should live to see the church restored, he would be an humble suitor to his majesty, that the privileges of the English church, in their elections of bishops, might be introduced into Ireland.

Dr. *Wren* bishop of Ely, and Dr. *Cosins* of Peterborough, were for an expedient something like the second, to which the court agreed, and Mr. chancellor *Hyde* wrote to Dr. *Barwick* for the form of such a commission as they judged proper, and urged, that it might be dispatched with all possible expedition. The chancellor had this affair very much at heart, but the old bishops were fearful lest it should be discovered, in which case they were sure to be the sufferers. Dr. *Brownrigge* of Exeter, and Dr. *Skinner* of Oxford, declined meddling in the affair; the rest declared their willingness to advance the work, but lived in hopes there might be no occasion for the hazard. The chancellor, in one of his letters says, *the king was much troubled that no more care was taken of the church, by those who should be the guardians of it.* He censures the slowness of the clergy, and says, it was very indecent, that when their afflicted mother was in extremity, any of her sons should be timorous and fearful.

* Life of Barwick, p. 204. Kennet's Chron. p. 14, 15.

Such were the chancellor's narrow principles, who seemed to hang the essence of christianity, and the virtue of all divine ordinances, upon the conveyance of ecclesiastical power by an uninterrupted succession from the apostles.

The nonjurors had the like *case in view* after the revolution, and provided for it in the best manner they could. But is not the christian world in a sad condition, if the christian bishop cannot be chosen or consecrated without a royal mandate, and the suffrage of a dean and chapter, when there were no such officers in the church for three hundred years after the apostles? and if the validity of all sacerdotal ministrations must depend on a regular uninterrupted succession from St. *Peter*? especially as *Baronius* a popish historian confesses, that in a succession of fifty popes not one pious or virtuous man sat in the chair; that there had been no popes for some years together; and at other times two or three at once; and when the same writer admits, between twenty and thirty schisms, one of which continued fifty years, the popes of Avignon and Rome excommunicating each other, and yet conferring orders upon their several clergy. How impossible is it to trace the right line through so much confusion?

But with regard to the king, his concern for the regular consecration of protestant bishops was a mere farce; for if he was not a papist before this time, it is certain he was reconciled to the church of Rome this year, at the *Pyrenæan* treaty concluded between France and Spain at Fontarabia, whither he had repaired *incognito* to engage them in his interest. Here the king stayed twenty days, in which time his majesty, with the earl of *Bristol* and sir *H. Bennet* embraced the Roman-catholick religion. The secret of this affair was well known to lord *Clarendon*, though he is pleased to mention it with great tenderness. “It is believed, says his lordship, by
“wise men, that in that treaty somewhat was agreed to the
“prejudice of the protestant interest; and that in a short time
“there would have been much done against it, both in France
“and Germany, if the measures they had then taken had not
“been shortly broken, chiefly by the surprizing revolution
“in England, which happened the next year, and also by
“the death of the two great favourites of the two crowns,
“*Don Lewis de Haro*, and cardinal *Mazarine*, who both
“died

“died not long after it.”† But the secret of the king’s reconciliation to the church of Rome has been more fully acknowledged of late years, by the eldest son of lord *Clarendon*, and by the duke of *Ormond*, who declared to several persons of honour, that “he himself, to his great surprise and concern, accidentally in a morning early, saw the king in the great church on his knees before the high altar, with several priests and ecclesiasticks about him. That he was soon after confirmed in his sentiments by sir *Henry Bennet* and the earl of *Bristol*, who both owned the king to be a catholick as well as themselves; but it was agreed, that this change should be kept as the greatest secret imaginable.” There is another story (says bishop *Kennet*) which I have reason to think true: “Sir *H. Bennet* was soon after seen to wait on the king from mass, at which sight the lord *Culpeper* had so much indignation, that he went up to *Bennet*, and spoke to this effect; *I see what you are at; is this the way to bring our master home to his three kingdoms? Well, Sir, if ever you and I live to see England together, I will have your head, or you shall have mine;* which words struck such a terror upon sir *Harry Bennet*, that he never durst set his foot in England till after the death of lord *Culpeper*, who met with a very surprising end soon after the king’s return.”‡

But though the prime ministers of France and Spain were now first witnesses of his majesty’s abjuring the protestant religion, there are strong presumptions that he was a papist long before, even before his brother *James*, if we may credit the testimony of his confessor *Father Huddleston*.* To the proofs of this fact already mentioned under the year 1652, I would add the testimony of the author of the *Mystery of Iniquity*, printed 1689, who writes thus; “The king’s [*Charles the second’s*] apostacy, is not of so late a date as the world is made commonly to believe, for though it was many years concealed, and the contrary pretended and dissembled, yet it is certain he abjured the protestant religion soon after the exilement of the royal family, and was reconciled to the church of Rome at *St. Germain* in

† Eachard, p. 751.

‡ Kennet, p. 238.

* Welwood’s *Memoirs*, p. 126.

“France.

“ France. Nor were several of the then suffering bishops
 “ and clergy ignorant of this, though they had neither in-
 “ tegrity nor courage to give the nation warning of it.” §
 Bishop *Burnet*, in the *History of his Life and Times*, confirms
 this testimony from the cardinal minister, who sent an adver-
 tisement of it to the bishop himself; he says, “ that before
 “ the king left Paris, (which was in June 1654) he changed
 “ his religion, but by whose persuasion is not yet known,
 “ only cardinal *De Retz* was in the secret, and lord *Aubigny*
 “ had a great hand in it. Chancellor *Hyde* had some suspi-
 “ cion of it, but would not suffer himself to believe it quite.” ||
 And sir *Allen Broderick* declared upon his death-bed, that
 king *Charles* the second made profession of the popish re-
 ligion at Fontainbleau, before he was sent out of France to
 Cologne.

The Dutch protestants suspected the change, but the king
 denied it in the most publick manner; for when he was at
 Brussels in the year 1658, he wrote the following letter to
 the reverend Mr. *Cawton*, the presbyterian minister of the
 English congregation at Rotterdam.

“ CHARLES REX.

“ TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well. We
 “ have received so full testimony of your affection to our per-
 “ son, and zeal for our service, that we are willing to recom-
 “ mend an affair to you in which we are much concerned.
 “ We do not wonder, that the malice of our enemies should
 “ continue to lay all manner of scandals upon us, but are
 “ concerned that they should find credit with any to make
 “ our affection to the protestant religion suspected, since the world
 “ cannot but take notice of our constant and uninterrupted pro-
 “ fession of it in all places.—No man has, or can more mani-
 “ fest his affection to, and zeal for the protestant religion than
 “ we have done. Now, as you cannot but have much con-
 “ versation with the ministers of the Dutch church, we
 “ presume and expect that you will use your utmost diligence
 “ and dexterity to root out those unworthy aspersions, so ma-
 “ liciously and groundlessly laid upon us by wicked men;

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 598.

|| Burnet, vol. i. p. 103, 4, 12mo.

“ and

“and that you assure all that will give credit to you, that
 “we value ourselves so much upon that part of our title, of
 “being *defender of the faith*, that no worldly consideration
 “can ever prevail with us to swerve from it, and the pro-
 “testant religion in which we have been bred, the propaga-
 “tion whereof we shall endeavour with our utmost power.
 “Given at Bruxels, Nov. 7, in the 10th year of our reign.”

To carry on the disguise, Dr. *Morley*, afterwards bishop of Winchester, was employed to write an apologetical letter to Dr. *Trigland*, the Dutch minister at the Hague, to assert and prove the king's steadfastness to the reformed faith and communion. The letter was dated June 7, 1659, a little before the king's going to the *Pyrenean* treaty, to engage the Roman catholic powers for his restoration. §

But to confirm the presbyterians further, and to put an end to all suspicions of his majesty's being turned papist, sir *Robert Murray* and the countess of *Balcarres* were employed to engage the most eminent reformed ministers in France, to write to their presbyterian brethren in England, and assure them of the king's steadfastness in the protestant faith, and to excuse his not joining with the church at Charenton. Accordingly these credulous ministers, not being acquainted with the secret, wrote to their brethren at London to the following purpose:

Monfieur *Raymond Gaches*, pastor of the reformed church at Paris, to the reverend Mr. *Baxter*, March 23, 1659-60. —“I know what odium has been cast upon the king; some
 “are dissatisfied in his constancy to the true religion.—I
 “will not answer what truly may be said, that it belongs not
 “to subjects to enquire into the prince's religion; be he
 “what he will, if the right of reigning belongs to him,
 “obedience in civil matters is his due. *But this prince never*
 “*departed from the publick profession of the true religion*; nor
 “did he disdain to be present at our religious assemblies at
 “Roan and Rochel, though he never graced our church at
 “Paris with his presence, which truly grieved us.—”*

Monfieur *Drelincourt*, another of the French pastors at Paris, writes March 24,—“A report is here, that the thing
 “which will hinder the king's restoration, is the opinion

§ Kenner's Chron. p. 95.

* Ibid. p. 91, 92.

“conceived

“ conceived by some, of his being turned Roman catholick,
 “ and the fear that in time he will ruin the protestant religion.
 “ But I see no ground for the report, his majesty making no
 “ profession of it, but on the contrary has rejected all the
 “ aids and advantages offered him upon that condition.—
 “ Charity is not jealous, and if it forbids us to suspect on
 “ slight grounds private persons, how can it approve jea-
 “ lousies upon persons so sacred! Besides, there are in the
 “ king’s family, and among his domesticks, some gentlemen
 “ of our religion, and my old friends; who at several times
 “ have given me assurances of the piety of this prince, and
 “ his stability in the profession he makes. Your presbyte-
 “ rians are now entrusted with the honour of our churches;
 “ if they recal this prince without the intervening of any
 “ foreign power, they will acquire to themselves immortal
 “ glory, and stop their mouths for ever, who charge us
 “ falsely as enemies to royalty, and make appear that the
 “ maxim, *No bishop, no king*, is falsely imputed to us.—”

The famous monsieur *Daillé* of Paris, in his letter of April 7, 1660, writes to the same purpose:—“ I know it is re-
 “ ported that the king has changed his religion; but who
 “ can believe a thing so contrary to all probability? No-
 “ thing of this appears to us; on the contrary we well know,
 “ that when he has resided in places where the exercise of
 “ his religion is not permitted, he has always had his chap-
 “ lains with him, who have regularly performed divine ser-
 “ vice. Moreover, all Paris knows the anger the king ex-
 “ pressed at the endeavours that were used to pervert the
 “ duke of Gloucester. And though it is objected, that he
 “ never came to our church at Charenton, yet as we are
 “ better informed of this than any one, we can testify, that
 “ religion was not the cause of it, but that it was upon po-
 “ litical and prudential considerations, which may be pecu-
 “ liar to our church, for he has gone to sermon in Caen,
 “ and some other towns; and in Holland he heard some ser-
 “ mons from the famous monsieur *More*, our present col-
 “ league. Thus, sir, it is more clear than the day, that what-
 “ soever has been reported till this time, of the change of
 “ this prince’s religion, is a mere calumny.—”†

† Kennet’s Chron. p. 94, 95.

Monfieur *de L'Angle*, minifter of the proteftant church at Rouen, wrote upon the fame fubject to his friend in London, more fully to evidence the king's ftedfaftnefs in the proteftant religion. Thefe letters were printed and induftrioufly fpread over the whole kingdom.

The king himfelf in his letter to the houfe of commons fays, "Do you defire the advancement of the proteftant religion? We have by our conftant profeflion and practice given fufficient testimony to the world, that *neither the unkindnefs of thofe of the fame faith towards us, nor the civilities and proteftations of thofe of a contrary profeflion, could in the leaft degree ftartle us, or make us fwerve from it.*"

It is a furprifing reflection of Mr. *Baxter*,* upon occafion of thefe letters: "Thefe divines (fays he) knew nothing of the ftate of affairs in England. They knew not thofe men who were to be reftored with the king. They pray (fays he) for the fuccefs of my labours, when they are perfuading me to put an end to my labours by fetting up thofe *prelates*, who will f Silence me and many hundreds more. They perfuade me to that which will feparate me from my flock, and then pray, that I may be a bleffing to them; and yet (fays he) I am for reftoring the king, that when we are f Silenced, and our miniftry at an end, and fome of us lie in prifons, we may there and in that condition, have peace of confcience in the difcharge of our duty, and the exercife of faith, patience, and charity in our fufferings." Was there ever fuch reasoning as this! But the reader will make his own remarks upon thefe extraordinary paragraphs.

To return back to general *Monk* in Scotland. As long as the army governed affairs at Weftminfter, the *general* was on their fide, and entertained Mr. *John Collins*, an *independent* minifter, for his chaplain; but upon the quarrel between the army and parliament, and *Monk's* declaring for the latter, it was apprehended he had changed fides, and would fall in with the *prefbyterians*; upon which Mr. *Caryl* and *Barker* were fent to Scotland with a letter from Dr. *Owen*, expreffing their fears of the danger of their religious

* Life, part ii. p. 216.

liberties upon a revolution of government. The general received them with all the marks of esteem; and after a few days returned the following answer, in a letter directed to Dr. Owen, Mr. Greenhill, and Mr. Hook, to be communicated to the churches, in and about London.

“ *Hon. and dear friends,*

“ I Received yours, and am very sensible of your kindness expressed to the army in Scotland, in sending such honourable and reverend persons, whom we received with thankfulness and great joy as the messengers of the churches, and the ministers of *Christ* of these three nations. *I do promise you for myself, and the rest of the officers here, that your interest, liberty, and encouragement, shall be very dear to us.* And we shall take this as a renewed obligation to assert to the utmost, what we have already declared to the churches of Jesus Christ. I doubt not, but you have received satisfaction of our inclinations to a peaceable accommodation. I do hope, that some differences being obviated, we shall obtain a fair composition. *I do assure you, that the great things that have been upon my heart to secure and provide for, are our liberties and freedom, as the subjects and servants of Jesus Christ, which we have conveyed to us in the covenant of grace, assured in the promises purchased by the blood of our Saviour for us, and given as his great legacy to his church and people; in comparison of which we esteem all other things as dung and dross, but as they have a relation to, and dependence upon this noble end.* The others are our laws and rights as men, which must have their esteem in the second place; for which many members of the churches have been eminent instruments to labour in sweat and blood for these eighteen years last past, and our ancestors for many hundred years before; the substance of which may be reduced to a *parliamentary government, and the people's consenting to the laws by which they are governed.* That these privileges of the nation may be so bounded, that the churches may have both security and settlement, is my great desire, and of those with me. So that I hope you will own these just things, and give us that assistance that
“ becomes

“ becomes the churches of Christ, in pursuance of this work.
 “ And we do assure you, we shall comply as far as possible,
 “ with respect had to the security and safety of the nation,
 “ and the preservation of our ancient birth-right and liberties.
 “ And we shall pray, that we may be kept from going out
 “ of God’s way in doing God’s work.

“ I do, in the name of the whole army and myself, give
 “ all our affectionate thanks for this your work of love;
 “ and though we are not able to make such returns as are
 “ in our hearts and desires to do, yet we shall endeavour
 “ by all ways and means, to express our care and love to
 “ the churches, and shall leave the reward to him who is
 “ the God of peace, and has in special assured all blessings
 “ to the peace-makers. I conclude with the words of
 “ *David*, 1 Sam. xxv. 32, Blessed be the Lord God of
 “ Israel, and blessed be your advice, and blessed be you all.
 “ Now the Lord God be a wall of fire round about you,
 “ and let his presence be in his churches, and they filled with
 “ his glory. I have no more, but to intreat your prayers
 “ for an happy issue of this unhappy difference; which is
 “ the prayer of him, who is, reverend sirs, and dear friends,
 “ your very affectionate brother and servant,

“ Edinburgh, Nov. 23, 1659.

G. Monk.”

In one of the general’s letters to the parliament, written about June 1659, he declares strongly for liberty of conscience, and an absolute commonwealth, in language which in another would be called the *fumes of fanaticism*. “ You
 “ are the people (says he) who have filled the world with
 “ wonder, but nothing is difficult to faith; and the promises
 “ of God are sure and certain. We acknowledge that we
 “ ourselves have very much contributed to the Lord’s de-
 “ parting from our Israel, but we see God’s hour is come,
 “ and the time of the people’s deliverance, even the set
 “ time is at hand. *He cometh skipping over all the mountains*
 “ *of sin, and unworthiness, &c.* We humbly beseech you,
 “ not to heal the wounds of the daughter of God’s people
 “ slightly, but to make so sure and lasting provision for both
 “ christian and civil rights, as both this and future genera-
 “ tions may have cause to rise up and call you blessed, and
 “ the

“the blackest of designs may never be able to cast dirt in
 “your faces any more.—”† He then desires them to encourage none but godly ministers and magistrates, that no yoke may be imposed upon conscience but what is agreeable to the word of God, and that they would establish the government in a *free state or commonwealth*. Signed by general *Monk* and twenty-five of his chief officers.

Upon the *general's* coming to London, he was transformed at once into a zealous presbyterian, and thought no more of the independant churches; he received the sacrament at Mr. *Calamy's* church, and would suffer none to preach before him but whom *he* approved. He consulted the presbyterian ministers, and asked their advice in all important affairs. It seems these were the gentlemen that beat him out of his commonwealth principles, if we may believe the reverend Mr. *Sharp*, afterwards archbishop of St. *Andrews*, whose words are these, in one of his letters to the reverend Mr. *Douglas* in Scotland, “Sunday last, March 11, the general
 “sent his coach for Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Ash*, and me; we had
 “a long conversation with him in private, and convinced
 “him, that a *commonwealth* was impracticable; and to our
 “sense beat him off that sconce he has hitherto maintained.
 “—We urged upon him, that the *presbyterian interest which*
 “*he had espoused*, was much concerned in keeping up this
 “house, and settling the government upon terms. But the
 “subtle general replied, that in regard he had declared so
 “lately against a house of lords, and the continuing this
 “house of commons, he could not so reputably do it.”§

Afterwards, when some gentlemen of quality, suspecting the *king* to be at the bottom, were earnest with the general, that if the king must be brought in by the next parliament, it might be upon the terms of his late majesty's concessions at the *Isle of Wight*; the general at first recoiled, and declared he would adhere to a *commonwealth*; but at last seeming to be conquered into a compliance, he intimated to them, that *this was the utmost line he could or would advance in favour of the king*; and yet when this was moved in the convention parliament by sir *Matthew Hale*, the general stood up, and

† Welwood's Memoirs, Appendix, No. xi.

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 81.

declared

declared against all conditions, and threatened them that should encourage such a motion, with all the mischiefs that might follow. Thus the credulous presbyterians were gradually drawn into the snare, and made to believe, that *presbytery* was to be the established government of the church of England under king *Charles II.*

The Scots were equally concerned in this affair, and much more zealous for their discipline. The *general* therefore sent letters to the kirk, with the strongest assurances that he would take care of their discipline.* But the Scots, not willing to trust him, commissioned Mr. *Sharp* to be their agent, and gave him instructions to use his best endeavours, that the kirk of Scotland might, without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and liberty of her established judicatories, and to represent the sinfulness and offensiveness of a *toleration* in that kingdom. *Sharp* was to concert measures with Mr. *Calamy*, *Asb*, *Manton*, and *Cowper*; but these gentlemen being not very zealous for the discipline, *Sharp* informed his principals, that it was feared the king would come in, and with him moderate episcopacy, at least in England, but that the more zealous party were doing what they could to keep on foot the covenant. To which *Douglass* replied, “It is best that the presbyterian government be settled simply, for you know that the judgment of honest men here is for admitting the king on no other but covenant terms.”

The *independants* and *anabaptists* were in such disgrace, that their leaders had not the honour of being consulted in this weighty affair. General *Monk* and the presbyterians were united, and had force sufficient to support their claims: the tide was with them, and the parliament at their mercy. The independants offered to stand by their friends in parliament, and to raise four new regiments from among themselves, to force the general back into Scotland. Dr. *Owen* and Mr. *Nye* had frequent consultations with Mr. *Whitlocke* and *St. John*; and at a private treaty with the officers at Wallingford-House, offered to raise one hundred thousand pounds for the use of the army, provided they would protect them in their religious liberties, which they were apprehen-

* Kennet's Chron. p. 50.

five *Monk* and the presbyterians designed to subvert; but those officers had lost their credit; their measures were disconcerted and broken; one party was for a treaty and another for the sword, but it was too late; their old veteran regiments were dislodged from the city, and *Monk* in possession. In this confusion their general *Flectwood*, who had brought them into this distress, retired, and left them a body without a head, after which they became insignificant, and in a few months quite contemptible. Here ended the power of the army, and of the independants.

Being now to take leave of this people, it may be proper to observe, that the *independants* sprang up and mightily increased in the time of the civil wars, and had the reputation of a wise and politic people: they divided from the presbyterians upon the foot of discipline, and fought in the parliament's quarrel, not so much for hire and reward, as from a real belief that it was *the cause of God*; this inspired their soldiers with courage, and made them face death with undaunted bravery, in so much that when the army was new modelled, and filled up with men of this principle, they carried all before them. When the war was ended, they boldly seized the person of the king, and treated him with honour till they found him unsteady to his promises of a *toleration of their principles*, and then they became his most determined enemies; when they were assured afterwards by the treaty of the Isle of Wight, that they were to be crushed between both parties, and to lose their religious liberty, for which they had been fighting, they tore up the government by the roots, and subverted the whole constitution. This they did, not in consequence of their religious principles, but to secure their own safety and liberty. After the king's death they assumed the chief management of publick affairs, and would not part with it on any terms, lest they should be disbanded and called to account by a parliamentary power, and therefore they could never come to a settlement, though they attempted it under several forms: the first was an *absolute commonwealth*, as most agreeable to their principles, but when the commonwealth began to clip their military wings, they dispossessed them, and set up their own general, with the title of *protector*, who had skill enough to keep

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them in awe, though they were continually plotting against his government. After his death they dispossessed his son, and restored the commonwealth. When these again attempted to disband them, they turned them out a second time, and set up themselves under the title of a *committee of safety*; but they wanted *Oliver's* head, their new general *Fleetwood* having neither courage nor conduct enough to keep them united. Thus they crumbled into factions, while their wanton sporting with the supreme power, made the nation sick of such distractions, and yield to the return of the old constitution.

The officers were made up chiefly of independants and anabaptists, most of them of mean extraction, and far from being as able statesmen as they had been fortunate soldiers; they were brave and resolute men, who had the cause of religion and liberty at heart; but they neglected the old nobility and gentry so much, that when they fell to pieces, there was hardly a gentleman of estate or interest in his country that would stand by them. As to their moral character, they seem to have been men of piety and prayer; they called God into all their councils, but were too much governed by the false notions they had imbibed, and the enthusiastick impulses of their own minds. I do not find that they consulted any number of their clergy, though many of the independent ministers were among the most learned and eminent preachers of the times, as *Dr. Goodwin*, *Owen*, *Nye*, and *Greenhill*, &c. some of whom had no small reputation for politicks; but their pulling down so many forms of government, without adhering steadily to any, issued in their ruin. Thus as the army and independants outwitted the presbyterians in 1648, the presbyterians in conjunction with the Scots blew up the independants at this time; and next year the episcopal party, by dexterous management of the credulous presbyterians, undermined and deceived them both.

This year died *Dr. Ralph Brownrigge* bishop of Exeter, born at Ipswich in the year 1592, educated in Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, and at length chosen master of Katherine-hall in that university.* He was also prebendary of Durham, and

* He was esteemed one of the greatest ornaments of his time to this seminary. He was one of those excellent men with whom archbishop Tillotson

rector of Barly in Hertfordshire. In the year 1641, he was nominated to the see of Exeter, and installed June 1, 1642, but the wars between the king and parliament did not allow him the enjoyment of his dignity. He was nominated one of the assembly of divines; and was vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge in the year 1644, when the earl of *Manchester* visited it; and complied so far as to keep his mastership till the next year, when he was deprived for a sermon he preached upon the anniversary of his majesty's inauguration. He was no favourer of archbishop *Laud*'s innovations;† for while he was vice-chancellor he sent for one of Mr. *Barwick*'s pupils, and said to him, “ I wonder your
“ tutor, no ill man in other respects, does not yet abstain
“ from that form of worship [bowing towards the East]
“ which he knows is disagreeable to our excellent parlia-
“ ment, and not very acceptable to God himself; but be
“ you careful to steer your course clear of the dangerous
“ rock of every error, whether it favour of the impiety of
“ *arminianism*, or of the superstition of popery.”†

He was succeeded by Dr. *Spurstow*; and suffered in common with the rest of the bishops; but being a *calvinist*, and a person of great temper and moderation, he was allowed by the protector *Cromwell* to be a preacher at the Temple, in which employment he died, Dec. 7, 1659, about the sixty-seventh year of his age. Dr. *Gauden* says,

lotson cultivated an acquaintance at his first coming to London, and by whose preaching and example he formed himself. His sermons were not exceeded by any published in that period; and they derived great advantage in the delivery, from the dignity of his person, and the justness of his elocution. Granger's History of England, vol. ii. p. 161, 8vo. Ed.

† Dr. *Grey* neglects not to inform the reader, on the authority of Dr. *Gauden*, that bishop *Brownrigge* was tenacious of the doctrine, worship, devotion, and government of the church of England; “ which, he said, he
“ liked better and better as he grew older.” He seems to have been very free in his advice to *Cromwell*: for when the protector, with some shew of respect to him, demanded his judgment in some publick affairs, then at a *nonplus*, bishop *Brownrigge*, with his wonted gravity and freedom, replied, “ My lord, the best counsel I can give you is that of our Saviour, *Render*
“ *unto CÆSAR the things that are CÆSAR's, and unto God the things that*
“ *are God's:*” with which free answer the protector rested rather silenced than satisfied. Dr. *Grey*'s Examination, vol. iii. p. 258. Ed.

† Life of Barwick, p. 17.

he was a person of great candour, sweetness, gravity and, solidity of judgment. He was consulted by Mr. *Baxter*, and others, in several points of controversy, and was indeed a most humble christian, and very patient under most severe fits of the stone, which were very acute and tedious for some time before his death.

The reverend Mr. *Charles Herle*, sometime prolocutor of the assembly of divines at Westminster, was born of honourable parents at Prideaux-Herle, near Lystwithyel in Cornwall, in the year 1598.* He was educated in Exeter college, Oxon. In the year 1613, he took the degrees in arts, and was afterwards rector of Winwick in Lancashire, one of the richest livings in England, and was always esteemed a puritan. When the wars broke out, he took part with the parliament, was elected one of the members of the assembly of divines, and upon the death of Dr. *Twisse* in 1646, was appointed prolocutor. After the king's death, he retired to his living at Winwick, and was in very high esteem with all the clergy in that country. In the year 1654, he was appointed one of the assistant commissioners for ejecting scandalous ministers, together with Mr. *Isaac Ambrose* and Mr. *Gee*. He was a moderate presbyterian, and left behind him some practical and controversial writings. Mr. *Fuller* says,|| he was so much of a christian, scholar, and gentleman, that he could agree in affection with those who differed from him in judgment. He died at his parsonage at Winwick in the sixty-first year of his age, and was buried in his own church, Sept. 29, 1659.

The reverend Mr. *Thomas Carwton*, born at Raynham in Norfolk, and educated in Queen's college, Cambridge; he was afterwards minister of Wivenhoe in Essex, 1637, and at last of St. Bartholomew behind the Exchange. He was (says the Oxford historian†) a learned and religious puritan, driven into exile for preaching against the murder of king *Charles I.* and for being in the same plot with Mr. *Love*, for raising money to supply the army of king *Charles II.* when he was coming into England to recover his right. He

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 151, 2.

|| Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 205.

† Wood's *Athenæ Ox.* vol. ii. p. 432.

fled to Rotterdam, and became preacher to the English church there, where he died August 7, 1659, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. §

The new year [1660] began with the restoration of king *Charles II.* to the throne of his ancestors. The long parliament dissolved themselves March 16, and while the people were busy in choosing a new one, general *Monk* was courted by all parties. The *republicans* endeavoured to fix him for a commonwealth; the French ambassador offered him the assistance of France, if he would assume the government either as *king* or *protector*, which, it is said, he would have accepted, if sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* had not prevented it, by summoning him before the council, and keeping the doors locked till he had taken away the commissions from some of his most trusty officers, and given them to others of the council's nomination. But be this at it will, it is certain *Monk* had not as yet given the king any encouragement to rely upon him, though his majesty had sent him a letter as long ago as July 21, 1659, by an express messenger, with the largest offers of reward.

The presbyterians were now in possession of the whole power of England; the council of state, the chief officers of the army and navy, and the governors of the chief forts and garrisons, were theirs; their clergy were in possession of both universities, and of the best livings in the kingdom. There was hardly a loyalist, or professed episcopalian, in any post of honour or trust; nor had the king any number of friends capable of promoting his restoration, for there was a disabling clause in the qualification act, that *all who had been in arms against the long parliament, should be disqualified from serving in the next.* The whole government therefore was with the presbyterians, who were shy of the *independants* as of a body of men more distant from the church,

§ Mr. *Cawton* had few equals in learning, and scarcely a superior in piety. Those great works the *Polyglot Bible*, and Dr. *Castle's Polyglot Lexicon*, owed much to his encouragement and exertions. It shewed a most deep seriousness of spirit, though probably mingled with superstitious notions of the Lord's supper, that he fainted, when he first received it; and he ever afterwards expressed, at that solemnity, the profoundest reverence and most elevated devotion. Granger's Hist. of England, vol. iii. 8vo. p. 47. Ed. and

and more inclined to a commonwealth. They were no less vigilant to keep out of parliament the *republicans* of all sorts, some of whom, says *Burnet*,* ran about every where like men that were giddy or amazed, but their time was past. On the other hand, they secretly courted the episcopalians, who dispersed papers among the people, protesting their resolutions to forget all past injuries, and to bury all rancour, malice, and animosities, under the foundation of his majesty's restoration. "We reflect (say they) upon our sufferings
 "as from the hand of God, and therefore do not cherish
 "any violent thoughts or inclinations against any persons
 "whatsoever who have been instrumental in them; and if
 "the indiscretion of any particular persons shall transport
 "them to expressions contrary to this general sense, we shall
 "disclaim them."† This was signed by eighteen noblemen, and about fifty knights and gentlemen.‖ Dr. *Morley* and some of his brethren met privately with the presbyterian ministers, and made large professions of lenity and moderation, but without descending to particulars. The king and chancellor *Hyde* carried on the intrigue. The chancellor in one of his letters from Breda, dated April 20, 1660, says, that
 "the king very well approved that Dr. *Morley* and some of
 "his brethren should enter into conferences, and have frequent conversation with the presbyterian party, in order
 "to reduce them to such a temper as is consistent with the
 "good of the church; and it may be no ill expedient (says he) to assure them of present good preferments; but in
 "my opinion you should rather endeavour to win over those
 "who, being recovered, will both have reputation, and desire to merit from the church, than be over-solicitous to
 "comply with the pride and passion of those who propose
 "extravagant things."‡ Such was the spirit or professions of the church party, while they were decoying the others into the snare! The presbyterian ministers did not want for cautions from the independants and others, not to be too forward in trusting their new allies, but they would neither

* History, vol. i. p. 123, 12mo.

† Baxter, p. 216, 218. History of the Stuarts, p. 458.

‖ Kennet's Chron. p. 121, 144. Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 217.

‡ Life of Barwick, p. 525.

hear,

hear, see, or believe, till it was too late. They valued themselves upon their superior influence, and from an ambitious desire of grasping all the merit and glory of the restoration to themselves, they would suffer none to act openly with them, but desired the episcopal clergy to lie still for fear of the people, and leave the conducting this great affair to the hands it was in.

Accordingly the presbyterian ministers wrote to their friends in their several counties, to be careful that men of republican principles might not be returned to serve in the next parliament, so that in some counties the elections fell upon men void of all religion. And in other places the people broke through the disabling cause. Dr. *Barwick* says, they paid no regard to it; and *Monk* declared, that if the people made use of their natural rights in choosing whom they thought fit, without reserve, no injury should be done them. So that when the houses met it was evident to all wise men it would be a court parliament.

But the Scots were more steady to the *covenant*, and sent over the reverend Mr. *James Sharp*, with the earls of *Crawford* and *Lauderdale* to Holland, humbly to put his majesty in mind, that the kirk of Scotland expected protection upon the footing of the presbyterian establishment, without indulgence to *sectaries*. Their brethren in the north of Ireland joined in the address to the same purpose: And some of the English presbyterians were of the same mind; ten of whom met the Scots commissioners at London, and made earnest applications to the general, not to restore the king but upon the concessions made by his father in the Isle of Wight. § But this was only the resolution of a few; the majority (says Mr. *Sharp*) were for moderate episcopacy, upon the scheme of archbishop *Usher*, and therefore willing to hearken to an accommodation with the church. Dr. *Barwick* adds,* “What the presbyterians aimed at, who were “now superior to the *independants*, was, that all matters “should be settled according to the treaty of the Isle of “Wight,” which gave the court a fair opportunity of referring all church matters to a conciliatory synod, the divines of each party to be summoned when the king should be

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 101, 104, 110.

* Life, p. 256.

settled

settled on his throne. This was the bait that was laid for the presbyterians, and was the ruin of their cause. The Scots kirk stood to their principles, and would have bid defiance to the old clergy, but Mr. *Calamy*, *Manton*, and *Ash*, informed them, in the name of the London ministers, that the general stream and current being for the old prelacy, in its pomp and height, it was in vain to hope for establishing presbytery, which made them lay aside the thoughts of it, and fly to archbishop *Usher*'s moderate episcopacy. Thus they were beaten from their first works.

But if the tide was so strong against them, should they have opened the sluices and let in the enemy at once, without a single article of capitulation? It is hard to account for this conduct of the presbyterians, without impeaching their understandings. Indeed the episcopal clergy gave them good words, assuring them, that all things should be to their minds when the king was restored; and that their relying upon the royal word, would be a mark of confidence which his majesty would always remember, and would do honour to the king, who had been so long neglected. But should this have induced the ministers to give up a cause that had cost so much treasure and blood, and become humble petitioners to those who were now almost at their mercy? For they could not but be sensible, that the old constitution must return with the king, that diocesan episcopacy was the only legal establishment, that all which had been done in favour of presbytery not having had the royal assent, was void in law, therefore they and their friends who had not episcopal ordination and induction into their livings, must be looked upon as intruders, and not legal ministers of the church of England.

But notwithstanding this infatuation, and vain confidence in the court and the clergy, Mr. *Eachard* would set aside all their merit, by saying, "Whatever the presbyterians did in this affair, was principally to relieve themselves from the oppression of the *independants*, who had wrested the power out of their hands, and not out of any affection to the king and church." Directly contrary to his majesty's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, which says, "When we were in Holland we were attended with

|| Kennet's Chron. p. 228.

" many

“ many grave and learned ministers of the presbyterian per-
 “ suasion, whom to our great satisfaction and comfort we
 “ found to be *full of affection to us, of zeal for the peace of*
 “ *the church and state, and neither enemies* (as they have been
 “ given out to be) *to episcopacy or liturgy.*” Bishop Burnet
 acknowledges,* that many of the presbyterian ministers,
 chiefly in the city of London, had gone into the design of
 the restoration in so signal a manner, and with such success,
 that they had great merit, and a just title to very high pre-
 ferments. Mr. Baxter† gives the following reasons of their
 conduct. “ The presbyterians (says he) were influenced by
 “ the covenant, by which, and by the oaths of allegiance
 “ to the king and his heirs, they apprehended themselves
 “ bound to do their utmost to restore the king, let the event
 “ be what it will.” But then he adds, “ Most of them had
 “ great expectations of favour and respect; and because the
 “ king had taken the covenant, they hoped he would re-
 “ move subscriptions, and leave the common-prayer and ce-
 “ remonies indifferent; that they might not be cast out of
 “ the churches. Some, who were less sanguine, depended
 “ on such a liberty as the protestants had in France; but
 “ others, who were better acquainted with the principles and
 “ tempers of the prelates, declared that they expected to
 “ be silenced, imprisoned, and banished, but yet they would
 “ do their parts to restore the king, because no foreseen ill
 “ consequence ought to hinder them from doing their duty.”
 Surely these were better christians than casuists! When the
 ministers waited on his majesty in Holland, he gave them
 such encouraging promises, (says Mr. Baxter) as raised in
 some of them high expectations. When he came to White-
 hall he made ten of them his chaplains; and when he went
 to the house to quicken the passing the act of indemnity,
 he said, “ My lords, if you do not join with me in extin-
 “ guishing this fear, which keeps the hearts of men awake,
 “ you keep me from performing my promise, which if I had
 “ not made, neither I nor you had been now here. *I pray*
 “ *let us not deceive those who brought or permitted us to come*
 “ *hither.*” Here is a royal declaration, and yet all came to
 nothing. The reader will judge hereafter who were most

* Vol. i. p. 259.

† Life, p. 216.

to blame, the episcopal party, for breaking through so many solemn vows and protestations; or the presbyterians, for bringing in the king without a previous treaty, and trusting a set of men, whom they knew to be their implacable enemies. I can think of no decent excuse for the former; and the best apology that can be made for the latter is, that most of them lived long enough to see their error and heartily repent it.

In the interval between the dissolution of the long parliament, and the meeting of the *convention* which brought in the king, general *Monk*, seeing which way the tide ran, fell in with the stream, and ventured to correspond more freely with the king by sir *J. Grenville*, who brought the general a letter, and was sent back with an assurance that he would serve his majesty in the best manner he could. He desired the king to remove out of the Spanish dominions, and promised, that if his majesty wrote letters to the parliament, he would deliver them at the opening of the sessions. Bishop *Burnet* says, that he had like to have let the honour slip through his fingers, and that a very small share of it really belonged to him.*

The *convention* met April 25, the earl of *Manchester* being chosen speaker of the house of peers, and sir *Harbottle Grimstone* of the commons. At the opening the sessions Dr. *Reynolds* preached before the houses. April 30 was appointed for a fast, when Dr. *Reynolds* and Mr. *Hardy* preached before the lords, and Dr. *Gauden*, Mr. *Calamy*, and *Baxter*, before the commons; all except *Gauden* of the presbyterian party. Lord *Clarendon* says, the presbyterian party in the house were rather troublesome than *powerful*; but others with great probability affirm, that the body of the commons were at first of that party. Next day after the fast, the king by the advice of the general, having removed privately to *Breda*, and addressed letters to both houses; the general stood up and acquainted the speaker, that one sir *J. Grenville* had brought him a letter from the king, but that he had not presumed to open it; and that the same gentleman attended at the door with another to the house. Sir *John* was immediately called in, and having delivered his letter at the bar

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 123.

withdrew,

withdrew, and carried another to the lords. § The letter contained an earnest invitation to the commons to return to their duty, as the only way to a settled peace; his majesty promising an act of oblivion for what was past, and all the security they could desire for their liberties and properties, and the rights of parliament, for the future.

Under the same cover was inclosed his majesty's *declaration* from Breda, granting "a general pardon to all his loving subjects who should lay hold of it within forty days, except such who should be excepted by parliament. Those only excepted, (says he) let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king solemnly given, that no crime committed against us, or our royal father, shall ever be brought into question to the prejudice of their lives, estates, or reputation. *We do also declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom.* And we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence.—" Upon reading these letters, the *commons* voted, that according to the ancient constitution, the government of this kingdom is, and ought to be, by king, lords, and commons; and a committee was appointed to draw up a dutiful letter, inviting his majesty to return to his dominions: Money was voted to defray his expences; a deputation of lords and commons was sent to attend his majesty; and the fleet was ordered to convey him home. Sir *Matthew Hale* moved, that a committee might be appointed to review the propositions of the Isle of Wight, and was seconded in the motion; but *Monk*, who was prepared for such a motion, stood up and said, "the nation was now quiet, but there were many incendiaries upon the watch trying where they could first raise a flame;

§ Two days after sir *John Grenville* received the thanks of the house, for delivering the king's letter, in a high strain of joy and adulation: and the house voted him 500l. to buy a jewel, as a badge of the honour due to the person whom "the king had honoured to be the messenger of his gracious message." The city of London also presented to him and lord *Mordaunt*, who brought them his majesty's letter, 300l. to buy them rings. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 260, 61, and note (°). Ed.

"that

“that he could not answer for the peace of the kingdom
 “or army, if any delays were put to the sending for the
 “king. What need is there of it, (says he) when he is to
 “bring neither arms nor treasure along with him.” He
 then added, “that he should lay the blame of all the blood
 “and mischief that might follow, on the heads of those who
 “should insist upon any motion that might retard the present
 “settlement of the nation.”† Which frightened the house
 into a compliance. And this was all the service general
Monk did towards the king’s restoration, for which he was
 rewarded with a garter, a dukedom, a great estate in land,
 and with one of the highest posts of honour and profit in the
 kingdom.

Thus was the king voted home in a hurry, which was
 owing to the flattering representations made by lord *Clarendon*
 in his letters of the king’s good-nature, virtue, probity,
 and application to business;|| so that when the earl of *South-*
ampton saw afterwards what the king was like to prove, he
 said once in great wrath to the chancellor, “that it was to
 “him they owed all they either felt or feared; for if he had
 “not possessed them in all his letters with such an opinion of
 “the king, they would have taken care to have put it out of
 “his power either to do himself or them any mischief, which
 “was like to be the effect of their trusting him so entirely.”
 To which *Hyde* answered, that “he thought the king had
 “so true a judgment, and so much good-nature, that when
 “the age of pleasure should be over, and the idleness of his
 “exile, which made him seek new diversions for want of
 “other employment, was turned to an obligation to mind
 “affairs, then he would have shaken off these entangle-
 “ments.” But here the chancellor was mistaken.

When the lords and commons sent over a deputation to
 the king at Breda, the London ministers moved that a pass
 might be granted to some of their number, to wait upon his
 majesty with an address from their brethren; accordingly
Dr. Reynolds, *Dr. Spurstow*, *Mr. Calamy*, *Mr. Hall*, *Mr.*
Manton, and *Mr. Case*, were delegated, who went over with
 three or four attendants, and had an audience May 17,
 wherein, according to lord *Clarendon*, “they magnified their

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 123, 4, 12mo.

|| Clarendon, p. 88, 89.

“own,

“ own, and the affection of their friends, who had always
 “ wished his majesty’s restoration, according to the covenant,
 “ and had lately informed the people of their duty to invite
 “ him home. They thanked God for his majesty’s constancy
 “ to the protestant religion, and declared themselves no ene-
 “ mies to moderate episcopacy, only they desired that such
 “ things might not be pressed upon them in God’s worship,
 “ which in their judgments that used them were indifferent,
 “ but by others were held to be unlawful.”* But the tables
 were now turned: The king spoke kindly to them, and ac-
 knowledged their services, but told them, he would refer all
 to the wisdom of the parliament. At another audience (if
 we may believe the noble historian) they met with very dif-
 ferent usage; for when they intreated his majesty at his first
 landing not to use the book of common-prayer entire and
 formally in his chapel, it having been long laid aside, the
 king replied with some warmth, “ that while he gave *them*
 “ liberty he would not have his own taken away. That
 “ he had always used that form of service which he thought
 “ the best in the world, and had never discontinued it in
 “ places where it was more disliked than he hoped it was
 “ by them. That when he came into England he should
 “ not severely enquire how it was used in other churches,
 “ but he would have no other used in his own chapel.”†
 They then besought him with more importunity, that the
 use of the surplice might be discontinued by his chaplains,
 because it would give offence; but the king was as inexora-
 ble in that point as the other, and told them, that it was a
 decent habit, and had been long used in the church; that
 it had been still retained by him, and that he would never
 discountenance that good old practice of the church in
 which he had been bred. Mr. *Baxter* says, the king gave
 them such encouraging promises of peace, as raised some of
 them to high expectations. He never refused them a private
 audience when they desired it; and to amuse them further,
 while they were once waiting in an anti-chamber, his majesty
 said his prayers with such an audible voice in the room ad-
 joining, that the ministers might hear him; “ he thanked
 “ God that he was a covenanted king; that he hoped the

* Kennet’s Chron. p. 139. Compl. Hist. p. 247.

† Kennet’s Chron. p. 152.

“ Lord

“ Lord would give him an humble, meek, forgiving spirit; “ that he might have forbearance towards his offending subjects, as he expected forbearance from offended heaven.” Upon hearing which old Mr. *Case* lifted up his hands to heaven, § and blessed God who had given them a *praying king*.

Though the bishops held a private correspondence with chancellor *Hyde*, and by him were assured of the king’s favour, they were not less forward than the presbyterians in their application to his majesty himself; for while he remained at Breda, Mr. *Barwick* was sent over with the following instructions:—

1. He was to wait upon the right honourable the lord chancellor of England, and beg his lordship’s assistance to present a most humble petition to his majesty in the name of the bishops, and then to deliver their lordships’ letters to the chancellor, to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, and to the secretary of state, wherein they returned those great men their most thankful acknowledgments, for their piety and affection to the church in the late most afflicted state.

2. He was then to give his majesty a distinct account of the present state of the church in all the particulars wherein his majesty desired to be informed; and to bring the bishops back his majesty’s commands, with regard to all that should be thought proper for them, or any of them, to do.

3. He was humbly to ask his majesty’s pleasure, with regard to some of the bishops waiting on the sea-coast to pay their duty to his majesty, when by God’s blessing he should soon land in England; and whether it was his royal pleasure, that they should attend him there in their episcopal habits;

§ Mr. *Daniel Dyke*, who, soon after the restoration, voluntarily resigned the living of Hadham-Magna in Hertfordshire, shewed more discernment and judgment. For when Mr. *Case*, to induce him to continue in it, related the king’s behaviour, and argued what a hopeful prospect it gave them, Mr. *Dyke* wisely answered, “ That they did but deceive and flatter themselves; that if the king was sincere in his shew of piety and great respect for them and their religion; yet, when he came to be settled, the party that had formerly adhered to him, and the creatures that would come over with him, would have the management of publick affairs, and would circumvent all their designs, and in all probability not only turn them out, but take away their liberty too.” Crosby’s History of the Baptists, vol. i. p. 357, and Palmer’s Nonconformists’ Memorial, vol. ii. p. 43. Ed.

and

and at what time and place, and how many, and which of them his majesty pleased should wait his arrival.

4. He was also to enquire concerning the number of his majesty's chaplains; whether any of them, besides those in waiting, should attend his arrival upon the coast; and to beg that his majesty would vouchsafe to appoint how many, and who.

5. He was most humbly to beseech his majesty, that if Dr. *Lushington*, formerly the king's chaplain, should offer to officiate in that capacity, his majesty would be pleased not to indulge him in that favour, till enquiry should be made concerning his suspected faith and principles. [He was a *socinian*.]

6. Since it has been customary for our kings to celebrate publick thanksgivings in St. Paul's cathedral, he was humbly to beseech his majesty, to signify what was his royal pleasure in this behalf, considering the ruinous estate of that church.

7. His last instruction was to give a just and due account to his majesty, why the affair of filling up the vacant sees had met with no better success.

Mr. *Barwick* was most graciously received by the king and his ministers, and the Sunday after his arrival at Breda was appointed to preach before his majesty.* The court was as yet very much upon their guard with respect to the presbyterians; but the flames began to kindle at home; the episcopal clergy not observing any measures of prudence in their sermons; Dr. *Griffith*, having preached an angry sermon before the general at Mercers-Hall, March 25, on *Prov. xxiv. 21. My son, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change*, was for a pretence confined to Newgate, but in a few days was released, and published his sermon with a dedication to the general.—Others in their sermons took upon them to threaten those who had hitherto had the power in their hands; of which the king being advised, commanded chancellor *Hyde* to acquaint his correspondents, that he was extremely apprehensive of inconvenience and mischief to the church and himself, from offences of that kind, and ordered him to desire

* Life of Barwick, p. 519, note.

Mr. *Barwick* and Dr. *Morley* to use their credit and authority with such men, and to let them know from his majesty the tenderness of the conjuncture. The *chancellor* accordingly, in his letter from Breda, April 16, 1660, wrote the king's sense, and added, that if occasion required they were to speak to the bishops of Ely and Salisbury to interpose their authority, to conjure these men, to make a better judgment of the season, and not to awaken those jealousies and apprehensions which all men should endeavour to extinguish. "And truly I hope, (says the chancellor) if faults of this kind are not committed, that both the church and the kingdom will be better dealt with than is imagined; and I am confident these good men will be more troubled that the church should undergo a new suffering by their indiscretion, than for all that they have suffered hitherto themselves."

The clouds gathering thus thick over the late managers, every one began to shift for himself. RICHARD CROMWELL resigned his chancellorship of the university of Oxford the very day the king was invited home, and retired beyond sea: he had offered to relinquish it when he was divested of the protectorship, as appears by his letter on that occasion, which says,—“You should have had fuller experience of my high esteem for learning and learned men, if Providence had continued me in my high station; but as I accepted of the honour of being your chancellor in order to promote your prosperity, I assure you I will divest myself of the honour when it will contribute to your advantage.”* Accordingly, as soon as the king's return was voted, he sent them the following resignation:

“Gentlemen,

“I SHALL always retain a hearty sense of my former obligations to you, in your free election of me to the office of your chancellor; and it is no small trouble to my thoughts, when I consider how little serviceable I have been to you in that relation. But since the all-wise providence of God, which I desire always to adore, and bow down unto, has been pleased to change my condition,

* Kennet's Chron. p. 141.

“that

“ that I am not in a capacity to answer the ends of the of-
 “ fice.—I do therefore most freely resign, and give up all
 “ my right and interest therein, but shall always retain my
 “ affection and esteem for you, with my prayers for your
 “ continual prosperity, that, amidst the many examples of the
 “ instability and revolutions of human affairs, you may still
 “ abide flourishing and fruitful. *Gentlemen,*
 “ Hursley, “ *Your affectionate friend and servant,*
 “ May 8, 1660. “ RICH. CROMWELL.”

Thus RICHARD went off the stage of publick action. “ As
 “ he was innocent of all the evil his father had done (says
 “ *Burnet**) so there was no prejudice laid against him. Upon
 “ his advancement to the protectorship, the city of London,
 “ and almost all the counties of England, sent him addresses
 “ of congratulation; but when he found the times too boif-
 “ terous he readily withdrew, and became a private man;
 “ and as he had done no hurt to any body, so no-body ever
 “ studied to hurt him. A rare instance of the instability of
 “ human greatness; and of the security of innocence!” In
 his younger years he had not all that zeal for religion as was
 the fashion of the times; but those who knew him well in
 the latter part of life have assured me, that he was a perfect
 gentleman in his behaviour, well acquainted with publick
 affairs, of great gravity, and real piety; but so very modest,
 that he would not be distinguished or known by any name
 but the feigned one of Mr. *Clarke*.† He died at Theobalds
 about the year 1712.

The king landed at Dover, May 26, and came the same
 night to Canterbury, where he rested the next day, and
 on Tuesday, May 29, rode in triumph with his two brothers,
 through the city of London to Whitehall, amidst the ac-
 clamations of an innumerable croud of spectators.‡ As he

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 116, 17.

† Under this name he lived, for some years, privately at Hursley about
 seven miles from Romsey, now the seat of sir *Thomas Heathcote*, bart. and
 attended the meeting-house in Romsey. The pew in which he used to sit
 is still in being, and preserved entire at the church's removal to their new
 house, as a relick worthy of notice. Mr. Thompson's MS. Collections,
 under the word ROMSEY. ED.

‡ Dr. *Grey*, gives from *Eachard* and *Heath*, a description of the pro-
 cession. ED.

passed along, old Mr. *Arthur Jackson*, an eminent presbyterian minister, presented his majesty with a rich embossed bible, which he was pleased to receive, and to declare it his resolution to make that book the rule of his conduct.*

Two days after the king's arrival at Whitehall, his majesty went to the house of peers, and after a short congratulatory speech passed an act, turning the present convention into a parliament. After which the houses for themselves, and all the commons of England, laid hold of his majesty's most gracious pardon, and appointed a committee to prepare an act of indemnity for all who had been concerned in the preceding commotions, except the late king's judges, and two or three others.

Had the directions given for the choice of this parliament been observed, no royalist could have sat in the house; however, their numbers were inconsiderable; the convention was a *presbyterian parliament*, and had the courage to avow the justice and lawfulness of taking arms against the late king till the year 1648;† for when Mr. *Lenthall*, speaker of the long parliament, in order to shew the sincerity of his repentance, had said, that *he that first drew his sword against the late king, committed as great an offence as he that cut off his head*; he was brought to the bar, and received the following reprimand from the present speaker, by order of the house.

“SIR,

“THE house has taken great offence at what you
 “have said, which, in the judgment of the house, contains
 “as high a reflection upon the justice of the proceedings of
 “the lords and commons of the last parliament, in their act-
 “ings before 1648, as could be expressed. They appre-
 “hend there is much poison in the said words, and that they
 “were spoken out of design to inflame, and to render them
 “*who drew the sword to bring delinquents to punishment,*
 “*and to vindicate their just liberties,* into balance with them
 “who cut off the king's head; of which they express their
 “abhorrence and detestation. Therefore I am commanded
 “to let you know, that had these words fallen out at any

* Baxter's Life, p. 218.

† Eachard, p. 765.

“other

“ other time in this parliament, but when they had confide-
 “ rations of mercy and indemnity, you might have expected a
 “ sharper and severer sentence. Nevertheless, I am, accord-
 “ ing to command, to give you a sharp reprehension, and I
 “ do as sharply and severely as I can reprehend you for it.”

But it was to little purpose to justify the civil war, when they were yielding up all they had been contending for to the court;† for though they stopt short of the lengths of the next parliament, they increased his majesty's revenues so much, that if he had been a frugal prince he might have lived without parliaments for the future. The restoring the king after this manner without any treaty, or one single article for the securing men in the enjoyment of their religious and civil liberties, was (as bishop *Burnet* observes*) the foundation of all the misfortunes of the nation under this reign. And as another right reverend prelate observes, the restoration of the king in this high and absolute manner, laid the foundation of all the king's future miscarriages; so that if the revolution by king *William* and queen *Mary* had not taken place, the restoration had been no blessing to the nation.

But it ought to be remembered, that this was not a legal parliament, for the *rump* had no power to appoint *keepers of the liberties of England*; nor had the *keepers* a right to issue out writs for election of a new parliament; nor could the king's writ, without the subsequent choice of the people, make them so. All the laws therefore made by this convention, and all the punishments inflicted upon offenders in pursuance of them, were not strictly legal; which the court were so apprehensive of, that they prevailed with the next parliament to confirm them. When this convention parliament had sat about eight months, it was dissolved December 29, partly because it was not legally chosen, and because it was too much presbyterian; the prime minister [*Hyde*] having now formed a design in concert with the bishops, of evacuating the church of all the presbyterians.

The managing presbyterians still buoyed themselves up with hopes of a comprehension within the church, though

† Rapin, p. 258.

* Page 126.

they had parted with all their weight and influence; and from *directors* were become humble supplicants to those very men who a few months before lay at their feet. They had now no other refuge than the king's clemency, which was directed by chancellor *Hyde* and the bishops; but to keep them quiet, his majesty condescended, at the instance of the earl of *Manchester*, to admit ten of their number into the list of his chaplains in ordinary, viz.

Dr. <i>Reynolds</i>	Mr. <i>Calamy</i>
Dr. <i>Spurstow</i>	Mr. <i>Ashe</i>
Dr. <i>Wallis</i>	Mr. <i>Cafe</i>
Dr. <i>Manton</i>	Mr. <i>Baxter</i>
Dr. <i>Bates</i>	Mr. <i>Woodbridge</i> .†

But none of these divines were called to preach at court, except Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spurstow*, Mr. *Calamy*, and Mr. *Baxter*, each of them once. Here again the presbyterians were divided in their politicks, some being for going as far as they could with the court, and others for drawing back. Of the former sort were Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reynolds*, and Mr. *Ashe*, who were entirely directed by the earl of *Manchester*, and had frequent assemblies at his house; to them were joined Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, and most of the city ministers; but Dr. *Seaman*, Mr. *Jenkins*, and others, were of another party; these were a little estranged from the rest of their brethren, and meddled not with politicks, (says Mr. *Baxter**) because the court gave them no encouragement, their design being only to divide them; but the former had more confidence in their superiors, and carried on a treaty, till by force and violence they were beaten out of the field.

Upon the king's arrival at Whitehall, the liturgy of the church of England was restored in his majesty's chapel, and in several churches both in city and country; for it was justly observed, that all acts and ordinances of the long parliament, which had not the royal assent, were in themselves null, and therefore prelacy was still the legal establishment, and the common-prayer the only legal form of worship, and that they were punishable by the laws of the land who officiated by any other. The king in his *declaration* had desired, that

† Kennet's Chron. p. 162.

* Baxter's Life, p. 229.

the presbyterians would read so much of the liturgy as they themselves had no exception against, but most of them declined the proposal. § But to set an example to the rest of the nation, the house of peers, two days after the king was proclaimed, appointed Mr. *Marston* to read divine service before them, in his formalities, according to the common-prayer book; and the Sunday following Dr. *Gauden* preached, and administered the sacrament to several of the peers, who received it kneeling. On the 31st of May they ordered, that the form of prayers formerly used, should be constantly read in their house, provided that no prejudice, penalty, or reflection, shall be on any who are not present. The house of commons followed the example of the lords; and before the end of the year many of the parochial clergy, who scrupled the use of the service-book, were prosecuted for offending against the statutes made in that behalf; the justices of the peace and others insisting, that the laws returned with the king, and that they ought not to be dispensed with in the neglect of them.

The old sequestered clergy flocked in great numbers about the court, magnifying their sufferings, and making interest for preferments; every one took possession of the living from which he had been ejected; by which means some hundreds of the presbyterian clergy were dispossessed at once. Upon this the heads of that party waited upon the king, and prayed, that though all who had lost their livings for malignancy, or disaffection to the late powers, were restored, yet that those ministers who succeeded such as had been ejected for *scandal*, might keep their places; but the court paid no regard to their petitions. However, where the incumbent was dead, his majesty yielded that the living should be confirmed to the present possessor.

The heads of colleges and fellows who had been ejected in the late times, were no less forward in their applications to be restored; upon which the parliament appointed a committee to receive their petitions. Dr. *Goodwin* having resigned his presidentship of Magdalen college, the lords ordered, “that Dr. *Oliver* be restored in as full and ample manner as formerly he enjoyed it, till the pleasure of his

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 432.

“majesty

“ majesty be further known. And the three senior fellows were appointed to put this order in execution.”* The ejected fellows of New college, Oxon, petitioned at the same time to be restored; upon which the lords ordered, May 19, that “ *Robert Grove, John Lampshire, &c.* late fellows of “ New college, Oxon, and all others who were unjustly “ ejected out of their fellowships, be forthwith restored; “ and that all such fellows as have been admitted contrary “ to the statute be forthwith ejected; and that no new fellows be admitted contrary to the statutes.”§ And to prevent further applications of this kind, the lords passed this general order, June 4, “ That the chancellors of both universities shall take care, that the several colleges in the said “ universities shall be governed according to their respective “ statutes; and that such persons who have been unjustly “ put out of their headships, fellowships, or other offices relating to the several colleges or universities, may be restored according to the said statutes of the university, and “ founders of colleges therein.”||

Pursuant to this order, there followed a very considerable change in both universities, commissioners being appointed by the king to hear and determine all causes relating to this affair, who in the months of August and September restored all such as were unmarried to their respective places. In the university of Oxford, besides Dr. *Oliver* already mentioned, the following heads of colleges were restored, and the present possessors ejected.

Heads of colleges restored, Aug. 3,	President of	In the place of heads ejected,
Dr. <i>Hannibal Potter</i> ,	Trinity coll.	Dr. <i>Seth Ward</i>
Dr. <i>Richard Bayly</i> ,	St. John's coll.	Mr. <i>Thank. Owen</i>
Dr. <i>Francis Mansel</i> ,	Jesus college	Mr. <i>Fran. Howel</i>
Dr. <i>Robert Newlin</i> ,	Corp. Ch. coll.	Dr. <i>Edw. Staunton</i>
Dr. <i>Gilbert Sheldon</i> ,	All Souls coll.	Dr. <i>Meredith, dec.</i>
Dr. <i>Thomas Yate</i> ,	Br. Nose coll.	Dr. <i>D. Greenwood</i>
Mr. <i>Henry Wightwick</i> ,	Pemb. coll.	Dr. <i>Henry Langley</i> ,

N. B. This Mr. *Wightwick* was ejected a second time 1664.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 152.

§ Ibid. 153.

|| Ibid. p. 173.

	St. Mary's hall	Mr. Thomas Cole
Dr. Robert Saunderson	{ Regius Prof. in Divinity }	Dr. John Conant
Dr. Thomas Willis	Nat. Phil. reader	Dr. Josb. Crosse
Dr. John Fell	{ Can. of Chr. Ch. }	Mr. Ralph Button
Dr. Robert South	{ & Uni. orator }	
Dr. Thomas Barlow	{ Can. of Chr. Ch. }	Dr. Hen. Wilkinson,
	{ & Marg. Prof. }	sen.

Besides these, all surviving ejected fellows of colleges were restored without exceptions, and such as had been nominated by the commissioners in 1648, or elected in any other manner than according to the statutes, were ejected, and their places declared vacant.

The like alterations were made in the university of Cambridge. The earl of *Manchester* chancellor, was obliged to send the following letter to the university, dated August 3, for restoring Dr. *Martin* to the mastership of Queen's college, whom he had ejected for *scandal* by letters under his hand, dated March 13, 1643.

“Whereas I am informed, that Dr. *Ed. Martin* has been
 “wrongfully put out of his mastership; these are to signify
 “to all whom it may concern, that I do, by virtue of an au-
 “thority given to me, by the lords assembled in parliament,
 “restore him to his said mastership, together with all lodgings,
 “&c. appertaining to his place, from henceforth to have
 “and enjoy all profits, rights, privileges, and advantages,
 “belonging thereunto, unless cause be shewn to the contrary
 “within ten days after the date hereof.”† This gentleman
 was accordingly restored, and with him several others; as,

H heads of coll. restored,	Master of	In place of heads ejected,
Dr. J. Cofins	Peter-house	Dr. Laz. Seaman
Dr. Tho. Paske	Clare hall	{ Resigned to Dr. The.
		{ Dillingham
Dr. Benj. Laney	Pembroke hall	Mr. Will. Moses
Dr. Rob. King	Trinity hall	Mr. Bond
Dr. Rich. Sterne	Jesus college	Mr. J. Worthington
Dr. Edw. Rainbowe	{ Magd. college,	
	{ ejected for re-	Mr. John Sadleir.
	{ fusing Eng. }	

† Kennet's Chron. 221, 22.

All the surviving fellows unmarried were restored, as in the other university, by which means most of the presbyterians were dispossessed, and the education of youth taken out of their hands.† To make way for the filling up these and other vacancies in the church, the *honours of the universities* were offered to almost any, who would declare their aversion to presbytery, and hearty affection for episcopal government.* It was his majesty's pleasure, and the chancellor's, that there should be a creation in all faculties of such as had suffered for the royal cause, and had been ejected from the university by the visitors in 1648. Accordingly between seventy and eighty masters of arts were created this year, among whom (says the Oxford historian) some that had not been sufferers thrust themselves into the croud for their money; others, yet few, were gentlemen, and created by the favour of the chancellor's letters only; eighteen were created batchelors of divinity, seventy doctors of divinity, twenty-two doctors of physick, besides doctors of laws. The creations in the university of Cambridge were yet more numerous. On Midsummer-day, a *grace* passed in the university in favour of some candidates for degrees.‡ August 2, the king sent letters to Cambridge for creating nine or ten persons, doctors of divinity;§ and on the fifth of September there were created, by virtue of his majesty's *mandamus*, no less than seventy-one doctors of divinity, nine doctors of civil law, five doctors of physick, and five batchelors of divinity. So that within the compass of little more than six months, the universities conferred one hundred and fifty doctors of divinity degrees, and as many more in the other faculties.—Some of these were deserving persons, but the names of most of them are no where to be found but in the university registers. Had the parliament visitors in 1648, or O. Cromwell in his protectorship, made so free with the honours of the universities, they might justly have been supposed to countenance the *illiterate*, and prostitute the honour of the two great luminaries of this kingdom; but his majesty's promoting such numbers in so short a time by a *royal mandamus*, without enquiring into their qualifications, or insisting upon their per-

† Fasti. p. 120.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 220, 221, &c.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 188.

§ Ibid. p. 220, 251.

forming any academical exercise, must be covered with a vail, because it was for the service of the church. In the midst of these promotions, the marquis of *Hertford*, chancellor of the university of Oxford, died, and was succeeded by sir *Edward Hyde*, now lord chancellor of England, and created about this time earl of *Clarendon*. He was installed Nov. 15, and continued in this office till he retired into France in the year 1667.

These promotions made way for filling up the vacancies in cathedrals; July 5, Dr. *Killigrew*, *Jones*, *Doughty*, and *Busby*, were installed prebendaries of Westminster; and within a month or six weeks four more were added.‡ In the months of July and August, all the dignities in the cathedral of St. Paul's were filled up, being upwards of twenty. July 13, twelve divines were installed prebendaries in the cathedral of Canterbury; and before the end of the year, all the dignities in the cathedrals of Durham, Chester, Litchfield, Bristol, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, &c. were supplied with younger divines, who ran violently in the current of the times.*——There were only nine bishops alive at the king's restoration, viz.

Dr. <i>William Juxon</i> ,	bishop of London
Dr. <i>William Pierse</i> ,	Bath and Wells
Dr. <i>Matthew Wren</i> ,	Ely
Dr. <i>Robert Skinner</i> ,	Oxford
Dr. <i>William Roberts</i> ,	Bangor
Dr. <i>John Warner</i> ,	Rochester
Dr. <i>Bryan Duppa</i> ,	Sarum
Dr. <i>Henry King</i> ,	Chichester
Dr. <i>Accepted Frewen</i> ,	Litchf. and Coventry.§

In order to make way for a new creation, some of the bishops abovementioned were translated to better sees; as,

Dr. *Juxon*, bishop of London, to Canterbury, who was promoted more out of decency (says bishop *Burnet*†) as being the eldest and most eminent of the surviving bishops: He never was a great divine, but was now superannuated.

Dr. *Accepted Frewen* was translated to York, Sept. 22, and confirmed October 4. He was the son of a puritanical

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 199.

* Ibid. p. 204.

§ Ibid. p. 252.

† Vol. i. p. 257.

minister,

minister, and himself inclined that way, till some time after the beginning of the civil wars, when he became a great loyalist, and was promoted in the year 1644 to the see of Litchfield and Coventry: He made no figure in the learned world,|| and died in the year 1664.

Dr. *Bryan Duppa* was translated to Winchester, and confirmed October 4. He had been the king's tutor, though no way equal to the service. He was a meek humble man, and much beloved for his good temper, (says bishop *Burnet*†) and would have been more esteemed if he had died before the restoration, for he made not that use of the great wealth that flowed in upon him, as was expected.*

To make way for the election of new bishops in a regular and canonical manner, it was first necessary to restore to every cathedral a dean and chapter; which being done,

Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon* was advanced to the see of London; he was esteemed a learned man before the civil wars, but had since engaged so deep in politicks, (says bishop *Burnet*‡) that scarce any prints of what he had been remained; he was a dextrous man in business, and treated all men in an obliging manner, but few depended much on his professions of friendship. He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if

|| Dr. *Grey* observes, however, on the authority of *Wood*, that Dr. *Frewen*, though he published only a Latin oration with some verses on the death of prince *Henry*, was esteemed a general scholar and a good orator. He was buried in his cathedral church, and a splendid monument was erected over his grave. He bequeathed 1000l. to Magdalen college, Oxon, of which he had been president. *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 663, 4. *Godwinus de Præfulibus curâ Richardson*, p. 714. Ed.

† Page 258.

* Dr. *Grey* censures Mr. *Neal* for adopting this mistake of bishop *Burnet*, and says that Dr. *Duppa's* charities were extraordinary. He gave for redeeming of captives, building and endowing alms-houses, with other charitable deeds in benevolences, repairs, &c. 16,000l. and was so good to his tenants as to abate 30,000l. in fines. *Richardson* says, that during the two years he lived after his translation to the see of Winchester, he expended great sums in publick services; and was meditating more undertakings. He built an alms-House at *Richmond*, and endowed it by his will with 1500l. He bequeathed 200l. to the alms-house at *Pembridge* in *Herts*; and, to omit private donations, he left to the church of *Salisbury* 500l. of Winchester 200l. of *St. Paul's*, London, 300l. and of *Cirencester*, 200l. *Grey's Examination*, vol. iii. p. 276, and *Godwin de Præfulibus*, p. 243. Ed.

‡ Page 257.

any

any at all; and spoke of it most commonly as an engine of government, and a matter of policy, for which reason the king looked upon him as a wise and honest clergyman. He was one of the most powerful and implacable adversaries of the non-conformists.

Dr. *Henchman* was consecrated bishop of Sarum, and Dr. *George Mörley* bishop of Worcester, October 28. Dec. 2, seven bishops were consecrated together in St. Peter's, Westminster, viz.

Dr. <i>John Cosins</i> ,	bishop of Durham
Dr. <i>William Lawes</i> ,	St. David's
Dr. <i>Benjamin Laney</i> ,	Peterborough
Dr. <i>Hugh Lloyd</i> ,	Landaff
Dr. <i>Richard Sterne</i> ,	Carlisle
Dr. <i>Bryan Walton</i> ,	Chester
Dr. <i>John Gauden</i> ,	Exeter.

On the sixth of January following four other bishops were consecrated, viz.

Dr. <i>Gilbert Ironside</i> ,	bishop of Bristol
Dr. <i>Edward Reynolds</i> ,	Norwich
Dr. <i>Nicholas Monk</i> ,	Hereford
Dr. <i>William Nicholson</i> ,	Gloucester

Four or five sees were kept vacant for the leading divines among the presbyterians, if they would conform; but they declined, as will be seen hereafter. In Scotland and Ireland things were not quite so ripe for execution; the Scots parliament disannulled the covenant, but episcopacy was not established in either of the kingdoms till next year.

The English hierarchy being restored to its former pre-eminence, except the peerage of the bishops, it remained only to consider what was to be done with the malecontents; the *independants* and *anabaptists* petitioned the king only for a toleration;|| and the English papists depending upon their interest at court, offered his majesty one hundred thousand pounds before he left Breda, to take off the penal laws, upon which his majesty ordered the chancellor to insert the following clause in his declaration concerning ecclesiastical af-

|| Kennet's Chron. p. 142.

fairs, that *others also be permitted to meet for religious worship, so be it they do it not to the disturbance of the peace; and that no justice of peace offer to disturb them.** When this was debated in the king's presence after the restoration, the bishops wisely held their peace; but Mr. *Baxter*, who was more zealous than prudent, declared plainly his dislike of a toleration of papists and socinians; which his majesty took so very ill, that he said, the presbyterians were a set of men who were only for setting up themselves. These still flattered themselves with hopes of a comprehension, but the *independants* and *baptists* were in despair.

And here was an end of those distracted times, which our historians have loaded with all the infamy and reproach that the wit of man could invent. The *puritan* ministers have been decried as ignorant mechanicks, canting preachers, enemies to learning, and no better than publick robbers. The universities were said to be reduced to a meer *Munster*; and that if the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and even the *Turks*, had overrun the nation, they could not have done more to introduce barbarism, disloyalty, and ignorance; and yet in these times, and by the men who then filled the university chairs, were educated the most learned divines and eloquent preachers of the last age, as the *Stillingfleets*, *Tillotsons*, *Bulls*, *Barrows*, *Whitbys*, and others, who retained a high veneration for their learned tutors after they were rejected and displaced. The religious part of the common people have been stigmatized with the character of *hypocrites*; their looks, their dress and behaviour, have been represented in the most odious colours; and yet one may venture to challenge these declaimers to produce any period of time since the reformation, wherein there was less open profaneness and impiety, and more of the spirit as well as appearance of religion. Perhaps there was too much rigour and preciseness in indifferent matters; but the lusts of men were laid under a visible restraint; and though the legal constitution was unhappily broken, and men were governed by false politicks, yet better laws were never made against vice, or more vigorously executed. The dress and conversation of people was sober and virtuous, and their manner of living remarkably frugal: There was hardly

* Compl. Hist. p. 258.

a single bankruptcy to be heard of in a year; and in such a case the bankrupt had a mark of infamy upon him that he could never wipe off. Drunkenness, fornication, profane swearing, and every kind of debauchery, were justly deemed infamous, and universally discountenanced. The clergy were laborious to excess in preaching and praying, and catechising youth, and visiting their parishes. The magistrates did their duty in suppressing all kind of games, stage-plays, and abuses in publick houses. There was not a play acted on any theatre in England for almost twenty years. The *Lord's-day* was observed with unusual reverence; and there were a set of as learned and pious youths training up in the university as had ever been known. So that if such a reformation of manners had obtained under a legal administration, they would have deserved the character of the best of times.

But when the legal constitution was restored, there returned with it a torrent of debauchery and wickedness. The times which followed the restoration were the reverse of those that preceded it; for the laws which had been enacted against vice for the last twenty years being declared null, and the magistrates changed, men set no bounds to their licentiousness. A proclamation indeed was published against those loose and riotous cavaliers, whose loyalty consisted in drinking healths, and railing at those who would not revel with them; but in reality the king was at the head of these disorders; being devoted to his pleasures, and having given himself up to an avowed course of lewdness; his bishops and chaplains said, that he usually came from his mistresses apartments to church, even on sacrament days.† There were two play-houses erected in the neighbourhood of the court. *Women actresses* were introduced into the theatres, which had not been known till that time; the most lewd and obscene plays were brought on the stage; and the more obscene, the better was the king pleased, who graced every new play with his royal presence. Nothing was to be seen at court but feasting, hard drinking, revelling, and amorous intrigues, which engendered the most enormous vices. From court the contagion spread like wildfire among the people, insomuch that men threw off the very profession of virtue

† Kennet's Chron. p. 167.

and piety, under colour of drinking the king's health; all kinds of *old cavalier rioting* and debauchery revived; the appearances of religion which remained with some, furnished matters of ridicule to libertines and scoffers:* Some who had been concerned in the former changes, thought they could not redeem their credit better than by deriding all religion, and telling or making stories to render their former party ridiculous. To appear serious, or make conscience either of words and actions, was the way to be accounted a schismatick, a fanatick, or a sectarian; though if there was any real religion during the course of this reign, it was chiefly among those people. They who did not applaud the new ceremonies were marked out for *presbyterians*, and every presbyterian was a *rebel*. The old clergy who had been sequestered for scandal, having taken possession of their livings, were intoxicated with their new felicity, and threw off all the restraints of *their order*; every week (says Mr. *Baxter*†) produced reports of one or other clergyman who was taken up by the watch drunk at night, and mobbed in the streets. Some were taken with lewd women; and one was reported to be drunk in the pulpit.|| Such was the general dissoluteness of manners which attended the deluge of joy which overflowed the nation upon his majesty's restoration!

About this time died the reverend Mr. *Francis Taylor*, sometime rector of Clapham in Surry, and afterwards of

* Kennet's Chron. p. 493.

† Life, part ii. p. 288.

|| Dr. *Grey* questions the truth of the above charge. But whoever reads Mr. *Baxter*'s account of the matter, and of the conduct of himself and some of his brethren on the report of it, which rang through the city, will scarcely doubt the fact. But there is force and candour in what Dr. *Grey* adds concerning the reply of Mr. *Selden* to an *alderman* of the long parliament on the subject of episcopacy. The *alderman* said, "that there were so many clamours against such and such *prelates*, that they would never be quiet, till they had no more *bishops*." On this Mr. *Selden* informed the house, what grievous complaints there were against such and such *aldermen*; and therefore by parity of reasoning, it was his opinion, he said, that they should have no more *aldermen*. Here was the fault transferred to the office, which is a dangerous error; for not only government, but human society itself, may be dissolved by the same argument, if the frailties or corruptions of particular men shall be revenged upon the whole body. *Grey's Examination*, vol. iii. p. 267. Ed.

Yalden,

Yalden, from whence he was called to sit in the assembly of divines at Westminster, and had a considerable share in the annotations which go under their name. From Yalden Mr. *Taylor* removed to Canterbury, and became preacher of Christ-Church in that city, where I presume he died, leaving behind him the character of an able critick in the oriental languages, and one of the most considerable divines of the assembly. He published several valuable works, and among others a translation of the *Jerusalem Targum* on the *Pentateuch* out of the Chaldee into Latin, dedicated to the learned Mr. *Gataker*, of Rotherhithe, with a prefatory epistle of *Selden's*, and several others, relating to Jewish antiquities. Among the letters to archbishop *Usher* there is one from Mr. *Taylor*, dated from Clapham, 1635. He corresponded also with *Boetius*, and most of the learned men of his time. He left behind him a son who was blind,§ but ejected for non-conformity in the year 1662, from St. Alphage church in Canterbury, where he lies buried.

§ He lost his sight by the small-pox: but pursued his studies by the aid of others, who read to him. His brother, who was also blind, he supported, and took great pains to instruct and win over to serious religion, but not with all the success he desired: He was a man of good abilities, and noted for an eloquent preacher: and his ministry was much valued and respected. He did not long survive the treatment he met with, in being seized and carried to prison; but was cheerful in all his afflictions. *Palmer's Non-conformist's Memorial*, vol. ii. p. 57, 8. Ed.



A SUPPLEMENT

TO

CHAPTERS III. AND IV.

MR. NEAL has allowed a few pages only, in the two preceding chapters, to the History of the QUAKERS: and they are chiefly spent on the wild extravagancies and sufferings of JAMES NAYLOR. But the lot of this people, while other sectarists breathed a freer air under the protectorship of *Cromwell*, was peculiarly hard and afflictive. The change of government, on his taking the reins, produced no revolution in their favour; but their sufferings continued to increase with the increase of their numbers. The subordinate magistrates were continued in office; and the ecclesiasticks, their former persecutors, retained power to be troublesome to them. The protector has been represented as the friend to religious liberty; and so, in some instances, he certainly shewed himself, but the QUAKERS derived little benefit from his liberal views and regard to the rights of conscience. For, though he himself did not openly disturb them on account of their religious opinions and practices; yet those who acted under his authority grievously persecuted them, and he gave little or no check to their intolerance, although he had the power and was repeatedly and earnestly solicited to do it. The dominant parties had imbibed a spirit of hatred and animosity against this people: and the protector, it is supposed, might be fearful of disobliging them, by animadverting on their oppressive measures: or he might consider the QUAKERS as too contemptible or too pacifick a body to fear any danger from, even under the greatest provocations. §

To give some colour of law to the severities practised against them, pretexts were drawn from supposed violations

§ Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 132, 198.

of

of the regulations of civil policy. “ A christian exhortation
 “ to an assembly, after the priest had done and the worship
 “ was over, was denominated *interrupting* publick worship,
 “ and disturbing *the priest in his office*: an honest testimony
 “ against sin in the streets or markets, was styled *a breach of*
 “ *the peace*: and their appearing before the magistrates co-
 “ vered, *a contempt of authority*: hence proceeded *fines, im-
 “ prisonments, and spoiling of goods*. Nay, so hot for perfe-
 “ cution were some magistrates, that by an unparalleled
 “ misconstruction of the law against vagrants, they tortured
 “ with cruel whippings the bodies of both men and women
 “ of good estate and reputation, merely because they went
 “ under the denomination of *quakers*.”*

In 1656, *Henry Clifton*, only riding through Upwell in Cambridgeshire, after having been carried before two justices, was sent to prison, where he lay a considerable time in the dungeon among condemned felons. *Richard Hubberton* and *Richard Weaver*, travelling from home to pay a friendly visit to *Ann Blakely*, who was, for her open testimony against the sins of the times, imprisoned at Cambridge, were also committed to prison. *Thomas Curtis*, a woollen-draper of Reading, going to Plymouth on business, and from thence to West-Alvington, accompanied by *John Martindale*, they were both cast, as vagrants, into Exeter gaol; and, at the ensuing assizes, brought before the judge, where nothing was laid to their charge. But, for not taking off their hats, they were fined 40l. each for contempt, and for non-payment detained above a year in prison. During this term, *Martindale*, having obtained leave of the jailor to visit a friend at Ilchester, went to a meeting at Colyton; where he, *Humphrey Sprague*, and *Thomas Dyer*, lodging at a friend's house, were apprehended by a warrant, and carried before the justices at the quarter-sessions at Honiton; and, though one of them was but two, and another but five miles from home, were sentenced, as vagrants, to be whipped in the market-place, and sent with a pass from tything to tything; which was accordingly done. *George Whitehead*, a virtuous and learned young man of a reputable family in Westmoreland, preaching at Nayland in Suffolk, April 1657, was

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 139, 140.

sentenced by two justices to be openly whipped, as a vagrant, till his body were *bloody*. The constable, to whom the warrant was given, employed a foolish fellow, void of discretion and feeling, to execute it; who laid on his stripes with unmerciful violence; whereby *Whitehead's* back and breasts were grievously cut, his skin torn, and his blood shed in abundance. But the insensible fool went on, unrestrained by the constable, till his hand was stayed by the cry of the spectators, who, affected with the cruelty, called out to him to stop. *Humphrey Smith* and *Samuel Curtis*, riding together near *Axminster*, *George Bewley*, *John Ellis*, and *Humphrey Sprague*, after a meeting in *Bridport*, were whipt as vagabonds, and sent away with passes. *Joan Edmunds*, wife of *Edward Edmunds*, of *Totness*, about ten miles from home being stopped by a drunken fellow, who took away her horse, on complaining to a justice, was sent to *Exeter goal*, because she had no pass: her horse was ordered to be sold, and part of the money applied to defray the charge of carrying her to prison. Her habitation lying in the direct road, she was taken six miles about, to prevent this injustice being exposed amongst her neighbours, who well knew she was no vagrant.*

Another pretext, on which many of these people suffered, under the form of law, very illegal severities, was that of breaking the sabbath. Their religious zeal, in frequenting their assemblies for publick worship, obliged them to travel to the places, where they were held, sometimes at a considerable distance from their habitations. This was called a breach of the sabbath: and it was punished by impounding their horses, by distress of goods, by fines, by imprisonment, by whipping, and by setting in the stocks.†

If magistrates could be guilty of such unrighteous severities, it is not surprising, that the licentious rabble should attack this people with violence and abuse. In numerous instances and in various places, the houses, in which they held their assemblies for religious worship, were riotously assaulted. Their services were interrupted by hallooing, singing, and railing: the windows were broken by stones and bullets: their persons were buffeted and stoned, their faces and clothes daubed with filth and excrements; some were

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 225—232.

† Ibid. p. 271-2, note.
knocked

knocked down, and others had their teeth beaten out: nor did the tenderness of sex protect the women. The rabble were, too often, led and encouraged by clergymen.

“Many of these abuses,” observes the historian, “being committed on the first day of the week, the day they called their sabbath, with impunity, under a government and by a people who pretended to make it a point to observe it with all the pharisaical strictness, and in many cases beyond the strictness which the mosaical law appointed for observing the seventh day, furnish an occasion to reflect upon the irrational inconsistency of superstition in every shape; by which, I understand an over-zealous attachment to some circumstantials of religion, while the essential part, viz. the inwardly sanctifying power thereof, whereby we are taught to honour God, and love and do good to mankind, is overlooked. These men, it is probable, would have thought it an heinous crime to have been employed on that day in any honest labour, though in itself lawful, and in some sort necessary, and yet shewed no reluctance or compunction in committing unlawful actions, as opposite to good government as religion, in assaulting persons and destroying the property of inoffensive, unresisting neighbours and fellow-citizens with violence and outrage, whose only crime was the applying the day to the best purpose, the assembling to worship their Maker in that way they were persuaded in their consciences was most acceptable to him.”*

So general was the persecution, under which this people suffered, that scarcely one of them, whose travels and services to the society are preserved on record, escaped personal abuse or cruel imprisonment in any quarter of the nation.

George Fox, in 1653, was summoned before the magistrates at Carlisle, and committed to prison till the assizes, as a *blasphemer*, an *heretick*, and a *seducer*. He had exasperated them by his plain-dealing, in endeavouring to shew them, that although they (being *presbyterians* and *independants*) were high in the profession of religion, they were without the profession of what they professed. The ground of his being summoned, was his having exhorted the people to truth and

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 267—271, and the note.

honesty, at the market-cross on a market-day, and having preached to them on the Sunday, after the service was concluded. On which he had been assaulted by rude people in the church, and rescued by the governor. During his confinement the general wish was, *that he was to be hanged*: and the high-sheriff declared, with rancour, that he *would guard him to execution himself*. At the assizes, it was found that the charge of blasphemy could not be made good, and it was concluded not to bring him to trial; and he was left with the magistrates of the town. By whose order he was put among the felons and murderers, in a dungeon, noisome and filthy to the last degree, where men and women were kept together, one of whom was almost eaten up with lice; and the deputy of the jailor would often fall on him and the friends who visited him with a cudgel: while the prisoners, vile as they were, behaved affectionately to him, received his admonitions with deference, and some embraced his doctrine. At length, the parliament having instituted an enquiry concerning his situation, and the governor having remonstrated on it, he was released. In 1654, at Whetstone in Leicestershire, he was brought before colonel *Hacker*, who gave him liberty to go home, if he would *stay there and not to go abroad to meetings*. To this *Fox* replied, “if he
 “should agree thereto, it would imply that he was guilty
 “of something, for which his home was made his prison;
 “and if he went to meeting, they would consider that as a
 “breach of their order; therefore he plainly told them he
 “should go to meeting, and could not answer their requi-
 “rings.” Upon this he was, next day, carried prisoner by captain *Drury* to London. When *Cromwell* was informed of his arrival, he sent to him this message: “That the pro-
 “tector required of *George Fox*, that he should promise not
 “to take up the sword, or any other weapon, against him
 “or the government, as it then was: that he should write it
 “in what words he saw proper, and set his hand to it.” *Fox* returned an answer to this effect; and was afterwards introduced to *Cromwell*, and they had much discourse about religion, in which the protector carried himself with much moderation: and *Fox* had his liberty given him.†

† Gough's History, vol. i. p. 132—136, p. 155-6.

In 1556, *Fox*, accompanied by *William Salt* of London, and *Edward Pyott* of Bristol, travelled through Devonshire into Cornwall, to Market-Jew, where he wrote a paper, containing an exhortation to fear God, and learn of *Christ* the light; which fell into the hands of major *Ceely*, a justice at St. Ives, who committed *Fox* and his companions to Launceston gaol, on the charge of spreading papers to the disturbance of the publick peace, and having no pass, though persons unknown, for travelling up and down, and refusing to take the oath of abjuration and to give sureties for their good behaviour. After nine weeks confinement they were brought to their trial, before judge *Glyn*, at the assizes: here they demanded justice for their false imprisonment; and major *Ceely*, not adhering to the charges in the mittimus, brought up new accusations of a treasonable proposal and an assault: and they were indicted for coming, by force and arms, into a court, into which they were conducted as prisoners. But on no ground could any illegal criminality be proved against them. The judge ordered them to be taken away; and, in their absence, fined them twenty marks apiece for coming into court with their hats on, and commanded that they should be detained in prison till their fines were paid. Seeing no prospect of an immediate release from such a commitment, they discontinued the weekly payment of seven shillings a-piece for themselves and as much for their horses, which the jailor had extorted. Upon this they were turned into a dismal and most noisome dungeon, called Doomsdale, where the excrements of former prisoners had been accumulating for many years. They were not allowed beds or straw to lie on; and, the filthiness of the place not allowing them room to sit down, they were obliged to stand all night. Neither were they permitted to cleanse it, or to have any victuals but what they received, with difficulty, through the grate. This cruel treatment continued till the sessions at Bodmin, when, on a representation of their case to the justices, an order was obtained for opening the door of Doomsdale, and for permission to clean it, and to buy their provisions in the town. About the end of thirty weeks they were discharged by an order from major-general *Desborough*, in consequence of applications made in their favour to *Cromwell*.

During

During this imprisonment one of *Fox's* friends offered himself to the protector to lie in prison, body for body, in his stead: to which proposal *Cromwell* answered, *he could not grant it, being contrary to law*; and turning to some of his council standing by him, asked, which of you would do *as much for me, if I were in the same condition?** The next places, at which we find *Fox*, are Cardiff, Swansea, and Brecknock. He visited these towns in 1657; settled a meeting at Swansea; and, at the latter place, met with rude treatment, and was exposed to danger from the populace, raised and stimulated to riot and tumult by the magistrates.†

Another sufferer amongst the *quakers*, was *Miles Halhead*, one of their first zealous preachers; who, at Skipton and Doncaster, was sorely beaten and bruised by the populace, and left for dead. *Thomas Briggs*, in Lancaster, *Robert Widders* and *William Dewsbury*, in Cumberland, were also severally abused in like manner.‡ *John Cam* and *John Audland* were assaulted at Bristol, to the great risk of their lives, by hundreds of the rabble, instigated by *Farmer*, a clergyman. *William Caton* and *John Stubbs*, besides being haled before the magistrates at Dover, were at Maidstone sent to the house of correction, stripped, and their necks and arms put into the stocks, and so cruelly whipped with cords as to draw tears from the spectators. After this, under the plea that “he that would not work should not eat,” they were kept several days without victuals, only on the allowance of a little water once a day: and soon after were sent out of town, by different ways, with a pass, as vagabonds.‡

At Wymondham in Norfolk, *Richard Hubberthorn* was committed to Bridewell for addressing the congregation after sermon in the parish church: and on the next day, removed to a very incommodious prison, being a poor hole in a cross wall of Norwich-Castle; where he was detained till the sessions. The justices then, waving the original ground of his commitment, charged him with contempt of authority, for appearing before them with his hat on; and under this pretence, recommitted him to prison, where he lay a long time.§

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 210—217.

† Ibid. p. 289.

‡ Ibid. p. 137.

§ Ibid. p. 162, 6, 7.

§ Ibid. p. 169.

The sufferings, in which the members of this society were involved by the sentence of magistrates, were, in many instances, heightened by the severity and injustice of the jailors: *James Lancaster*, *George Whitehead*, and *Christopher Atkinson*, for not complying with the jailor's extravagant demands, were obliged to lie in their clothes on the floor, in the prison at Norwich, for eight weeks in the cold winter of 1654.* At St. Edmundsbury, 1655, the same *Whitehead*, *John Harwood*, *George Rose*, *George Fox* the younger, and *Henry Marshall*, because they refused to gratify the avaricious demands of the jailor for lodgings, and required a free prison, were turned down to the common ward among the felons, in a low dungeon, with a damp earthen floor, where they lay upon rye-straw. In this situation they were exposed to abuse from the prisoners, who frequently took away their food and other necessaries, alledging the jailor's permission: one desperate fellow frequently kicked and smote, and in a drunken fit threatened to kill them; saying, "if he killed them, he should not be hanged for it." After they had been in prison thirty weeks, arrears of dues of fourteen pence a week were demanded from each of them; and on their remonstrating against it, the turnkey was ordered to take away their clothes and boxes, which was done, with a threat to take their coats from off their backs. And for the space of twenty-four weeks, they were obliged to lie upon part of their body-clothes on straw. Some necessaries of linen brought to them by a friend were seized, and the provisions sent to them were examined. Their friends were not admitted in; and, if they attempted to speak to them at the window or door of the gaol, water was frequently thrown on them to drive them away. At length, in consequence of an application to the protector, an enquiry into the treatment they had received was instituted, and the jailor was restrained from exercising, or permitting, the cruel abuse they had hitherto suffered. After an imprisonment from twelve to fifteen months, through repeated applications to *Cromwell*, seconded by the private solicitations of *Mrs. Mary Sanders*, a waiting gentlewoman in his family, an order for their release was obtained, directed to sir *Francis Russel*, a man

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 170.

of moderation and averse from persecution, who immediately caused them to be set at full liberty.|| But the case of *James Parnel*, a native of Retford in Nottinghamshire, who was educated in the schools of literature, in the sixteenth year of his age joined the quakers, and, though a youth, was an affecting preacher and able disputant, and discovered the wisdom and understanding of age and experience, afforded most affecting instances of the severities a cruel jailor could inflict. His constitution was tender, and after ten or eleven months sunk under the multiplied hardships of his imprisonment, about the age of nineteen; the consideration of his youth exciting no commiseration.*

Besides the personal injuries these virtuous people suffered, they were exposed to great depredations in their property, by unreasonable fines and exorbitant distrains, especially on account of tithes: into the detail of which we have not room to descend. Suffice it to say, that in 1659, where 53l. 13s. 6d. only could be demanded, 138l. were exacted.†

To sum up this view of their sufferings, it may be observed, that when a printed account of them was presented to the parliament which the protector convened, it appeared that one hundred and forty of them were then in prison; and of one thousand nine hundred who had suffered in the preceding six years, twenty-one had died in prison, generally by hardship or by violent abuses.§

It is to be remarked, that they supported themselves under severe persecution, with meekness, patience, and fortitude, “as lambs dumb before their shearers:” and there were not wanting instances of their being so borne up by inward consolation and peace, by faith and hope in their afflictions, as frequently to sing praises to God, to the astonishment of the spectators and of their fellow-prisoners.

While they were exposed to hatred, contempt, and abuse from without, brotherly kindness and unfeigned charity increased, and connected them amongst themselves. While each seemed regardless of his own liberty, they were zealous advocates for that of their brethren, and almost incessant in their representations to those in authority of the

|| Gough's History, vol. i. p. 176—180.

* Ibid. p. 180—188.

† Ibid. p. 284.

§ Ibid. p. 274.

sufferings of their friends; going so far in their charity, as to offer themselves freely, person for person, to lie in prison, instead of such as they apprehended were in danger of perishing through the length or extremity of their confinement.†

This mutual and generous attachment was amiable: their moral conduct was regular: and their conscientious regard to fidelity in their commerce begat confidence. They were careful to manufacture or choose such goods as were substantial and would answer the expectations of the purchasers; moderate in their profits; sparing in their commendations; punctual in their payments; they asked no more for their ware than the precise sum they were determined to accept; and they took no advantage of ignorance. So that, under all their sufferings, they prospered, and verified the proverb, that *honesty is the best policy*.‡

It was also a distinguishing trait in the character of this people, that they attached themselves to none of the political parties of the day, nor entered into their ambitious views. It was with them a principle of religion to have no intermeddling with secular factions, and to demean themselves quietly and peaceably under the existing government. When the nation was in great commotion and fluctuation, on the death of *Cromwell*, *George Fox* addressed an exhortation to his friends “to live in love and peace with all men, to keep clear of all the commotions of the world, and not to intermeddle with the powers of the earth, but to let their conversation be in heaven.” He remarked, that “all who pretend to fight for Christ are deceived, for his kingdom is not of this world, and therefore his servants do not fight.” When *George Booth* rose in arms in favour of the exiled monarch, the committee of safety invited the *quakers* to take up arms, offering considerable posts and commands to some of them. But they esteemed war and violence to be inconsistent with pure christianity, and were not to be corrupted by the prospects of preferment and honours.*

Unassisted by any alliance with the state, nay, treated with severity by all the contending powers in their turn, and

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 140, 175, 76.

† Ibid. p. 141.

* Ibid. p. 273, 4, 7.

every

every where pursued with contempt and cruel abuse, they increased, and spread themselves over the kingdom. In the year 1652, meetings of them were settled in many of the central and northern parts of the nation. Their preachers were zealous and active; not intimidated by sufferings, nor wearied by journies and labours. *Francis Howgill* and *Edw. Burroughs*, with *Anthony Pearson*, travelled to London; *John Cam* and *John Audland*, to Bristol; *Richard Hubbert* and *George Whitehead*, to Norwich; and others to other parts. And we find *George Fox* disseminating their principles, and meeting the severest sufferings, in the remotest parts of the kingdom. The evils, which this people endured with singular meekness and patience, had great effect in awakening attention to their preaching, and softening the minds of numbers to the reception of their doctrine. It was justly remarked by *Hugh Peters* to *Oliver Cromwell*, "that he could not give *George Fox* a better opportunity of spreading his principles in Cornwall, than by imprisoning him there."*

The instances of the persecution and sufferings they endured, which we have selected, for we do not pretend to give their history in a minute detail, reflect disgrace on the magistracy of the age: and are a reproach to the administration of justice. But the mayor of Oxford, in the year 1654, deserves to be mentioned as an example of a more equitable and humane disposition. *Elizabeth Heavens* and *Elizabeth Fletcher*, two North-country women, were apprehended and sent to Bocardo, a prison usually appropriated to the reception of felons and murderers, for having exhorted the people, after service, in one of the churches. The mayor being sent for to meet the justices, by whose order they had been committed, to examine the *quakers*, he replied to the message: "Let them who committed them deal with them according to law, for my part I have nothing against them: if they wanted food, money, or clothes, I would willingly supply them." The justices, however, met, attended by *Dr. Owen* the vice-chancellor, who was the principal in examining them; and the sentence passed on them was, that they should be whipped out of the city. This sen-

* Gough's History, p. 217.

tence,

nce, according to the constitution of the town, was not valid without the signature and seal of the mayor: which, he judged it unmerited and unjust, he refused to affix to. But by the order of the vice-chancellor and his coadjutors, it was severely executed without being legalised by his sanction: though the conviction of their innocence affected even the heart of the executioner to that degree, that he performed his office with manifest reluctance.†

Another more remarkable and more publick instance of protection and justice, which this people were so happy as to receive in those times, reflects honour on the name of general *Monk*. On a complaint against some of his soldiers for disturbing their meetings, he issued out this order:

“ St. James’s, March 9, 1659.

“ I Do require all officers and soldiers to forbear to disturb the peaceable meetings of the *quakers*, they doing nothing prejudicial to the parliament or commonwealth of England.
George Monk.”*

I am sensible, that wild flights of rudeness and enthusiasm, and violations of decency, decorum, and order, are imputed to the *quakers* of this period. *Mosheim* stigmatizes them as pernicious fanatics,” and speaks, as it were with approbation, of their being “ severely chastised for their extravagance and folly.” But granting the justness of these imputations, which I conceive, however, are by no means to be admitted in all instances and to their full extent, and will scarcely apply to those cases of suffering which we have related; every equitable and humane mind will feel indignant at seeing folly *illegally* chastised, and enthusiastick extravagancies restrained by acts of *cruelty*. Extravagance and folly

† These women had a few days before, for exhorting the inhabitants and students to repentance, been pumped on by the scholars of St. John’s college, till they were almost suffocated: they were then tied arm to arm, and dragged up and down the college, and through a pool of water: and *Elizabeth Fletcher*, a young woman, was thrown over a grave, whereby she received a contusion on her side from which she never recovered, but soon after died. Yet it does not appear that the magistrates animadverted on this inhuman outrage. Gough’s History, vol. i. p. 147—149.

* Ibid. p. 279.

rank

rank almost with wisdom and virtue, when compared with the injustice and inhumanity of the *MAGISTRATES* from whom the quakers suffered persecution.

Their history during this period, though we have given an abstract only of it, has carried us farther than we intended. But we shall not be long detained by a survey of the situation of the other sectaries at this time.

An act of the Scotch presbytery, March 22, 1652-3, tended to convince the *baptists*, that their principles were not beheld with a favourable eye in that nation: for one of three declarations it then published, was “against the new “Scots dippers.”|| Lying under an odium, and animated by a zeal to propagate what they deemed truth, they properly went on to exhibit, from time to time, a representation and defence of their sentiments, by their publications. In the year 1654, the reverend *William Britten*, who had embraced their opinions, printed a treatise, entitled “The Moderate Baptist; briefly shewing scripture-way for that initiatory sacrament of baptism; together with divers queries, considerations, errors, and mistakes, in and about the work of religion: wherein may appear, that the baptists of our times hold not those strange opinions as many heretofore have done; but as the scriptures are now more clearly understood, so they desire to come nearer to walk by the same light.” In 1656, the *baptist* churches in Somersetshire published a confession of their faith. §

When *Oliver Cromwell* had usurped the government, he discharged at once all the principal officers of his army, upon this among other reasons, that they were all anabaptists.* His intention of discarding them was first communicated to a Scots lord, called *Twidle*, and reached the ears of the *baptists* before it was executed. This occasioned a free and strong remonstrance against the design, written, it is supposed, by an officer, in a pamphlet, entitled “A Short Discovery of his Highness the Lord Protector’s intention touching the *Anabaptists* in the Army, &c. upon which there is

|| Whitlock’s Memorial, p. 528.

§ Crosby’s History of the Baptists, vol. i. p. 254, who has given this confession of faith in the Appendix, No. iii.

* Ibid. vol. ii. p. 5.

“propounded

propounded thirty-five queries for his highness to answer to his own conscience. By a well-wisher to the Anabaptists' prosperity, and the rest of the separates in England." This pamphlet is given at length by *Crosby*.|| It appears from it, that the *baptists* were, at this time, a numerous body. For the writer of it asks the protector, "Have they not filled your towns, your cities, your provinces, your islands, your castles, your navies, your tents, your armies, your court? your very council is not free: only we have left your temples for yourself to worship in them?"

The piece is on the side of toleration and liberty. Amidst the sad scenes of suffering for conscience and persecution which mark this period, it is a comfort to behold some beams of light from the dawn of the day of liberty. The *dependants*, while the *presbyterians* exclaimed that toleration was but an indulgence for foul-murder, were early and zealous advocates for the rights of conscience. Dr. *John Owen*, though, in the case of the women whose sufferings we have mentioned, he did not act up to his principles, was amongst the first of our countrymen who entertained just and liberal notions on this subject, which he had the integrity and resolution to avow and publish, when the times were the least encouraging: and the celebrity of his name, character, and learning, gave weight to his writings. In 1667, when the dissenters were suffering persecution under Charles II. he published two "Pleas for indulgence and toleration." But before this, he had argued very cogently against intolerance, in an Essay for the practice of Church government, and a Discourse of Toleration, which were, probably, first published about the beginning of 1647, when the parliament was arrived in full power and he was in great reputation.* The memorable *John Hale's* celebrated "Tract on Schism" breathed a liberal catholick spirit; and much influence, in advancing the spread of just sentiments on liberty, may be justly ascribed to it.

In the period, of which we are particularly speaking, the persecution of the excellent and pious *Biddle* contributed to expose the evil of intolerance, and brought forth advocates

|| Vol. iii. p. 232—242.

* Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. i. p. 157.

for.

for liberty in several publications to which it gave origin as, "A Narrative of the proceedings against *John Biddle*;" "The true state of the case of Liberty of Conscience in England;" and "The Spirit of Spirit of Persecution again broke loose."†

Mr. *Biddle*'s own publications, though they were chiefly controversial, had the same good tendency; as they led to the discussion of important questions, promoted religious enquiry, and called men to the exercise of the right of private judgment. Two pieces went more directly to elucidate, establish, and disseminate the principles of liberty; namely "A Brief Enquiry touching a better way than is commonly made use of to refute *Papists*, and to reduce *Protestants* to certainty and unity in religion." 1653. And another tract, entitled "A Discourse touching the Peace and Concord of the Church: wherein is elegantly and acutely argued, that not so much a bad opinion as a bad life excludes a christian out of the kingdom of heaven; and that the things necessary to be known for the attainment of salvation are very few and easy: and finally, that those who pass amongst us under the name of hereticks, are notwithstanding to be tolerated." 1653. These were translations, the former of a piece written in Latin by *Joachim Stegman*, a German, and minister of an *unitarian* church, at Clausenbourg, in Saxony; the latter of a treatise, originally composed in Latin, by *Przypcovius*, a popish knight.§ In this connection should be mentioned his translation of the Racovian catechism, drawn up for the use of the *unitarian* churches in Poland; and particularly the preface to it, 1652. This catechism was reported to the parliament, and voted by them to "contain matters that are *blasphemous, erroneous, and scandalous*:" and all the printed copies were ordered to be burnt.||

A piece on the side of liberty, published in 1659, deserving particular notice, was "A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes: shewing that it is not lawful for any power on earth to compel in matters of religion. By

† Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. i. p. 209—215.

§ A Review of the Life, Character, and Writings of *John Biddle*, sect. xi.

|| Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 505.

JOHN MILTON." This manual has been republished, so lately as in 1790, addressed to Dr. *Richard Price*. It is written on the most liberal principles, in the strong and nervous manner of the author.*

It is not possible to say, at this remote period from their appearance, what impresson these publications made. From the nature of truth, and the force of just reasoning, they could not fail to be useful: and though the immediate effect cannot be estimated, we know that the spirit of liberty has been growing and improving ever since that time.

* I am tempted here to quote a passage from this piece. "We read not that Christ ever exercised force but once; and that," says the author, "was to drive profane ones out of his temple, not to force them in." "If by the Apostle, (Rom. xii. 1.) we are beseeched as brethren, by the mercies of God, to present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is our reasonable service or worship; then is no man to be forced, by the compulsive laws of men, to present his body a dead sacrifice, and so, under the gospel, most unholy and unacceptable, because it is his unreasonable service, that is to say, not only unwilling, but unconfessionable."



CHAP. V.

*From the Restoration of King CHARLES II. to the
Conference at the Savoy.*

—1660.—

BEFORE we relate the conference between the episcopal and presbyterian divines in order to a *comprehension*, it will be proper to represent the views of the court, and of the bishops, who had promised to act with temper, and to bury all past offences under the foundation of the restoration. The point in debate was, *Whether concessions should be made, and pains taken to gain the presbyterians?* The king seemed to be for it; but the court bishops, with lord *Clarendon* at their head, were absolutely against it: *Clarendon* was a man of high and arbitrary principles, and gave himself up to the bishops, for the service they had done him in reconciling the king to his daughter's clandestine marriage with the duke of *York*. If his lordship had been a friend to moderate measures, the greatest part of the presbyterians might have been gained; but he would not disoblige the bishops; the reasons of whose angry behaviour were, 1. *Their high notions of the episcopal form of government, as necessary to the very essence of a christian church.* 2. *The resentments that remained in their breasts against all who had engaged with the long parliament, and had been the cause of their sufferings.* 3. *The presbyterians being legally possessed of most of the benefices in church and state, it was thought necessary to dispossess them; and if there must be a schism, rather to have it out of the church than within it; for it had been observed, that the half conformity of the puritans before the war, had, in most cities and corporations, occasioned a faction between the incumbents and lecturers, which latter had endeavoured to render themselves popular at the expence of the hierarchy.* 4. *Besides, they had too much influence in the election of representatives*

presentatives to serve in parliament; therefore instead of using methods to bring them into the church (says bishop Burnes†) they resolved to seek the most effectual ones for casting them out. Here was no generosity, or spirit of catholicism, no remembrance of past services, no compassion for weak or prejudiced minds, but a fixed resolution to disarm their opponents at all events; so that the ensuing conferences with the presbyterians were no other than an amusement to keep them quiet, till they could obtain a law for their utter expulsion.

The king was devoted to his pleasures, and had no principles of *real* religion; his grand design was to lay asleep the former controversies, and to unite both protestant and papist under his government; with this view he submitted to the scheme of the bishops, in hopes of making it subservient to a *general toleration*; which nothing could render more necessary, than having great bodies of men shut out of the church, and put under severe penal laws, who must then be petitioners for a toleration which the legislature would probably grant; but it was his majesty's resolution, that *whatsoever should be granted of that sort should pass in so unlimited a manner, that papists as well as other sectaries should be comprehended within it*. The duke of York and all the Roman catholicks were in this scheme; they declared absolutely against a *comprehension*, but were very much for a *general toleration*, as what was necessary for the peace of the nation, and promoting the catholick cause.

The well-meaning presbyterians were all this while striving against the stream, and making interest with a set of men who were now laughing in their sleeves at the abject condition to which their egregious credulity had reduced them. They offered archbishop *Usher's* model of primitive episcopacy as a plan of accommodation; that the *surplice*, the *cross* in baptism, and *kneeling* at the communion, should be left indifferent. || They were content to set aside the *assembly's confession*, and let the articles of the church of England take place with some few amendments. About the middle of June Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Ashe*, Mr. *Baxter*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Manton*, and Dr. *Spurstow*, waited upon the king, being

† Vol. i. p. 259, 60, 12mo.

|| Kennet's Chron. p. 173.

introduced by the earl of *Manchester*, to crave his majesty's interposition for reconciling the differences in the church; that the people might not be deprived of their faithful pastors: Honest Mr. *Baxter* told his majesty, that the interest of the late usurpers with the people arose from the encouragement they had given religion; and he hoped the king would not undo, but rather go beyond the good which *Cromwell* or any other had done.† They laid a good deal of stress on their own loyalty, and carefully distinguished between their own behaviour and that of other sectaries, who had been disloyal and factious. The king replied, that “he was glad to hear of their
 “inclinations to an agreement; that he would do his part to
 “bring them together, but this must not be by bringing one
 “party over to another, but by abating somewhat on both
 “sides, and meeting in the midway; and that if it were not
 “accomplished it should not be his fault; nay, he said, he
 “was resolved to see it brought to pass.”† Accordingly his majesty required them to draw up such proposals as they thought meet for an agreement about church government, and to set down the most they could yield; promising them a meeting with some episcopal divines in his majesty's presence, when the proposals were ready. Upon this they summoned the city ministers to meet and consult at Sion College, not excluding such of their country brethren as would attend, that it might not be said afterwards they took upon themselves the concluding so weighty an affair.* After two or three weeks consultation they agreed upon a paper to the following purpose, drawn up chiefly by Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Worth*, and Mr. *Calamy*, which, together with archbishop *Usher*'s reduction of episcopacy, they offered to the king, with the following address:

“*May it please your most excellent majesty,*

“WE your majesty's most loyal subjects cannot but
 “acknowledge it as a very great mercy of God, that im-
 “mediately after so wonderful and peaceable restoration to
 “your throne and government (for which we bless his name)
 “he has stirred up your royal heart, as to a zealous testi-

† Kennet's Chron. p. 182.

† Ibid. p. 183.

* Baxter, part ii. p. 232.

“mony against prophaneness, so to endeavour an happy
 “composing of the differences, and healing the sad breaches
 “which are in the church. And we shall, according to our
 “bounded duty, become humble suitors to the throne of
 “grace, that the God of peace, who has put such a thing
 “as this into your majesty’s heart, will, by his heavenly
 “wisdom and holy spirit, assist you herein, that you may
 “bring your resolutions to a perfect effect and issue.—

“In humble conformity to your majesty’s christian designs,
 “we, taking it for granted that there is a firm agreement
 “between our brethren and us in the doctrinal truths of the
 “reformed religion, and in the substantial parts of divine
 “worship, humbly desire,

First, “That we may be secured of those things in prac-
 “tice of which we seem to be agreed in principle; as,

1. “That those of our flocks that are serious in matters
 “of their salvation may not be reproachfully handled by
 “words of scorn, or any abusive language, but may be en-
 “couraged in their duties of exhorting and provoking one
 “another in their most holy faith, and of furthering one
 “another in the ways of eternal life.

2. “That each congregation may have a learned, ortho-
 “dox, and godly pastor, that the people may be publickly
 “instructed by preaching every Lord’s day, by catechising,
 “by frequent administering the Lord’s-supper and baptism;
 “and that effectual provision by law may be made, that such as
 “are insufficient, negligent, or scandalous, may not officiate.

3. “That none may be admitted to the Lord’s supper till
 “they personally own their baptismal covenant by a credible
 “profession of faith and holiness, not contradicted by a scan-
 “dalous life. That to such only *confirmation* may be ad-
 “ministered; and that the approbation of the pastor to
 “whom the instructing those under his charge doth apper-
 “tain, may be produced before any person receives confir-
 “mation.

4. “That an effectual course be taken for the sanctifica-
 “tion of the Lord’s day, appropriating the same to holy
 “exercises both in publick and private, without any unne-
 “cessary divertisements.”

“ Then for matters in difference, viz. church-government,
 “ liturgy, and ceremonies, we humbly represent,

“ That we do not renounce the true ancient primitive
 “ episcopacy or presidency, as it was balanced with a due
 “ commixtion of presbyters. If therefore your majesty, in
 “ your grave wisdom and moderation, shall constitute such
 “ an episcopacy, we shall humbly submit thereunto. And
 “ in order to an accommodation in this weighty affair, we
 “ desire humbly to offer some particulars which we conceive
 “ were amiss in the episcopal government as it was prac-
 “ tised before the year 1640.

1. “ The great extent of the bishop’s diocese, which we
 “ apprehend too large for his personal inspection.

2. “ That by reason of this disability the bishops did de-
 “ pute the administration, in matters of spiritual cognizance,
 “ to commissaries, chancellors, officials, whereof some are se-
 “ cular persons, and could not administer that power that
 “ originally belongs to the officers of the church.

3. “ That the bishops did assume the sole power of ordi-
 “ nation and jurisdiction to themselves.

4. “ That some of the bishops exercised an arbitrary
 “ power, by sending forth articles of visitation, enquiring
 “ unwarrantably into several things; and swearing church-
 “ wardens to present accordingly. Also many innovations
 “ and ceremonies were imposed upon ministers and people
 “ not required by law.

“ For remedy of these evils we crave leave to offer,

1. “ The late most reverend primate of Ireland, his re-
 “ duction of episcopacy into the form of synodical govern-
 “ ment.

2. “ We humbly desire, that the *suffragans*, or *chorepif-*
 “ *copi*, may be chosen by the respective synods.

3. “ That no oaths, or promises of obedience to the
 “ bishops, nor any unnecessary subscriptions or engagements,
 “ be made necessary to ordination, institution, or induction,
 “ ministration, communion, or immunities of ministers, they
 “ being responsible for any transgression of the law. And
 “ that no bishops or ecclesiastical governors may exercise
 “ their government by their private will or pleasure, but
 “ only by such rules, canons, and constitutions, as shall be
 “ established by parliament. Secondly,

Secondly, "Concerning Liturgy.

1. "We are satisfied in our judgments concerning the
"lawfulness of a liturgy, or form of worship, provided it
"be for matter agreeable to the word of God, and suited to
"the nature of the several ordinances and necessities of the
"church, neither too tedious, nor composed of too short
"prayers or responsals, not dissonant from the liturgies of
"other reformed churches, nor too rigorously imposed, nor
"the minister confined thereunto, but that he may also
"make use of his gifts for prayer and exhortation.

2. "Forasmuch as the book of common-prayer is in some
"things justly offensive, and needs amendment, we most
"humbly pray, that some learned, godly, and moderate di-
"vines of both persuasions, may be employed to compile
"such a form as is before described, as much as may be in
"scripture words; or at least to revise, and reform the old;
"together with an addition of other various forms in scrip-
"ture phrase, to be used at the minister's choice."

Thirdly, "Concerning Ceremonies.

"We hold ourselves obliged, in every part of divine wor-
"ship, to do all things decently and in order, and to edifi-
"cation; and are willing to be determined by authority in
"such things as being merely circumstantial, or common to
"human actions and societies, are to be ordered by the
"light of nature, and human prudence.

"As to divers ceremonies formerly retained in the church
"of England, we do, in all humility, offer to your majesty
"the following considerations:

"That the worship of God is in itself pure and perfect,
"and decent, without any such ceremonies. That it is then
"most pure and acceptable when it has least of human mix-
"tures. That these ceremonies have been imposed and ad-
"vanced by some, so as to draw near to the significancy
"and moral efficacy of sacraments. That they have been
"rejected by many of the reformed churches abroad, and
"have been ever the subject of contention and endless dis-
"putes in this church; and therefore being in their own
"nature indifferent, and mutable, they ought to be changed,
"lest in time they should be apprehended as necessary as
"the substantials of worship themselves. "May

“ May it therefore please your majesty graciously to grant,
 “ that *kneeling at the Lord’s supper*, and such *holy-days* as
 “ are but of human institution, may not be imposed on such
 “ as scruple them. That the *use of the surplice and cross in*
 “ *baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus*, may be abolished.
 “ And forasmuch as erecting altars and bowing towards
 “ them, and such like, (having no foundation in the law of
 “ the land) have been introduced and imposed, we humbly
 “ beseech your majesty, that such innovations may not be
 “ used or imposed for the future.”

When the presbyterian divines came to court with these proposals, the king received them favourably, and promised to bring both parties together. His majesty expressed a satisfaction in hearing they were disposed to a liturgy, and forms of prayer, and that they were willing to yield to the essence of episcopacy, and therefore doubted not of procuring an accommodation. The ministers expected to have met the bishops with their papers of proposals, but none of them appeared, having been better instructed in a private conference with the lord chancellor *Hyde*, who told them, it was not their business to offer proposals, because *they were in possession of the laws of the land*; that the *hierarchy and service book*, being the only legal establishment, ought to be the standard of agreement; and therefore their only concern was to answer the exceptions of the ministers against it. Accordingly, instead of a conference, or paper of proposals, which the ministers expected, the bishops, having obtained a copy of the paper of the presbyterians, drew up an answer in writing, which was communicated to their ministers, July 8.

In this answer, the bishops take notice of the ministers’ concessions in their preamble, as *that they agree with them in the substantials of doctrine and worship*; and infer from thence, that their particular exceptions are of less importance, and ought not to be stily insisted on to the disturbance of the peace of the church.*

To the particulars they answer,

1. *Concerning church-government*, “ That they never heard
 “ any just reasons for a dissent from the ecclesiastical hie-

* Kennet’s Chron. p. 200. Baxter’s Life, part ii. p. 242. rarchy

“ rarchy of this kingdom, which they believe in the main to
 “ be the true *primitive episcopacy*, which was more than a
 “ meer presidency of order. Nor do they find that it was
 “ balanced by an authoritative commixtion of presbyters,
 “ though it has been in all times exercised with the assistance
 “ and counsel of presbyters in subordination to bishops.
 “ They wonder that they should except against the govern-
 “ ment by one single person, which, if applied to the civil
 “ magistrate, is a most dangerous insinuation.”*

As to the four particular instances of things amiss.

1. “ We cannot grant the extent of any diocese is so
 “ great, but that a *bishop* may well perform his duty, which
 “ is not a personal inspection of every man’s soul, but the
 “ pastoral charge, or taking care that the ministers, and
 “ other ecclesiastical officers within their diocese, do their
 “ duties; and if some dioceses should be too large, the law
 “ allows *suffragans*.

2. “ Concerning *lay-chancellors*, &c. we confess the bi-
 “ shops did depute part of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction to
 “ *chancellors, commissaries, officials*, &c. as men better skilled
 “ in the civil and canon laws; but as for matters of mere
 “ spiritual concernment, as *excommunication, absolution*, and
 “ other censures of the church, we conceive they belong
 “ properly to the bishop himself, or his surrogate, wherein,
 “ if any thing has been done amiss, we are willing it should
 “ be reformed.

3. “ Whether *bishops* are a distinct order from *presbyters*,
 “ or not? or, whether they have the sole power of ordi-
 “ nation, is not now the question; but we affirm, that the
 “ bishops of this realm have constantly ordained with the
 “ assistance of presbyters, and the imposition of their hands
 “ together with the bishops, and for this purpose the colleges
 “ of deans and chapters are instituted.

4. “ As to archbishop *Usher*’s model of church-govern-
 “ ment, we decline it, as not consistent with his other learned
 “ discourses on the original of episcopacy, and of metro-
 “ politans; nor with the king’s supremacy in causes eccle-
 “ siastical.”

* Baxter, p. 243.

II. *Concerning Liturgy.*

“ We esteem the liturgy of the church of England, contained in the book of common-prayer, and by law established, to be such an one as is by them desired, according to the qualifications which they mention; the disuse of which has been the cause of the sad divisions of the church, and the restoring it may be, by God’s blessing, a special means of making up the breach. Nor can the imposition of it be called rigorous, as long as clergymen have the liberty of using their gifts before and after sermon. Nevertheless we are not against revising the liturgy by such discreet persons as his majesty shall think fit to employ therein.

III. *Of Ceremonies.*

“ Lawful authority has already determined the *ceremonies in question* to be decent and orderly, and for edification, and consequently to be agreeable to the general rules of the word. We allow the worship of God is in itself perfect in essentials, but still the church is at liberty to improve it with circumstantialia for decency and order. Ceremonies were never esteemed to be *sacraments*, nor imposed as such; they are retained by most protestant churches; and that they have been the subject of contention is owing to men’s weakness, and their unwillingness to submit their private opinions to the publick judgment of the church. We acknowledge, that these things are in their nature mutable, but we can by no means think it expedient to remove them. However, as we are no way against such a tender and religious compassion in things of this nature, as his majesty’s piety and wisdom shall think fit to extend; so we cannot think that the satisfaction of some private persons is to be laid in the balance against the publick peace and uniformity of the church.

“ As for *kneeling at the Lord’s supper*, it is a gesture of the greatest reverence and devotion, and so most agreeable to that holy service.

“ *Holy-days* of human institution having been observed by the people of God in the Old Testament, and by our blessed Saviour himself in the gospel, and by all the churches

“ churches of Christ in the primitive and following times,
 “ as apt means to preserve the memorials of the chief my-
 “ steries of the christian religion: And such *holy-days* also
 “ being fit times for the honest recreation of the meaner
 “ sort of people; for these reasons we humbly desire they
 “ may be continued in the church.

“ As for the three other ceremonies, the *surplice*, the *cross*
 “ *after baptism*, and *bowing at the name of Jesus*, though we
 “ see not any sufficient reason why they should be utterly
 “ abolished, nevertheless, how far forth, in regard of tender
 “ consciences, a liberty may be thought fit to be indulged to
 “ any, his majesty is best able to judge.

They conclude thus: “ We are so far from believing that
 “ his majesty’s condescending to the ministers demands will
 “ take away not only our differences, but the roots and causes
 “ of them, that we are confident it will prove the seminary
 “ of new differences, both by giving dissatisfaction to those
 “ that are well pleased with what is already established, who
 “ are much the greatest part of his majesty’s subjects; and
 “ by encouraging unquiet spirits, when these things shall be
 “ granted, to make further demands; there being no assu-
 “ rance by them given, what will content all dissenters, than
 “ which nothing is more necessary for settling a firm peace
 “ in the church.”

About a week after, the presbyterian divines sent the
 bishops a warm remonstrance, and defence of their proposals,
 drawn up chiefly by Mr. *Baxter*, to the following purpose:

Concerning the preamble.

“ We are not insensible of the danger of the church,
 “ through the doctrinal errors of those with whom we differ
 “ about points of government and worship; but we choose
 “ to say nothing of the party that we are agreed with in
 “ doctrinals, because we both subscribe the same holy scrip-
 “ tures, articles of religion, and books of homilies; and
 “ the contradictions to their own confessions, which too
 “ many are guilty of, we did not think just to charge upon
 “ the *whole*.”*

* Kennet’s Chron. p. 205. Baxter, part ii. p. 248.

Concerning Church-government.

“ Had you read *Gerson, Bucer, Parker, Baynes, Salmasius,*
 “ *Blondel, &c.* you would have seen just reason given for
 “ our dissent from the ecclesiastical hierarchy, as stated in
 “ England.”

Instances of things amiss.

“ You would easily grant that *dioceses* are too great, if
 “ you had ever conscionably tried the task which Dr. *Ham-*
 “ *mond* describeth as the bishop’s work; or had ever be-
 “ lieved *Ignatius*, and other antient descriptions of a bishop’s
 “ church. You cannot be ignorant, that our bishops have
 “ the sole government of pastors and people; that the whole
 “ power of the keys is in their hands, and that their pres-
 “ byters are but cyphers.”

Concerning Ceremonies.

“ These divines argue for leaving them indifferent for the
 “ peace of the church, as being not essential to the perfec-
 “ tion of christian worship, especially when so many looked
 “ upon them as sinful.”

They conclude thus: “ We perceive your *counsels against*
 “ *peace* are not likely to be frustrated. Your desires con-
 “ cerning us are likely to be accomplished. You are like
 “ to be gratified with our silence and ejection; and yet we
 “ will believe, that *Blessed are the peace-makers*; and though
 “ we are prevented by you in our pursuits of peace, and
 “ are never like thus publicly to seek it more, yet are we
 “ resolved, as much as possible, to live peaceably with all
 “ men.”

The eyes of the presbyterians were now opened, and they began to discern their weakness in expecting an agreement with the bishops, who appeared to be exasperated, and determined to tie them down to the old establishment. The former severities began already to be revived, and the laws were put in execution against some who did not make use of the old *liturgy*. Many were suspended and turned out of their livings on this account; upon which the leading presbyterians applied to the king, and humbly requested,

I. “ That

1. "That they might with all convenient speed, see his majesty's conclusions upon the proposals of mutual concessions, before they pass into resolves.

2. "That his majesty would publickly declare his pleasure for the suspension of all proceedings upon the act of uniformity, against non-conformists to the liturgy and ceremonies, till they saw the issue of their hoped-for agreement.

3. "That until the said settlement, there may be no oath of canonical obedience, nor subscription to the liturgy and ceremonies required, nor renunciation of their ordination by meer presbyters, imposed as necessary to institution, induction or confirmation.

4. "That his majesty would cause the broad seal to be revoked, where persons had been put into the possession of the livings of others not void by sequestration, but by the death of the former incumbents.

5. "That a remedy may be provided against the return of scandalous ministers, into the places from whence they had been ejected."†

His majesty gave them a civil audience, and told them he would put what he thought fit to grant them into the form of a *declaration*, which they should have the liberty of perusing, before it was made publick. A copy of this was accordingly delivered by the chancellor to Mr. *Baxter*, and other presbyterian divines, Sept. 4, with liberty to make exceptions, and give notice of what they disliked.‡ These divines petitioned for some further amendments and alterations; upon which the king appointed a day to hear what could be said on both sides, and came to the chancellor's house, Oct. 22, attended by the dukes of *Albemarle* and *Ormond*, the earls of *Manchester*, *Anglesea*, and lord *Hollis*.

On the part of the bishops were,

Dr. <i>Sheldon</i> ,	bishop of London
Dr. <i>Morley</i> ,	Worcester
Dr. <i>Henchman</i> ,	Salisbury
Dr. <i>Cosins</i> ,	Durham

† *Baxter's Life*, part ii. p. 241.

‡ *Kennet's Chron.* p. 246. *Baxter's Life*, part ii. p. 275, 276.

Dr. *Gauden*, bishop of Exeter
 Dr. *Hacket*, Litchf. and Coventry
 Dr. *Barwick*, dean of St. Paul's;—Dr. *Gunning*, &c.

On the side of the presbyterians were,

Dr. <i>Reynolds</i>	Mr. <i>Ashe</i>	Mr. <i>Baxter</i>
Mr. <i>Calamy</i>	Dr. <i>Manton</i>	Dr. <i>Wallis</i>
Dr. <i>Spurstow</i>		

As the chancellor read over the declaration, each party were to alledge their exceptions, and the king to determine. The chief debates were on the high power of the bishops, and the necessity of re-ordination. Bishop *Morley* and Dr. *Gunning* spoke most on one side; and Mr. *Calamy* and *Baxter* on the other.* Upon hearing the whole, his majesty delivered his judgment as to what he thought proper should stand in the *declaration*; and appointed bishop *Morley* and *Henchman*, Dr. *Reynolds* and Mr. *Calamy* to express it in proper words; and if they disagreed, the earl of *Anglesea* and lord *Hollis* to decide.

At length the declaration, with such amendments as the king would admit, was published under the following title:

His majesty's declaration to all his loving subjects of his kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, concerning ecclesiastical affairs. Given at our court at Whitehall, Oct. 25, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

The declaration being long,† and to be met with in most of our historians, I shall give the reader only an abstract of it.

“ CHARLES REX.

“ IN our letter from Breda we promised in due time
 “ to propose something to the world for the propagation of
 “ the protestant religion; and we think ourself more com-
 “ petent to propose, and with God's assistance determine
 “ many things now in difference, from the experience we

* *Baxter's Life*, part ii. p. 278.

† This declaration was drawn up by lord chancellor *Hyde*: but many of the evasive clauses were suggested by some of the king's more secret advisers. *Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II.* vol. i. p. 93. Ed.

“ have

“ have had in most of the reformed churches abroad, where
 “ we have had frequent conferences with the most learned
 “ men, who have unanimously lamented the distempers, and
 “ too notorious schisms in matters of religion in England.

“ When we were in Holland we were attended by many
 “ grave and learned ministers from hence of the presbyterian
 “ opinion, and to our great satisfaction we found them full
 “ of affection to us, no enemies to episcopacy or liturgy (as
 “ they have been reported to be) but modestly desiring such
 “ alterations as, without shattering foundations, might give
 “ ease to the tenderness of some men’s consciences. For the
 “ doing of this we intended to have called a synod of divines,
 “ but observing the over-passionate and turbulent way of
 “ proceeding of some persons, and the impatience of others
 “ for a speedy determination of these matters, we have been
 “ prevailed with to invert the method we proposed, and to
 “ give some determination ourself to the matters in difference,
 “ till such a synod may be called as may, without passion or
 “ prejudice, give us such further assistance towards a perfect
 “ union of affections, as well as submission to authority, as
 “ is necessary.

“ We must, for the honour of all with whom we have
 “ conferred, declare, that the professions and desires of all
 “ for the advancement of piety and true godliness are the
 “ same; their professions of zeal for the peace of the church,
 “ and of affection and duty to us, the same; they all ap-
 “ prove episcopacy and a liturgy, and disapprove of sacri-
 “ lege, and the alienation of the revenues of the church.”*

His majesty then declares his esteem and affection for the
 church of England, and that his esteem of it is not lessened
 by his condescending to dispense with some particular cere-
 monies, and then proceeds to his concessions.

I. “ We declare our purpose and resolution is, and shall
 “ be, to promote the power of godliness, to encourage the
 “ publick and private exercises of religion, to take care of
 “ the due observation of the Lord’s day; and that insuffi-
 “ cient, negligent, and scandalous ministers be not permitted
 “ in the church. We shall take care to prefer none to the
 “ episcopal office and charge but men of learning, virtue,

* Comp. Hist. vol. iii. p. 246. Baxter’s Life, part ii. p. 259.

|| Kennet’s Chron. p. 289.

“ and

“ and piety; and we shall provide the best we can, that the
“ bishops be frequent preachers, and that they do often
“ preach in some church or other of their diocese.

2. “ Because some dioceses may be of too large extent,
“ we will appoint such a number of suffragans as shall be
“ sufficient for the due performance of their work.

3. “ No bishops shall ordain or exercise any part of jurisdic-
“ tion which appertains to the censures of the church, with-
“ out advice and assistance of the presbyters. No chancellors,
“ commissaries, or officials, shall excommunicate, absolve, or
“ exercise any act of spiritual jurisdiction, wherein any of the
“ ministry are concerned with reference to their pastoral
“ charge. Nor shall the archdeacon exercise any jurisdiction
“ without the advice and assistance of six ministers of his arch-
“ deaconry; three to be nominated by the bishop, and three
“ by the suffrage of the presbyters within the archdeaconry.

4. “ We will take care, that the preferment of *deans* and
“ *chapters* shall be given to the most learned and pious pres-
“ byters of the diocese, and that an equal number (to those
“ of the chapter) of the most learned and pious presbyters
“ of the same diocese, annually chosen by the major vote of
“ all the presbyters of that diocese present at such elections,
“ shall be always advising and assisting, together with those
“ of the chapter, in all ordinations, at all church-censures,
“ and other important acts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction wherein
“ any of the ministry are concerned. Provided that at all
“ such meetings, the number of ministers so elected, and
“ those of the *chapter* present, be equal; and to make the
“ numbers equal, the juniors of the exceeding number shall
“ withdraw to make way for the more antient. Nor shall
“ any suffragan bishop ordain, or exercise any jurisdiction,
“ without the advice and assistance of a sufficient number of
“ presbyters annually chosen as before. And our will is,
“ that ordination be constantly and solemnly performed by
“ the bishop and his aforesaid presbytery at the four set times
“ appointed by the church for that purpose.

5. “ *Confirmation* shall be rightly and solemnly performed,
“ by the information and with the consent of the minister
“ of the place, who shall admit none to the Lord's supper,
“ till they have made a credible profession of their faith,
“ and

“ and promised obedience to the will of God, according to
“ the rubrick before the catechism; and all diligence shall be
“ used for the instruction and reformation of scandalous of-
“ fenders, whom the minister shall not suffer to partake of
“ the Lord’s supper till they have openly declared their re-
“ pentance, and resolutions of amendment; provided there
“ be place for appeals to superior powers. Every *rural*
“ *dean* (to be nominated by the bishop as heretofore) with
“ three or four ministers of that deanery chosen by the ma-
“ jor part of all the ministers within the same, shall meet
“ once a month to receive complaints from the ministers or
“ churchwardens of parishes, and to compose such diffe-
“ rences as shall be referred to them for arbitration, and to
“ reform such things as are amiss, by their pastoral reproofs
“ and admonitions, and what they cannot reform are to be
“ presented to the bishop. Moreover, the *rural dean* and
“ his assistants are to take care of the catechising children
“ and youth, and that they can give a good account of their
“ faith before they are brought to the bishop to be confirmed.

6. “ No bishop shall exercise any arbitrary power, or im-
“ pose any thing upon his clergy or people, but according
“ to the law of the land.

7. “ We will appoint an equal number of divines of both
“ persuasions to review the liturgy of the church of England,
“ and to make such alterations as shall be thought necessary;
“ and some additional forms in the scripture phrase, as near
“ as may be, suited to the nature of the several parts of
“ worship, and that it be left to the minister’s choice to use
“ one or the other at his discretion. In the mean time, we
“ desire that the ministers in their several churches will not
“ wholly lay aside the use of the common-prayer, but will
“ read those parts of it against which they have no excep-
“ tion; yet our will and pleasure is, that none be punished
“ or troubled for not using it till it be reviewed and effec-
“ tually reformed.

8. *Lastly*, “ Concerning *ceremonies*, if any are practised
“ contrary to law, the same shall cease. Every national
“ church has a power to appoint ceremonies for its members,
“ which, though before they were indifferent, yet cease to
“ be so when established by law. We are therefore content

“ to

“to indulge tender consciences, so far as to dispense with
 “their using such ceremonies as are an offence to them, but
 “not to abolish them. We declare therefore, that none
 “shall be compelled to receive the sacrament *kneeling*, nor
 “to use the *cross in baptism*, nor to *bow* at the name of *Jesus*,
 “nor to use the *surplice*, except in the royal chapel, and in
 “cathedral and collegiate churches. Nor shall subscription,
 “nor the oath of canonical obedience, be required at *present*,
 “in order to ordination, institution, or induction, but only
 “the taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; nor
 “shall any lose their academical degrees, or forfeit a presen-
 “tation, or be deprived of a benefice, for not declaring his
 “assent to all the thirty-nine articles, provided he read and
 “declare his assent to all the doctrinal articles, and to the
 “sacraments. And *we do again renew our declaration from*
 “*Breda, that no man shall be disquieted or called in question*
 “*for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do*
 “*not disturb the peace of the kingdom.*

His majesty concludes, “with conjuring all his loving
 “subjects, to acquiesce and submit to this declaration, con-
 “cerning the differences that have so much disquieted the
 “nation at home, and given offence to the protestant churches abroad.”

Though this declaration did not satisfy all the *ministers*, yet the greatest numbers were content; but because it proceeded upon the plan of *diocesan episcopacy*, which they had covenanted against, others were extremely uneasy; some ventured upon a second address to the king, in which they renew their requests for archbishop *Usher's* scheme of primitive episcopacy, as most agreeable to scripture; most conducive to good discipline, and as that which would save the nation from the violation of the *solemn league and covenant*, which, whether it were lawfully imposed or no, they conceive now to be binding.

Concerning the preamble of his majesty's declaration they tender these requests:

1. “That as they are persuaded it is not in his majesty's
 “thoughts to intimate that they are guilty of the offences
 “therein mentioned, they hope it will be a motive to hasten
 “the union.

2. “Though

2. " Though they detest sacrilege, yet they will not determine, whether in some cases of superfluities of revenues, and the necessity of the church, there may not be an alienation, which is no sacrilege.

3. " His majesty having acknowledged their moderation, they still hope they may be received into the settlement, and continue their stations in the church.

4. " Since his majesty has declared, that the essence of episcopacy may be preserved, though the extent of the jurisdiction be altered, they hope his majesty will consent to such an alteration as may satisfy their consciences."

They then renew their requests for promoting of piety; of a religious and diligent ministry; of the requisites of church communion; and for the observation of the sabbath. They complain that parish discipline is not sufficiently granted in his majesty's declaration, that inferior synods are passed by, and that the bishop is not *episcopus præses*, but *episcopus princeps*, endued with sole power of ordination and jurisdiction. They therefore pray again, that archbishop *Usher*'s form of church-government may be established, at least in these three points:

1. " That the pastors of parishes may be allowed to preach, catechise, and deny the communion of the church to the impenitent, scandalous, or such as do not make a credible profession of faith and obedience to the commands of Christ.

2. " That the pastors of each rural deanery may meet once a month, to receive presentments and appeals, to admonish offenders, and after due patience to proceed to excommunication.

3. " That a diocesan synod of the delegates of rural synods may be called as often as need requires; that the bishop may not ordain or exercise spiritual censures without the consent of the majority; and that neither *chancellors*, *archdeacons*, *commissaries*, nor *officials*, may pass censures purely spiritual; but for the exercise of civil government, coercively by mulcts, or corporal penalties, by

* Hist. of the Nonconf. p. 14. Baxter, part ii. p. 268.

“ power derived from your majesty, as supreme over all
 “ persons and things ecclesiastical, we presume not at all to
 “ interpose.”

“ As to the Liturgy.

“ They rejoice that his majesty has declared, that none
 “ should suffer for not using the common-prayer and cere-
 “ monies; but then it grieves us (say they) to hear that it
 “ is given in charge to the judges at the assizes, to indict
 “ men upon the act of uniformity for not using the common-
 “ prayer. That it is not only some obsolete words and
 “ phrases that are offensive, but that other things need
 “ amendment; therefore we pray, that none may be punish-
 “ ed for not using the book, till it be reformed by the con-
 “ sent of divines of both parties.”

“ Concerning Ceremonies.

“ They thank his majesty for his gracious concessions,
 “ but pray him to leave out of his declaration these words,
 “ *That we do not believe the practice of the particular cere-*
 “ *monies excepted against unlawful*, because we are not all
 “ of that opinion; but we desire, that there may be no law
 “ nor canon for, or against them, (being allowed by our
 “ opponents as indifferent) as there is no canon against any
 “ particular gesture in singing psalms, and yet there is an
 “ uninterrupted unity.”

“ For particular Ceremonies.

1. “ We humbly crave, that there may be liberty to re-
 “ ceive the Lord’s supper either *kneeling, standing, or sitting*.
 “ 2. That the observation of holy days of human institu-
 “ tion may be left indifferent. 3. We thank your majesty
 “ for liberty as to the *cross in baptism, the surplice, and*
 “ *bowing at the name of Jesus*; but we pray, that this liberty
 “ may extend to colleges and cathedrals for the benefit of
 “ youth as well as elder persons, and that the canons which
 “ impose these ceremonies may be repealed.

“ We thank your majesty for your gracious concession
 “ of the forbearance of subscription; though we do not
 “ dissent from the doctrinal articles of the church of Eng-
 “ land

“land; nor do we scruple the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, nor would we have the door left open for papists and hereticks to come in.

“But we take the liberty to represent to your majesty, that, notwithstanding your gracious concessions, our ministers cannot procure *institution* without renouncing their *ordination by presbyters*, or being *re-ordained*, nor without subscription and the oaths of canonical obedience. And we are apprehensive that your majesty’s indulgence does not extend to the abatement of re-ordination, or subscription, or the oath of canonical obedience. We therefore earnestly crave, that your majesty will declare your pleasure, 1. That ordination, and institution, and induction, may be conferred without the said subscription and oath. 2. That none may be urged to be re-ordained, or denied institution for want of ordination by prelates, that have been ordained by presbyters. 3. That none may forfeit their presentation or benefice for not reading those articles of the thirty-nine that relate to government and ceremonies.”

However, if the king’s declaration, without any amendments, had passed into a law, it would have prevented in a great measure the separation that followed; but neither the court nor ministry intended it, if they could stand their ground upon the foot of the old establishment. A reverend prelate of the church of England confesses, “that this declaration has in it a spirit of true wisdom and charity above any one publick confession that was ever made in matters of religion. It shews the admirable temper and prudence of the king and his council in that tender juncture of affairs; it proves the charity and moderation of the suffering bishops, in thinking such concessions just and reasonable for peace and unity; and it shews a disposition in the other party to have accepted the terms of union consistent with our episcopacy and liturgy. It condemns the unhappy ferment that soon after followed for want of this temper; and it may stand for a pattern to posterity, whenever they are disposed, to restore the discipline, and heal the breaches of the church.” Another conformist

writer adds, "If ever a divine sentence was in the mouth of
 "any king, and his mouth erred not in judgment; I verily
 "believe it was thus with our present majesty when he com-
 "posed that admirable declaration, which next to holy scrip-
 "ture I adore, and think that the united judgment of the
 "whole nation cannot frame a better or a more unexcep-
 "tionable expedient, for a firm and lasting concord of these
 "distracted churches."

The presbyterians about London were so far pleased, that they drew up the following address of thanks, in the name of the city ministers, and presented it to the king Nov. 16, by the hands of the reverend Mr. *Samuel Clarke*.

"*Most dread sovereign!*

"WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects,
 "ministers of the gospel in your city of London, having
 "perused your majesty's late declaration, and finding it so
 "full of indulgence and gracious condescension, we cannot
 "but judge ourselves highly obliged first to render our un-
 "feigned thanks to God, and next our most humble and
 "heartly acknowledgments to your majesty, that we may
 "testify to your royal self, and all the world, our just resent-
 "ments of your majesty's great goodness and clemency
 "therein expressed."*

The address then recites the several condescensions of his majesty in the declaration, and concludes thus, "We crave
 "leave to profess, that though all things in this frame of
 "government be not exactly suited to our judgments, yet
 "your majesty's moderation has so great an influence on us,
 "that we shall to our utmost endeavour the healing of the
 "breaches, and promoting the peace and union of the
 "church.—We would beg of your majesty, with all humi-
 "lity upon our knees, that *re-ordination*, and the *surplice*
 "in colleges, might not be imposed; and we hope God will
 "incline your majesty's heart to gratify us in these our de-
 "sires also." Signed by

Samuel Clark

William Cooper

Thomas Case

Jo. Gibbon

William Whitaker

Thomas Jacomb

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 279, 284. Kennet's Chron. p. 311.

*Jo. Rawlinson**Thomas Lye**Jo. Sheffield**John Jackson**Thomas Gouge**John Meriton**Gab. Sanger**William Bates**El. Pledger*

With many others.

Matth. Pool

The king having received the address, returned this answer, *Gentlemen, I will endeavour to give you all satisfaction, and to make you as happy as myself.**

Upon the terms of this declaration *Dr. Reynolds* accepted of the bishoprick of Norwich; *Mr. Baxter* was offered the bishoprick of Hereford, but refused upon other reasons; and *Mr. Calamy* declined the bishoprick of Litchfield and Coventry, till the king's declaration should be passed into a law. *Dr. Manton*, having been presented to the living of Covent-Garden by the earl of *Bedford*, accepted it upon the terms of the declaration, and received episcopal institution from *Dr. Sheldon* bishop of London, January 10, 1660-61. *Having first subscribed the doctrinal articles of the church of England only, and taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and of canonical obedience in all things lawful and honest.* The doctor was also content that the common-prayer should be read in his church. *Dr. Bates* was offered the deanery of Litchfield: *Dr. Manton* the deanery of Rochester; and *Mr. Bowles* that of York; but finding how things were going at court, after some time, they refused.

The lords and commons, upon reading the *king's declaration*, agreed to wait upon his majesty in a body, and return him thanks; and the commons ordered a bill into their house to pass it into a law; but when the bill had been read the first time, the question being put for a second reading, it passed in the negative; one of the secretaries of state opposing it, which was a sufficient indication (says *Dr. Bates*) of the king and court's aversion to it. *Sir Matthew Hale*, who was zealous for the declaration, at that very juncture was taken out of the house of commons, and made lord chief baron of the Exchequer, that he might not oppose the resolutions of the ministry. Strange! that an house of com-

* Kennet's Chron. p. 315.

§ Ibid. 358.

mons, which on the 9th of November had given the king thanks for his declaration by their speaker *nem. contradicente*, should on the 28th of the same month reject it before a second reading. This blasted all the expectations of the presbyterian clergy at once. It was now apparent that the court did not design *the declaration* should be carried into execution, but only serve as a temporary expedient to keep them quiet, till the church should be in circumstances to bid them defiance. While the *diocesan doctors* were at Breda (says Mr. Baxter||) they did not dream that their way to the highest grandeur was so fair; then they would have been glad of the terms of the declaration of Breda; when they came in they proceeded by slow degrees, that they might feel the ground under them; for this purpose they proposed the *declaration*, which being but a temporary provision must give place to laws, but when they found the parliament and populace ripe for any thing they should propose, they dropt the declaration, and all further thoughts of accommodation.

The court and bishops were now at ease, and went on briskly with restoring all things to the old standard; the doctrines of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance* were revived; men of the highest principles, and most inveterate resentments, were preferred to bishopricks, by which they were more than compensated for their sufferings, by the large sums of money they raised on the renewal of leases,* which after so long an interval were almost all expired; but what a sad use they made of their riches, I choose rather to relate in the words of bishop *Burnet* than my own. “What
“the bishops did with their great fines was a pattern to all
“their lower dignitaries, who generally took more care of
“themselves than of the church; the men of service were
“loaded with many livings, and many dignities. With this

|| Life, p. 287.

* The terms on which these leases were renewed, were high and oppressive; and the bishops incurred the severe censure of the presbyterian ministers, and raised against themselves the clamour of the subordinate and dependant clergy. The fines raised by renewing the leases amounted to a million and half. In some fees they produced forty or fifty thousand pounds, which were applied to the enriching the bishops' families. Secret History of the Court and Reign of King Charles II. vol. i. p. 350-54, and Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 271, 12mo. Ed.

“accession

“ accession of wealth, there broke in upon the church a
 “ great deal of luxury and high living, on pretence of hos-
 “ pitality; and with this overset of wealth, and pomp that
 “ came upon men in the decline of their age, they who
 “ were now growing into old age, became lazy and negli-
 “ gent in all the true concerns of the church.”*

From this time, says bishop *Kennet*, the presbyterians began to prepare for the cry of persecution, and not without reason, for March 23, Mr. *Zach. Crofton*, minister of Aldgate, was sent to the Tower for writing in favour of the *covenant*; where he lay a considerable time at great expence, and was at last turned out of his parish without any consideration, though he had a wife and seven children, and had been very zealous for the king's restoration.† Mr. *Andrew Parsons*, rector of Wem in Shropshire, a noted loyalist, was fetched from his house in the month of December by six soldiers, for seditious preaching, and non-conformity to the ceremonies; for which he was fined two hundred pounds, and to continue in prison till it was paid.

* Dr. *Grey* endeavours to shew, that bishop *Burnet's* representation, quoted above, was founded in a mistake: and, with this view, he states the benefactions and charities of some of the bishops, deans and chapters. According to his authorities, besides the expenditures of bishop *Duppa*, which we have mentioned before, Dr. *Juxon*, archbishop of Canterbury, gave to various purposes and publick works 48,000*l.* and abated in fines 16,000*l.* Dr. *Sheldon*, while bishop of London, expended 40,000*l.* and abated to his tenants 17,000*l.* Dr. *Frewen*, archbishop of York, disbursed in publick payments, besides abatements to tenants, 15,000*l.* Dr. *Cosins*, bishop of Durham's, expenditures in building and repairing publick edifices and in charities amounted to 44,000*l.* Dr. *Warner*, bishop of Rochester, though his fines were small, gave in royal presents, benevolences and subsidies and redeeming captives 25,000*l.* The liberalities of various deans and chapters made the sum of 191,300*l.* These expenditures bespeak munificence and generosity; and they appear to take off much of the edge of bishop *Burnet's* censure. He allows, that “ some few exceptions are to
 “ be made: but so few,” he adds, “ that if a new set of men had not ap-
 “ peared of another stamp, the church had quite lost her esteem over the
 “ nation.” The reader will also reflect, that the proportion not of the number of dignitaries only, who made a display of charity, or liberality, but of the sums they expended to the accession of wealth, is to be taken into the account. The above sums fall more than a million short of the amount of the fines that were raised: to these must be added the annual incomes of the ecclesiastical estates to which they were preferred. *Grey's Examination*, vol. iii. p. 269-274. *Burnet's History*, vol. i. p. 271. Ed.

† *Kennet's Chron.* p. 397. *Conf. Plea*, p. 34.

Spies

Spies were sent into all the congregations of presbyterians throughout England, to observe and report their behaviour to the bishops; and if a minister lamented the degeneracy of the times, or expressed his concern for the *ark of God*, if he preached against perfidiousness, or glanced at the vices of the court, he was marked for an enemy to the king and government. Many eminent and loyal presbyterians were sent to prison upon such informations, among whom was the learned and prudent Mr. *John Howe*, and when they came to their trials, the court was guarded with soldiers, and their friends not suffered to attend them. Many were sequestered from their livings, and cited into the ecclesiastical courts, *for not using the surplice and other ceremonies*, while the discipline of the church was under a kind of suspension. So eager were the spiritual courts to renew the exercise of the sword; and so fiercely was it brandished against the falling presbyterians!

The convention parliament passed fundry acts with relation to the late times, of which these following deserve to be remembered: An act for *the confirming and restoring of ministers*, which enacts, among other things, “that
“every sequestered minister, who has not justified the late
“king’s murder, or declared against infant baptism, shall be
“restored to his living before the 25th of December next
“ensuing, and the present incumbent shall peaceably quit
“it, and be accountable for dilapidations, and all arrears
“of fifths not paid.” By this act some hundred of nonconformist ministers were dispossessed of their livings, before the act of uniformity was penned. Here was no distinction between good or bad; but if the *parson* had been episcopally ordained, and in possession, he must be restored, though he had been ejected upon the strongest evidence of immorality or scandal.

The act for *confirmation of marriages* was very expedient for the peace of the kingdom, and the order and harmony of families. It enacts, “that all marriages since May 1,
“1642, solemnized before a justice of peace, or reputed
“justice; and all marriages since the said time, had or so-
“lemnized according to the direction of any ordinance, or
“reputed act or ordinance of one or both houses of parlia-
“ment

“ment, shall be adjudged and esteemed to be of the same
 “force and effect, as if they had been solemnized accord-
 “ing to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England.”

An act for the *attainder of several persons guilty of the horrid murder of his late sacred majesty king Charles I. and for the perpetual observation of the 30th of January.** This was the subject of many conferences between the two houses, in one of which chancellor *Hyde* declared, that the king having sent him in embassy to the king of Spain, charged him to tell that monarch expressly, “that the horrible murder of his
 “father ought not to be deemed as the act of the parliament,
 “or people of England, but of a small crew of wretches
 “and miscreants who had usurped the sovereign power, and
 “rendered themselves masters of the kingdom;”|| for which the commons sent a deputation with thanks to the king. After the preamble, the act goes on to attain the king’s judges, dead or alive, except colonel *Ingoldsby*† and *Thompson*, who for their late good services were pardoned, but in their room were included colonel *Lambert*, Sir *Harry Vane*, and *Hugh Peters*, who were not of the judges. On the 30th of

* The service for this day, it has been remarked, was framed on the *jure divino* plan, consequently on principles inconsistent with those of the revolution. It was drawn up by archbishop *Sancroft*, whose influence procured it to be adopted and published by the king’s authority, though another of a more moderate strain was at first preferred to it. When *Sancroft* himself was laid aside for adopting or adhering to principles suitable to his style, what had we to do any longer with *Sancroft*’s office? Letters and Essays in Favour of Publick Liberty, vol. i. p. 32. Ed.

|| This plea, it has been observed by a late writer, would have been precluded, had the parliament of 1641 proceeded against the king by way of attainder, about the time that *Strafford* and *Laud* were impeached. For then they were constitutionally invested with the legislative and judicial powers of a national representative: and they had *sufficient overt-acts before them to convict him of the blackest treason against the majesty of the people of England.* Memoirs of Hollis, vol. ii. p. 591. Ed.

† Dr. *Grey* observes, on the authority of lord *Clarendon*, that the case of colonel *Ingoldsby* was singular. He was drawn into the army about the time when he came first of age by *Cromwell*, to whom he was nearly allied. Though appointed to it, he never sat with the judges of the king: and his signature to the warrant for the king’s death was obtained by violence; *Cromwell* seized his hand, put the pen between his fingers, and with his own hand wrote *Richard Ingoldsby*, he making all the resistance he could. *Clarendon’s History*, vol. iii. p. 763. Ed.

Jan.

Jan. this year, the bodies of *O. Cromwell*, *Bradshaw*, and *Ireton*, were taken out of their graves, and drawn upon hurdles to Tyburn, where they were hung up from ten in the morning till sun-set of the next day, after which their heads were cut off, and their trunks buried all together in one hole under the gallows.* Colonel *Lambert* was sent to the isle of Jersey, where he continued shut up a patient prisoner almost thirty years; nineteen made their escape beyond sea; seven were made objects of the king's clemency; nineteen others, who surrendered on the king's proclamation of June 6, had their lives saved after trial; but underwent other penalties, as imprisonment, banishment, and forfeiture of estates; so that ten only were executed in the month of October, after the new sheriffs were entered upon their office, viz. Col. *Harrison*, Mr. *Carew*, *Cook*, *Hugh Peters*, Mr. *Scot*, *Clement*, *Scroop*, *Jones*, *Hacker*, and *Axtel*.

Bishop *Burnet* says, § “ the trials and executions of the
 “ first that suffered, were attended by vast crouds of people.
 “ All men seemed pleased with the sight; but the firmness
 “ and shew of piety of the sufferers, who went out of the
 “ world with a sort of triumph in the cause for which they
 “ suffered, turned the minds of the populace, insomuch that
 “ the king was advised to proceed no further.” The prisoners were rudely treated in court; the spectators with their noise and clamour endeavouring to put them out of countenance. None of them denied the fact, but all pleaded *not guilty to the treason*, because, as they said, they acted by authority of parliament; not considering, that the house of commons is no court of judicature; or if it was, that it was packed and purged before the king was brought to his trial. Those who guarded the scaffold, pleaded that they acted by command of their superior officers, who would have cashiered or put them to death, if they had not obeyed. They were not permitted to enter into the merits of the cause between the king and parliament, but were condemned upon the statute of the 25th *Edward III.* for compassing and imagining the king's death.

* This was done, says Dr. *Grey*, upon a 30th of January; a circumstance which Mr. *Neal* might probably think below his notice. Ed.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 367.

§ Vol. i. p. 234.

The behaviour of the regicides at their execution was bold and resolute: Colonel *Harrison* declared at the gibbet, that he was fully persuaded that *what he had done was the cause and work of God, which he was confident God would own and raise up again, how much soever it suffered at that time.* He went through all the indignities and severities of his sufferings, with a calmness or rather cheerfulness, that astonished the spectators; he was turned off, and cut down alive; for after his body was opened, he raised himself up, and gave the executioner a box on the ear.* When Mr. solicitor *Cook* and *Hugh Peters* went into the sledge, the head of major-general *Harrison* was put upon it, with the face bare towards them; but notwithstanding this, Mr. *Cooke* went out of the world with surprising resolution, *blessing God that he had a clear conscience.* *Hugh Peters* was more timid; but after he had seen the execution and quartering of Mr. *Cooke*, he resumed his courage at length (which some said was artificial) and said to the sheriff, *Sir, you have here slain one of the servants of the Lord, and made me behold it, on purpose to terrify and discourage me; but God has made it an ordinance for my strengthening and encouragement.*|| Mr. *Scot* was not allowed to speak to the people, but said in his prayer, *that he had been engaged in a cause not to be repented of; I say in a cause not to be repented of.* *Carew* appeared very cheerful as he went to the gibbet, but said little of the cause for which he suffered. *Clements* also said nothing. Colonel *Jones* justified the king and court in their proceedings; but added, that *they did not satisfy him in so great and deep a point.* Colonel *Scroop* was drawn in the same sledge, whose grave and venerable countenance, accompanied with courage and cheerfulness, raised great compassion in some of the spectators, though the insults and rudeness of others, was cruel and barbarous: He said *he was born and bred a gentleman; and appealed to those who had known him for his behaviour;*

* State Trials, p. 404.

|| "It appears from this instance, and many others," observes Mr. *Granger*, "that the presumption of an enthusiast is much greater than that of a saint. The one is always humble, and *works out his own salvation with fear and trembling*; the other is arrogant and assuming, and seems to demand it as his right." History of England, vol. iii. p. 339. Ed.

he forgave the instruments of his sufferings, and died for that which he judged to be the cause of Christ. Colonel Axtel and Hacker suffered last; the former behaved with great resolution, and holding the bible in his hand said, “The very cause in which I was engaged is contained in this book of God; and having been fully convinced in my conscience of the justness of the war, I freely engaged in the parliament’s service, which as I do believe was the cause of the Lord, I ventured my life freely for it, and now die for it.” Hacker read a paper to the same purpose; and after having expressed his charity towards his judges, jury, and witnesses, he said, *I have nothing lies upon my conscience as guilt whereof I am now condemned, and do not doubt but to have the sentence reversed.*

Few, if any of these criminals, were friends of the protector CROMWELL, but gave him all possible disturbance in favour of a *commonwealth*. Mr. H. Cromwell, in one of his letters from Ireland, 1657-8, says, “It is a sad case, when men, knowing the difficulties we labour under, seek occasions to quarrel and unsettle every thing again; I hear Harrison, Carew, and Okey, have done new feats. I hope God will infatuate them in their endeavours to disturb the peace of the nation; their folly shews them to be no better than abusers of religion, and such whose hypocrisy the Lord will avenge in due time.”

The *regicides* certainly confounded the cause of the parliament, or the necessity of entering into a war to bring delinquents to justice, with the king’s execution; whereas they fall under a very distinct consideration; the former might be necessary, when the latter had neither law nor equity to support it;|| for admitting (with them) that the king is accountable

|| A distinguished writer, who now ranks a peer, delivers a different opinion from our author. “If a king deserves” says he, “to be opposed by force of arms, he deserves death: if he reduces his subjects to that extremity, the blood spilt in the quarrel lies on him:—the executing him afterwards is a meer formality.” Walpole’s *Royal and Noble Authors*, vol. ii. p. 69, as quoted by Dr. Harris, *Life of Charles II.* vol. i. p. 362. A sentiment of this last writer, which carries truth and force in it, may be properly brought forward in this connection. “The depriving of the people of their rights and liberties, or the arguing for the expediency and justice of so doing, is a crime of a higher nature, than the murdering, or magnifying

countable to his parliament; the house of commons alone is not the parliament; and if it was, it could not be so, after it was under restraint, and one half of the members forcibly kept from their places by the military power. They had no precedent for their conduct, nor any measure of law to try and condemn their sovereign: Though the scripture says, *He that sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed*; yet this is not a rule of duty for private persons, when there is a government subsisting. If the king had fallen in battle it had been a different case; but how criminal soever his majesty might be in their apprehensions, they had no warrant to sit as his judges, and therefore could have no right by their verdict or sentence to put him to death.

There was another act passed this sessions, for a perpetual anniversary thanksgiving on the 29th of May, for his majesty's happy restoration; upon which occasion the bishops were commanded to draw up a suitable form of prayer; and Mr. *Robinson*, in the preface to his *Review of the Case of Liturgies*, says, that in their first form, which is since altered, there are these unwarrantable expressions, which I mention only to shew the spirit of the times.—“ We beseech thee to give us grace, to remember, and provide for our latter end, by a careful and studious imitation of this thy blessed saint and martyr, and all other thy saints and martyrs that have gone before us; that we may be made worthy to receive the benefit by their prayers, which they, in communion with thy church catholick, offer up unto thee for that part of it here militant, and yet in fight with, and danger from the flesh.—”†

The books of the great *Milton*, and Mr. *John Goodwin*, published in defence of the sentence of death, passed upon his late majesty, were called in by proclamation. And upon

“ *magnifying* the murder of the wisest and best prince under heaven. The loss of a good prince is greatly to be lamented; but it is a loss which may be repaired: whereas the loss of a people's liberties is seldom or ever to be recovered: consequently the foe to the latter is much more detestable than the foe to the former.” *Historical and Critical Account of Hugh Peters*, p. 49, 50. ED.

† Dr. *Grey* asks, “ What is there blameable in all this? Here is no praying to saints; and nothing but what was thought warrantable by the fathers long before popery had a being? ED.

the

the 27th of August, *Milton's Defensio pro Populo Anglicano contra Salmasium*; and his *answer* to a book entitled, *The Portraiture of his sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings*, were burnt by the hands of the common hangman; together with Mr. *John Goodwin's* book, entitled, *The Obstructors of Justice*; but the authors absconded till the storm was over. It was a surprize to all, that they escaped persecution. None but *Goodwin* and *Peters* had magnified the king's execution in their sermons; but *Goodwin's* being a strenuous *arminian* procured him friends.† *Milton* had appeared so boldly, though with much wit, and so great purity and elegance of stile, upon the argument of the king's death, that it was thought a strange omission not to except him out of the act of indemnity;* but he lived many years after, though blind, to acquire immortal renown by his celebrated poem of *Paradise Lost*.

The tide of joy which overflowed the nation at the king's restoration, brought with it the return of popery, which had been at a very low ebb during the late commotions: Great numbers of that religion came over with his majesty, and crouded about the court, magnifying their sufferings for the late king. A list of the lords, gentlemen, and other officers, who were killed in his service, was printed in red letters, by which it appeared that several noblemen, ten knights and baronets, fourteen colonels, seven lieutenant-colonels, fourteen majors, sixty-six captains, eighteen lieutenants and cornets, and thirty-eight gentlemen, lost their lives in the civil war, besides great numbers who were wounded, and whose estates were sequestered. The queen-mother came from France, and resided at Somerset-House with her catholick attendants both religious and secular. Several Romish priests

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 236, 37, 12mo. edi.

* “ And so indeed it was,” says Dr. Grey, “ he being the most pestilent writer, that appeared at that time in defence of the regicides, *Peyton* and “ *John Goodwin* excepted.” *Milton's* safety, it is said, was owing to the powerful intercession and interest of secretary *Morrice*, sir *Thomas Clarges*, and *Andrew Marvel*: but principally to the influence and gratitude of sir *William Davenant*, whose release *Milton* had procured, when he was taken prisoner in 1650. Nor was *Charles II.* says *Toland*, such an enemy to the muses as to require his destruction. British Biography, vol. v. p. 313, 14, and Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 298. Ed.

who had been confined in Newgate, Lancaster, and other gaols, were by order of council set at liberty. Many popish priests were sent over from Douay into England, as missionaries for propagating that religion; and their clergy appeared openly in defiance of the laws; they were busy about the court and city in dispersing popish books of devotion; and the king gave open countenance and protection to such as had been serviceable to him abroad, and came over with him, or soon followed him, which (bishop *Kennet* says) his majesty could not avoid. Upon the whole, more Roman catholicks appeared openly this year, than in all the twelve years of the inter-regnum.

In Ireland the papists took possession of their estates, which had been forfeited by the rebellion and massacre, and turned out the purchasers; which occasioned such commotions in that kingdom, that the king was obliged to issue out a proclamation, commanding them to wait the determinations of the ensuing parliament. The body of their clergy, by an instrument, bearing date Jan. 1, 1660, O. S. signed and sealed by the chief prelates and officials of their religion, ventured to depute a person of their own communion, to congratulate his majesty's restoration, and to present their humble supplications for the free exercise of their religion, pursuant to the articles of 1648, whom the king received very favourably, and encouraged to hope for an accomplishment of their requests in due time. Such amazing changes happened within nine months after the king's arrival at Whitehall.

The only persons who, under pretence of religion attempted any thing against the government, were a small number of enthusiasts, who said they were for *king Jesus*: Their leader was *Thomas Venner*, a wine-cooper, who, in his little conventicle in Coleman-street, warmed his admirers with passionate expectations of a fifth universal monarchy, under the personal reign of *king Jesus* upon earth, and that the saints were to take the kingdom themselves. To introduce this imaginary kingdom, they marched out of their meeting-house towards St. Paul's Church-yard, on Sunday Jan. 6, to the number of about fifty men well armed, and with a resolution
to

to subvert the present government, or die in the attempt. They published a declaration of the design of their rising, and placed centinels at proper places. The lord-mayor sent the trained bands to disperse them, whom they quickly routed, but in the evening returned to Cane-Wood, between Highgate and Hampstead. On Wednesday morning they returned and dispersed a party of the king's soldiers in Threadneedle-street. In Wood-street they repelled the trained bands, and some of the horse-guards; but *Venner* himself was knocked down, and some of his company slain; from hence the remainder retreated to Cripplegate, and took possession of an house, which they threatened to defend with a desperate resolution, but no-body appearing to countenance their frenzy, they surrendered after they had lost about half their number; *Venner* and one of his officers, were hanged before their meeting-house door in Coleman-street, Jan. 19, and a few days after, nine more were executed in divers parts of the city.*

This mad insurrection gave the court a handle for breaking through the late *declaration of indulgence*, within three

* It plainly appeared, on the examination of these insurgents, that they had entered into no plot with any other conspirators. The whole transaction was the unquestionable effect of the religious phrensy of a few individuals. Yet it was the origin of a national burthen and evil felt to this day. At the council, on the morning after the insurrection was quelled, the duke of *York* availed himself of the opportunity to push his arbitrary measures. On the pretext, that so extravagant an attempt could not have arisen from the rashness of one man, but was the result of a plot formed by all the sectaries and fanatics to overthrow the present government, he moved, "to suspend, at such an alarming crisis, the disbanding of general *Monk's* regiment of foot;" which had the guard of Whitehall; and was by order of parliament to have been disbanded the next day. Through different causes, the motion was adopted, and a letter was sent to the king to request him to approve and confirm the resolution of the council, and to appoint the continuance of the regiment till further order. To this the king consented; and as the rumours of fresh conspiracies were industriously kept up, those troops were continued and augmented, and a way was prepared for the gradual establishment of a *standing army*, under the name of *guards*. This should be a memento to future ages, how they credit reports of plots and conspiracies thrown out by a minister, unless the evidence of their existence be brought forward. The cry of conspiracies has been frequently nothing more than the chimæra of fear, or the invention of a wicked policy to carry the schemes of ambition and despotism. *Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 346, 7. Ed.*

months

months after it was published; for Jan. 2, there was an order of council against the meetings of sectaries in great numbers, and at unusual times; and on the 10th of January a proclamation was published, whereby his majesty forbids the *anabaptists, quakers, and fifth monarchy men*, to assemble or meet together under pretence of worshipping God, except it be in some parochial church, or chapel, or in private houses by the persons there inhabiting. || All meetings in other places are declared to be unlawful and riotous. And his majesty commands all mayors, and other peace-officers, to search for such conventicles, and cause the persons therein to be bound over to the next sessions. Upon this the *independants, baptists, and quakers*, who dissented from the establishment, thought fit publickly to disown and renounce the late insurrection.

The *independants*, though not named in the proclamation, were obnoxious to the government, and suspected to concur in all designs that might change the constitution into a commonwealth: To wipe off this odium, there was published, *A renunciation and declaration of the congregational churches, and publick preachers of the said judgment, living in and about the city of London, against the late horrid insurrection and rebellion acted in the said city.* Dated Jan. 1660. In this declaration they disown the principles of a *fifth monarchy, or the personal reign of king Jesus on earth*, as dishonourable

|| Kennet's Chron. p. 357.

|| "This proclamation," Mr. Gough well observes, "appears to be drawn up with more art and fallacy, than sound judgment and equity: while it reaches all the different sects of dissenters, all who do not assemble for worship in some parochial church or chapel, as rioters, it distinguishes only those looked upon as the most insignificant, and least formidable for their numbers or abilities. The presbyterians are passed over in silence, for they could not with any colour of decency be pointed as foes to the government they had just before been conducive to establishing. The independants are also unnoticed, probably, for fear of awakening the exertion of that rigour and of those abilities, the effects whereof were yet recent in the memory of the present administration. The anabaptists and quakers, as new or weaker sects, are treated with less ceremony: and are ranked with the wild disturbers of the publick peace: wherein justice, the characteristick virtue of good government, was designedly violated by involving the innocent with the guilty in one confused mass." History of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 443, 4. Ed.

to him, and prejudicial to his church; and abhor the propagating this or any other opinion by force or blood. They refer to their late meeting of messengers from one hundred and twenty churches of their way at the Savoy, in which they declare, (*Chap. XXIV. Of their confession*) That civil magistrates are of divine appointment, and that it is the duty of all subjects to pray for them, to honour their persons, to pay them tribute, to obey their lawful commands, and to be subject to their authority; and that infidelity, or difference in religion, does not make void the magistrates' just and legal authority, nor free the people from their obedience. Accordingly they cease not to pray for all sorts of blessings, spiritual and temporal, upon the person and government of his majesty, and by the grace of God will continue to do so themselves, and persuade others thereunto. And with regard to the late impious and prodigiously daring rebellion; they add, *Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel: O my soul! come not thou into their secret, but let God divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.* Signed by

<i>Jos. Caryl</i>	<i>Samuel Slater</i>	<i>William Greenhill</i>
<i>George Griffiths</i>	<i>George Cockayn</i>	<i>Matth. Barker</i>
<i>Richard Kenrick</i>	<i>Thomas Goodwin</i>	<i>Tho. Malory</i>
<i>Robert Bragge</i>	<i>Thomas Brooks</i>	<i>John Loder</i>
<i>Ralph Venning</i>	<i>Corn. Helme</i>	<i>John Yates</i>
<i>John Oxenbridge</i>	<i>John Hodges</i>	<i>Thomas Owen</i>
<i>Philip Nye</i>	<i>John Bachiler</i>	<i>Nath. Mather</i>
<i>John Rowe</i>	<i>Seth Wood</i>	<i>Will. Stoughton.</i>
<i>Thomas Weld</i>		

The *baptists* published an apology* in behalf of themselves, and their brethren of the same judgment, with a *protestation against*

* This was subscribed by thirty ministers and principal members of the *baptist* congregations. It was accompanied by another paper, called also an "Apology," which had been presented to the king some months before *Venner's* insurrection; declaratory of their sentiments concerning magistracy, and of their readiness to obey the king and all in authority in all things lawful. Mr. *Jessy*, preaching soon after, declared to his congregation, that *Venner* should say, "that he believed there was not one *baptist* among his adherents; and that if they succeeded, the *baptists* should know, that "infant-baptism was an ordinance of *Jesus Christ*." In further vindication of

against the late wicked and most horrid treason and rebellion in this city of London; in which they avow their loyalty to the king, and promise that their practice shall be conformable; subscribed by *William Kiffen, Henry Den, John Batty, Thomas Lamb, Thomas Cowper*, and about twenty-nine or thirty other names. They also addressed the king, that the innocent might not suffer with the guilty; protesting in the most solemn manner, that they had not the least knowledge of the late insurrection, nor did, directly or indirectly, contrive, promote, assist, or approve of it. They offered to give security for their peaceable behaviour, and for their supporting his majesty's person and government. But notwithstanding this, their religious assemblies were disturbed in all places, and their ministers imprisoned;† great numbers

of this people, and to shew that they were unjustly charged with opposing magistracy and government, there was published, about this time a small treatise entitled, “Moderation: or arguments and motives tending thereto;” humbly tendered to the honourable members of parliament.” Copious extracts from this piece may be seen in Crosby's *History of the English Baptists*, vol. ii. p. 42—83. ED.

† Divers pious persons were haled out of their houses; four hundred were committed to Newgate; others to Wood-street compter; and many to other prisons. The first and most violent persecution was chiefly levelled against them. Amongst others, who suffered on this occasion, was Mr. *Hanserd Knollys*. Mr. *Vavasor Powel* was, early in the morning, taken from his house by a company of soldiers, and carried to prison: from whence he was conducted to Salop, and committed with several others to the custody of a marshal: where they were detained nine weeks, till they were released by an order of the king and council. Mr. *John Bunyan* was apprehended at a meeting and committed to prison, though he offered bail, till the next sessions. He was then indicted for “*devilishly and perniciously* abstaining “from coming to church to hear divine service; and as a common upholder “of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the distraction of the “good subjects of this kingdom, contrary to the laws of our sovereign lord “the king.” He frankly owned being at the meeting. The justices took this for a confession of the indictment; and, because he refused to conform, sentenced him to perpetual banishment, on an act made by the then parliament. Though the sentence of banishment was never executed upon him, he was kept in prison twelve years and half, and suffered much under cruel and oppressive jailers. Above sixty dissenters were imprisoned with him: among whom were Mr. *Wheeler* and Mr. *Dun*, two eminent ministers well known in Bedfordshire. Mr. *Bunyan* was, at last, liberated on the importunity of Dr. *Barlow*, bishop of Lincoln. Crosby's *History of the Baptists*, vol. ii. p. 91, 2, 3. Vavasor Powel's *Life*, p. 129; and Robinson's *Translation of Claude*, vol. ii. p. 228. ED.

were crouded into Newgate, and other prisons, where they remained under close confinement till the king's coronation, when the general pardon published on that occasion set them at liberty.

The *quakers* also addressed the king upon this occasion in the following words:§

“ *Oh king Charles!*

“ OUR desire is, that thou mayest live for ever in the fear of God, and thy council. We beseech thee, and thy council, to read these following lines, in tender bowels, and compassion for our souls, and for your good.

“ And this consider; we are about four hundred imprisoned in and about this city, of men and women from their families; besides, in the country gaols above ten hundred. We desire, that our meetings may not be broken up, but that all may come to a fair trial, that our innocency may be cleared up.—”

“ London, 16th day eleventh month, 1660.”†

On the 28th of the same month, they published the declaration referred to in their address, entituled, *A Declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God called QUAKERS, against all sedition, plotters and fighters in the world, for removing the ground of jealousy and suspicion from both magistrates and people in the kingdom, concerning wars and fightings.* Presented to the king the 21st day of the eleventh month, 1660.‡ Upon which his majesty promised them, on the word of a king, that they should not suffer for

§ Mr. *Neal*, a respectable person of the society informs me, has given two short paragraphs only of an address containing seven quarto pages of close letter-press. It underwent, it seems, several editions, not fewer than eight or ten; for being fraught with much pertinent, solid matter, as persecution continued, it was made very publick. Mr. *Neal*, or his author *Kennet*, is charged with having mutilated the paragraphs which he quotes. For the second sentence stands in the original thus: “ We beseech thee and thy council to read these following lines; and in tender bowels and compassion to read them over, for we write in love and compassion to your souls, and for your good.” And after *families* should be added, *in close holes and prisons.* ED.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 361.

‡ Ibid. p. 366.

their opinions as long as they lived peaceably; but his promises were little regarded.*

The presbyterian clergy were in some degree affected with these commotions, though envy itself could not charge them with guilt; but it was the wish and desire of the prelatical party, that they might discover their uneasinesses in such a manner as might expose them to trouble; for their ruin was already determined, only some pretexts were wanting to cover the design, particularly such as affected the peace of the kingdom, and might not reflect on his majesty's declaration from Breda, which promised, *that no person should be molested purely for religion.*† But they were insulted by the mob in the streets; when their families were singing psalms in their houses, they were frequently interrupted by blowing of horns, or throwing stones at the windows. The presbyterian ministers made the best retreat they could, after they had unadvisedly delivered themselves up into the hands of their enemies; for while they were careful to maintain an inviolable loyalty to his majesty's person and government, they contended for their religious principles in the press; several new pamphlets were published, and a great many old ones reprinted, about *the magistrates' right of imposing things indifferent in the worship of God.—Against bowing at the name of Jesus.—The unlawfulness of the ceremonies of the church of England.—The common-prayer book unmasked.—Grievances and corruptions in church-government, &c.* most of which were answered by divines of the episcopal party.

But the most remarkable treatise that appeared about this time, and which, if it had taken place, must have prevented

* Dr. Grey impeaches here the candour and fidelity of Mr. Neal, as an historian: and adds, "Sewel, a quaker, speaks more favourably. This writer, as Dr. Grey quotes him, does say, that at this time the king shewed himself moderate, for at the solicitation of some he set at liberty about seven hundred of the people called quakers: and that they were acquitted from any hand in Venner's plot, and that, being continually importuned, the king issued forth a declaration, that the quakers should be set at liberty without paying fees." But though Sewel states these facts, Dr. Grey either overlooked, or forgot to inform his reader, that Mr. Neal, in charging the king with the breach of his promise, speaks on the authority of Sewel: who says, "the king seemed a good-natured prince, yet he was so misled that in process of time he seemed to have forgot what he so solemnly promised on the word of a king." History of the Quakers, p. 257. Ed.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 624, folio.

the mischiefs that followed,† was that of the reverend Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet*, rector of Sutton in Bedfordshire, and afterwards the learned and worthy bishop of Worcester, who first made himself known to the world at this time by his *Irenicum*, or, *A Weapon Salve for the Church's Wounds*; printed 1661, in which he attempts to prove, that no form of church-government is of *divine right*, and that the church had no power to impose *things indifferent*. I shall beg the reader's attention to a few passages out of his preface.

“ The design of our Saviour (says he) was to ease men of
 “ their former burthens, and not to lay on more; the duties
 “ he required were no other but such as were necessary, and
 “ withal very just and reasonable; he that came to take away
 “ the insupportable yoke of Jewish ceremonies, certainly
 “ did never intend to gall the necks of his disciples with
 “ another instead of it; and it would be strange the church
 “ should require more than Christ himself did, and make
 “ other conditions of her communion than our Saviour did
 “ of discipleship. What possible reason can be assigned or
 “ given why such things should not be sufficient for commu-

† A conciliating and liberal design formed by two respectable men deserves to be mentioned here. “ Soon after the restoration, the honourable
 “ Mr. Boyle and sir Peter Pett were discoursing of the severities practised by
 “ the bishops towards the *puritans* in the reign of *Charles I.* and of those
 “ which were returned on the episcopal divines during the following usur-
 “ pations; and being apprehensive that the restored clergy might be tempted
 “ by their late sufferings to such a vindictive retaliation as would be contrary
 “ to the true measures of christianity and politics, they came at last to an
 “ agreement, that it would tend to the publick good, to have something
 “ written and published in defence of liberty of conscience. Sir Peter Pett
 “ engaged to write on the political part of the question. Mr. Boyle un-
 “ dertook to engage Dr. Thomas Barlow to treat of the theological part:
 “ and he also prevailed on Mr. John Dury, who had spent many years in
 “ his travels, and had taken an active part in a scheme for reconciling the
 “ *lutherans* and *calvinists*, to state the fact of the allowance of liberty of con-
 “ science in foreign parts. Sir Peter Pett's and Mr. Dury's tracts were
 “ printed in 1660. But, for particular reasons, the publication of Dr.
 “ Barlow's piece did not take place: but it was published after his death.

“ Dr. Barlow had given offence by writing, just before the restoration,
 “ a letter to Mr. Tombs, and expressing in it some prejudice against the
 “ practice of *infant baptism*, and by refusing, even after the restoration, to
 “ retract that letter. This refusal was a noble conduct: for the doctor was
 “ in danger by it of losing his station in the university of Oxford and all
 “ his hopes of future preferment.” This shews how obnoxious was the sect
 of the baptists. *Birch's Life of Boyle*, p. 299, 300. Ed.

“ nion

“ nion with the church, which are sufficient for eternal sal-
“ vation? And certainly those things are sufficient for that,
“ which are laid down as the necessary duties of christianity
“ by our Lord and Saviour in his word. What ground
“ can there be why christians should not stand upon the
“ same terms now, which they did in the time of Christ and
“ his apostles? Was not religion sufficiently guarded and
“ fenced in then? Was there ever more true and cordial
“ reverence in the worship of God? What charter hath
“ Christ given the church to bind men up to more than
“ himself hath done? Or to exclude those from her society
“ who may be admitted into heaven? Will Christ ever thank
“ men at the great day, for keeping such out from commu-
“ nion with his church, who he will vouchsafe not only
“ crowns of glory to, but it may be *aureolæ* too, if there
“ be any such things there? The grand commission the
“ apostles were sent out with, was only to teach what Christ
“ had commanded them; not the least intimation of any power
“ given them to impose or require any thing beyond what
“ himself had spoken to them, or they were directed to by
“ the immediate guidance of the spirit of God. It is not,
“ whether the things commanded and required be lawful or
“ not? It is not, whether *indifferences* may be determined
“ or no? It is not how far christians are bound to submit to
“ a restraint of their christian liberty, which I now enquire
“ after, but whether they consult the church’s peace and
“ unity who suspend it upon such things. We never read
“ of the apostles making laws but of things necessary, as
“ *Acts* xv. 19. It was not enough with them that the things
“ would be necessary when they had required them; but
“ they looked upon an antecedent necessity either absolute
“ or for the present state, which was the only ground of
“ their imposing these commands upon the *Gentile* christians.
“ But the Holy Ghost never thought those things fit to be
“ made matters of law to which all parties should conform. All
“ that the apostles required as to this was mutual forbear-
“ ance and condescension towards each other in them. The
“ apostles valued not *indifferences* at all; and those things
“ they accounted as *such* which were of no concernment to
“ their salvation. And what reason is there why men should
“ be

“ be tied up so strictly to such things which they may do or
 “ let alone, and yet be very good christians? Without all
 “ controversy, the main inlet of all the distractions, confu-
 “ sions and divisions, of the christian world, has been by
 “ adding other conditions of church communion than Christ
 “ has done.—Would there ever be the less peace and unity
 “ in a church, if a diversity were allowed as to practices
 “ supposed indifferent? Yea, there would be so much more,
 “ as there was a mutual forbearance and condescension
 “ as to such things. The unity of the church is an unity of
 “ love and affection, and not a bare uniformity of practice
 “ and opinion.—There is nothing in the primitive church
 “ more deserving our imitation than that admirable temper,
 “ moderation, and condescension which was used in it to-
 “ wards its members. It was never thought worth the while
 “ to make any standing laws for rites and customs that had
 “ no other original but tradition, much less to suspend men
 “ her communion for not observing them.†—”

The doctor's proposals for an accommodation were, “ 1.
 “ That nothing be imposed as necessary but what is clearly
 “ revealed in the word of God. 2. That nothing be re-
 “ quired or determined but what is sufficiently known to be
 “ indifferent in its own nature. 3. That whatever is thus
 “ determined be in order only to a due performance of what
 “ is in general required in the word of God, and not to be
 “ looked upon as any part of divine worship or service. 4.
 “ That no sanctions be made, nor mulcts or penalties be
 “ inflicted, on such who only dissent from the use of some
 “ things whose lawfulness they at present scruple, till suffi-
 “ cient time and means be used for their information of the
 “ nature and indifferency of these things. I am sure (says
 “ the doctor) it is contrary to the primitive practice, and the
 “ moderation then used, to suspend or deprive men of their
 “ ministerial function for not conforming in habits and ges-
 “ tures, or the like. *Lastly*, that religion be not clogged
 “ with ceremonies; for when they are multiplied too much,
 “ though lawful, they eat out the heart, heat, life, and vigor
 “ of christianity.—” § If the doctor had steadily adhered to
 these principles, he could hardly have subscribed the act of

† Irenicum, p. 8, 9, 10.

§ Ibid. p. 66, 67.

uniformity next year, much less have written so warmly against the dissenters, as he did twenty years afterwards.* But all he could say or do at present availed nothing, the presbyterians were in disgrace, and nothing could stem the torrent of popular fury that was now coming upon them.

[In the year 1660, April 25th died, when the king designed to advance him to the see of Worcester, the learned Dr. *Henry Hammond*. In addition to the short account given of him by Mr. *Neal*, vol. iii. p. 428, some other particulars may be subjoined here. He was born 18th August, 1605, at Chertsey in Surry; and was the youngest son of Dr. *John Hammond*, a physician. He received his grammar learning at Eaton school, and in 1618 was sent to Magdalen college in Oxford, of which he was elected fellow in July 1625: and entered into holy orders in 1629. The rectory of Penhurst was bestowed upon him by the earl of *Leicester* in 1633. In 1640, he was chosen one of the members of the convocation; in 1643 made archdeacon of Chichester, and the same year was named one of the assembly of divines, but never sat amongst them. He was distinguished in his youth for the sweetness of his carriage, and at the times allowed for play, would steal, from his fellows, into places of privacy to pray:—omens of his future pacifick temper and eminent devotion. When he was at the university he generally spent thirteen hours of the day in study. *Charles I.* said, “he was the most natural orator he had ever heard.” He was extremely liberal to the poor; and was used to say, that “it was a most unreasonable and unchristian thing to

* “If Mr. *Neal*,” says Dr. *Grey*, “would allow a man to retract his mistakes upon discovering them, he would not find fault with bishop *Stillingfleet*.” He then quotes the bishop’s apology for his conduct, from the Preface to “*The Unreasonableness of Separation*.” “If any thing in the following treatise be found different from the sense of that book, I intreat them to allow me that, which I heartily wish to them, that in twenty years time, we may arrive to such maturity of thoughts, as to see reason to change our opinion of some things, and I wish I had not cause to add, of some persons.” But notwithstanding the force of the bishop’s plea, it will not, I conceive, be deemed a fortunate or honourable change, if a man’s views and spirit, instead of enlarging and becoming more liberal, are contracted and grow narrow and partial: if, instead of being the advocate for generous and conciliating measures, he should argue for oppression and intolerance. Ed.

“despise

“despise any one for his poverty, and it was one of the
 “greatest sensualities in the world to give.” He gave it
 as a rule to his friends of estate and quality, “to treat their
 “poor neighbours with such a chearfulness, that they might
 “be glad to have met with them.” The alms of *lending*
 had an eminent place in his practice. He was accustomed
 strongly to recommend to others, “to be always furnished
 “with something to do,” as the best expedient both for in-
 nocence and pleasure. Devoted as he was to his studies, he
 would never suffer any body to wait, that came to speak to
 him: and to the poor he came with peculiar alacrity. *British*
Biography, vol. v. p. 219—225. ED.]

The earl of *Clarendon*, lord chancellor, was prime minister
 and at the head of the king's councils. The year [1661] be-
 gan with new scenes of pleasure and diversion, occasioned by
 the king's marriage with the infanta of Portugal, which was
 consummated April 30. The match was promoted by ge-
 neral *Monk* and lord *Clarendon*, if, according to the Oxford
 historian, the latter was not the first mover of it.† And it
 was reckoned very strange, that a protestant chancellor should
 advise the king to a popish princess, when a catholick king
 proposed at the same time a protestant consort. But his
 lordship had further views, for it was generally talked among
 the merchants, that the *infanta* could have no children, in
 which case the chancellor's daughter, who had been pri-
 vately married to the king's brother, must succeed, and her

† Dr. *Grey* observes, that Mr. *Neal* antedates this marriage somewhat
 above a year; the king met the infanta at Portsmouth the 21st of May,
 1662, and was then privately married to her by Dr. *Sheldon*, bishop of
 London. The doctor, on the authority of *Eachard*, endeavours to invali-
 date the imputation which lies on lord *Clarendon* of being the promoter, if
 not the first mover of this marriage. Mr. *Neal* is supported in his repre-
 sentation of the affair by the testimony of sir *John Reresby*, who says, “it
 “is well known, that the lord chancellor had the blame of this unfruitful
 “match.” He adds, “that the queen was said to have had a constant
 “fluor upon her, which rendered her incapable of conception. Though,
 “on this occasion,” says sir *John*, “every thing was gay, and splendid, and
 “profusely joyful, it was easy to discern that the king was not excessively
 “charmed with his new bride, who was a very little woman, with a pretty
 “tolerable face. She neither in person or manners had any one article to
 “stand in competition with the charms of the countess of *Castlemain*, after-
 “wards duchess of *Cleveland*, the finest woman of her age.” *Memoirs*,
 p. 9, 10. ED.

due by the duke of *York* become heirs to the throne; which happened accordingly in the persons of queen *Mary* . and queen *Anne*. Such were the aspiring views of this great man, which, together with his haughty behaviour, in the end proved his ruin.

The convention parliament being dissolved, a new one was elected, and summoned to meet May 8. The house of commons, by the interest of the *court party*,† had a considerable majority of such as were zealous enemies of the presbyterians, and abettors of the principles of archbishop *Laud*; many of whom, having impaired their fortunes in the late wars, became tools of the ministry in all their arbitrary and violent measures. The court kept above one hundred of them in constant pay, who went by the name of the *club of voters*, and received large sums of money out of the Exchequer, till they had almost subverted the constitution; and then, because they would not put the finishing hand to what they had unadvisedly begun, they were disbanded.

The king acquainted the houses at the opening of the sessions,§ that “*He valued himself much upon keeping his word, and upon making good whatsoever he had promised to his subjects.*”† But the chancellor, who commented upon the king’s speech, spoke a different language, and told the house, That there were a sort of patients in the kingdom that deserved their utmost severity, and none of their lenity;

† There were only fifty-six members of the *presbyterian* party returned, notwithstanding their great interest in almost all the corporations. But in the interval, between the two parliaments, the court party had been active; and the hints given at the dissolution of the late parliament by the chancellor, had great weight. He recommended that “such persons should be returned as were not likely to oppose the king, but had already served him, and were likely to serve him with their whole heart, and to gratify him in all his desires.”* Had the people been alive to a just sense of the design of representation and the nature of the constitution, they would have received these hints with indignant contempt. Ed.

§ The king went to the house of lords, to open the sessions, with almost as much pomp and splendour as had been displayed on the coronation-day; and, says my author, for the same reasons, to dazzle the mob and to impress on the minds of the people very exalted notions of the dignity of regal government. Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 407, note. Ed.

† Kennet’s Chron. p. 434.

* Secret Hist. of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 171, and 406.

“these

“ these were the *sedition preachers*, who could not be con-
 “ tented to be dispensed with for their full obedience to
 “ some laws established, without reproaching and inveighing
 “ against those laws how established soever, who tell their
 “ auditories that when the apostle bid them stand to their li-
 “ berties he bid them stand to their arms, and who, by repeat-
 “ ing the very expressions, and teaching the very doctrines
 “ they set on foot in the year 1640, sufficiently declare that
 “ they have no mind that twenty years should put an end to
 “ the miseries we have undergone. What good christians
 “ can think, without horror, of these ministers of the gospel,
 “ who by their function should be messengers of peace, but
 “ are in their practice only the trumpets of war, and incen-
 “ diaries towards rebellion?—And if the persons and place
 “ can aggravate their offence, so no doubt it does before God
 “ and man. Methinks the preaching rebellion and treason
 “ out of the pulpit, should be as much worse than advancing
 “ it in the market, as poisoning a man at a communion would
 “ be worse than killing him at a tavern—” His lordship con-
 cludes thus: “ If you do not provide for the thorough quen-
 “ ching these firebrands; king, lords, and commons, shall be
 “ the meaner subjects, and the whole kingdom will be kin-
 “ dled into a general flame.” This was a home-thrust at
 the presbyterians; the chancellor did not explain himself
 upon the authors of these seditious sermons, his design being
 not to accuse particular persons, but to obtain a general
 order which might suppress all preachers who were not of
 the church of England; and the parliament was prepared to
 run blindfold into all the court measures; for in this session
 the *militia* was given absolutely to the king—the *solemn league
 and covenant* was declared void and illegal—the act for dis-
 abling persons in holy orders to exercise temporal jurisdic-
 tion was repealed—the bishops were restored to their seats
 in parliament—the old ecclesiastical jurisdiction was revived
 by the repeal of the 17th of *Charles I.* except the *oath ex
 officio*—and it was made a præmunire to call the king a papist. ||

The

|| Kennet's Chron. p. 510, 511.

|| To Mr. Neal's detail of the acts of this session, it should be added,
 That the commons voted, that all their members should receive the sacra-
 ment according to the prescribed liturgy, before a certain day, under pe-
 nalty

The storm was all this while gathering very black over presbyterians; for when the parliament met a second time, Nov. 20, the king complimented the bishops, who appeared now again in their places among the peers, and observed in his speech, that it was a felicity he had much desired to see, as the only thing wanting to restore the old constitution. He then spoke the language of the chancellor, and told the commons, "that there were many wicked instruments who laboured night and day to disturb the publick peace.—That it was worthy of their care to provide proper remedies for the diseases of that kind; that if they found new diseases they must find new remedies. That the difficulties which concerned religion were too hard for him, and therefore he recommended them to their care and deliberation who could best provide for them." The tendency of this speech was to make way for breaking through the *Breda declaration*, and to furnish the parliament with a pretence for treating the non-conformists with rigour, which they were themselves too well inclined.

Lord *Clarendon*, in a conference between the two houses, affirmed positively, that there was a real conspiracy against the peace of the kingdom; and though it was disconcerted in the city, it was carried on in divers counties; a committee was therefore appointed to enquire into the truth of the report; but after all their examinations not one single person was convicted, or so much as prosecuted for it.† Great pains were taken to fasten some treasonable designs on the presbyterians; letters were sent from unknown hands to the

of expulsion. This was intended as a test of their religious sincerity. Besides repealing the solemn league and covenant, they ordered it to be taken out of all the courts and places where it was recorded, and to be burnt by the common hangman. To the same sentence were doomed all acts, ordinances, or engagements, which had been dictated by a republican spirit during the late times. And they enervated the right of petitioning by various restrictions; limiting the number of signatures to twenty, unless with the sanction of three justices, or the major part of the grand jury; and of those who should present a petition to the king or either house of parliament ten persons, under the penalty of a fine of one hundred pounds and three months imprisonment. *Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles* vol. i. p. 412, 13, 14. Ed.

† Kennet's Chron. p, 602.

chiefs

chiefs of the party in several parts of the kingdom, intimating the project of a general insurrection, in which *their friends* were concerned, and desiring them to communicate it to certain persons in their neighbourhood, whom they name in their letters, that they may be ready at time and place. A letter of this kind was directed to the reverend Mr. *Sparry*, in Worcestershire, desiring him and captain *Tarrington* to be ready with money; and to acquaint Mr. *Oatland* and Mr. *Baxter* with the design. This, with a packet of the same kind, was said to be left under a hedge by a Scots pedlar; and as soon as they were found, they were carried to sir *J. Packington*, who immediately committed *Sparry*, *Oatland*, and *Tarrington*, to prison. The militia of the county was raised, and the city of Worcester put into a posture of defence; but the sham was so notorious, that the earl of *Bristol*, though a papist, was ashamed of it; and after some time the prisoners, for want of evidence, were released. The members for Oxfordshire, Herefordshire, and Staffordshire, informed the commons, that they had rumours of the like conspiracies in their counties. Bishop *Burnet* says, “ That
 “ many were taken up, but none tried; that this was done
 “ to fasten an odium on the presbyterians, and to help carry
 “ the penal laws through the house; and there were ap-
 “ pearances of foul dealing (says he) among the fiercer sort.” Mr. *Locke* adds, that the reports of a general insurrection were spread over the whole nation, by the very persons who invented them; and though lord *Clarendon* could not but be acquainted with the farce, he kept it on foot to facilitate passing the severe laws that were now coming upon the carpet.* The government could not with decency attack the *non-conformists* purely on account of their religion; the declaration from Breda was too express on that article; they were therefore to be charged with raising disturbances in the state. But supposing the fact to be true, that some few malecontents had been seditiously disposed; which yet was never made out, what reason can be assigned why it should be charged upon the principles of a whole body of men, who were unquestionably willing to be quiet?

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 627.

It was nevertheless on this base and dishonourable suggestion, that the first penal law which passed against the non-conformists this session was founded,† entitled,

An act for the well-governing and regulating corporations; which enacts, “That within the several cities, corporations, boroughs, cinque ports, and other port towns within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-on-Tweed, all mayors, aldermen, recorders, bailiffs, town-clerks, common-council-men, and other persons, bearing any office or offices of magistracy, or places, or trusts, or other employment relating to, or concerning the government of the said respective cities, corporations, and boroughs, and cinque ports, and their members, and other port towns, shall take the *oaths of allegiance and supremacy*, and this oath following:

“I *A. B.* do declare and believe, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the king; and that I do abhor that traiterous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him.”*

They shall also subscribe the following declaration:

“I *A. B.* do declare, that there lies no obligation upon me from the solemn league and covenant, and that the same was an unlawful oath imposed on the subject against the laws and liberties of the kingdom.”

“Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person shall hereafter be elected, or chosen into any of the offices or places aforesaid, that shall not have within one year next before such election or choice taken

† Kennet's Chron. p. 602.

* “One would suppose,” it has been well remarked, “that the parliament, who prescribed such an oath, must have been as near-sighted and as stupid as they were servile and corrupt. Such a maxim of non-resistance to the king, on *any pretence*, was directly subversive of their own consequence as well as of civil and religious liberty. The extent, to which this principle might be carried, was put to the proof by *James II.* but the people of England rent asunder the chains which had been forged for them by their perfidious representatives.” *Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II.* vol. i. p. 428, note. Ed.

“the

“ the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, according to the rites
“ of the church of England; and that every person so elected
“ shall take the aforesaid oaths, and subscribe the said de-
“ claration at the same time when the oath for the due exe-
“ cution of the said places and offices shall be respectively
“ administered.”

Thus all non-conformists were turned out of all the branches of magistracy at once, and rendered incapable of serving their country in the offices of a common-council-man, or a burges or bailiff of the smallest corporation. The oath imposed in this act robbed them of their right as *subjects*. Mr. *Eachard* confesses that it seems at once to give up the whole constitution; and no wonder (says he) if many of the clergy as well as laity, on the account of this act, espoused a doctrine which, if rigidly taken, was hard to be reconciled to the *great deliverance* afterwards. Mr. *Rapin* adds,† that to say that it is *not lawful on any pretence whatever to resist the king*, is properly speaking to deliver up the liberties of the nation into his hands. The high churchmen had then elevated ideas of the royal authority. But even this parliament did not think fit afterwards to admit the dangerous consequences of their own maxims.

Commissioners were appointed, and employed during this and the following year, to visit the several corporations in England, and to turn out of office such as were in the least suspected; who executed their commissions with so much rigour, that the corporations had not one member left, who was not entirely devoted to the king and the church.

† Vol. ii. p. 628.



CHAP. VI.

From the Conference at the Savoy, to the Act of Uniformity.

—1661.—

ACCORDING to his majesty's declaration of October 25, 1660, concerning ecclesiastical affairs, twelve bishops* and nine assistants were appointed on the part of the episcopal church of England, and as many ministers on the side of the presbyterians, to assemble at the bishop of London's lodgings at the Savoy, "to review the book of common-prayer, comparing it with the most ancient and purest liturgies; and to take into their serious and grave considerations the several directions and rules, forms of prayer, and things in the said book of common-prayer contained, and to advise and consult upon the same, and the several objections and exceptions which shall now be raised against the same; and if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections and amendments, as shall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient for giving satisfaction to tender consciences, and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity in the churches under his majesty's government and direction." They were to continue four months from the 25th of March 1661, and then present the result of their conferences to his majesty under their several hands.

The names of the episcopal divines on the side of the establishment at the Savoy conference were,

The Most Rev. Dr. *Accepted Frewen*, archbishop of York
The Right Rev. Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, bishop of London
Dr. *John Cosins*, bishop of Durham

* Dr. *Nichols* reckons twelve bishops, but has left out the bishop of *Chichester*, and named *Edward* bishop of *Norwich*. Dr. *Kennet* names thirteen bishops, amongst whom are the bishops of *Chichester* and *Norwich*.
r. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 308. Ed.

The Right Rev. Dr. *John Warner*, bishop of Rochester
 Dr. *Henry King*, bishop of Chichester
 Dr. *Humphrey Henchman*, bishop of Sarum
 Dr. *George Morley*, bishop of Worcester
 Dr. *Robert Saunderson*, bishop of Lincoln
 Dr. *Benjamin Laney*, bishop of Peterborough
 Dr. *Bryan Walton*, bishop of Chester
 Dr. *Richard Sterne*, bishop of Carlisle
 Dr. *John Gauden*, bishop of Exeter.

Their Assistants,

<i>John Earle</i> , D.D. dean of Westminster	<i>Peter Gunning</i> , D.D.
<i>Peter Heylin</i> , D.D.	<i>John Pearson</i> , D.D.
<i>John Hacket</i> , D.D.	<i>Thomas Pierce</i> , D.D.
<i>John Barwick</i> , D.D.	<i>Antony Sparrow</i> , D.D.
	<i>Herbert Thorndike</i> , B.D.

The names of the presbyterian divines, or those who were for alterations in the hierarchy of the church at the *Savoy conference* were,

The Right Rev. *Edward Reynolds*, bishop of Norwich
 The Rev. *Antony Tuckney*, D.D. M. St. John's college, Cambridge
John Conant, D.D. Reg. Prof. Oxon
William Spurstow, D.D. vicar, Hackney
John Wallis, D.D. Sav. Prof. Geom.
Thomas Manton, D.D. master of Covent-garden
Edmund Calamy, B.D. of Aldermanbury
 Mr. *Richard Baxter*, clerk, late of Kidderminster
 Mr. *Arthur Jackson*, clerk, of St. Faith's
 Mr. *Thomas Case*, clerk, rector of St. Giles
 Mr. *Samuel Clarke*, clerk, of St. Bene't Fink
 Mr. *Matth. Newcomen*, clerk, of Dedham.

Their Assistants,

The Rev. <i>Thomas Horton</i> , D.D.	The Rev. <i>John Collins</i> , D.D.
<i>Thomas Jacomb</i> , D.D.	<i>Benj. Woodbridge</i> , B.D.
<i>William Bates</i> , D.D.	Mr. <i>John Rawlinson</i> ,
<i>William Cooper</i> , D.D.	clerk
<i>John Lightfoot</i> , D.D.	Mr. <i>Wm. Drake</i> , clk.

When the commissioners* were assembled the first time, April 15, the archbishop of *York* stood up and said, he knew

* “ Though the *baptists* in England were at this time very numerous, and as famous men amongst them for learning and piety as most in the “ commission;

little of the business they were met about, and therefore referred it to Dr. *Sheldon*, bishop of London, who gave it as his opinion, that the *presbyterians* having desired this conference, they [the bishops] should neither say nor do any thing till the others had brought in all their exceptions and complaints against the liturgy in writing, with their additional forms and amendments.* The *presbyterians* humbly moved for a conference according to the words of the commission, but the bishop of *London* insisting peremptorily upon his own method, the others consented to bring in their *exceptions* at one time, and their *additions* at another. For this purpose bishop *Reynolds*, Dr. *Wallis*, and the rest of the *presbyterian* party, met from day to day to collect their exceptions;† but the additions, or drawing up a new form, was intrusted with Mr. *Baxter* alone. “Bishop *Sheldon* saw well enough (says *Burnet*||) what the effect would be of obliging them to make all their demands at once, that the number would raise a mighty outcry against them as a people that could never be satisfied.” On the other hand, the *presbyterians* were divided in their sentiments; some were for insisting only on a few important things, reckoning that if they were gained, and an union followed, it might be easier to obtain others afterwards. But the majority, by the influence of Mr. *Baxter*, were for extending their desires to the utmost, and thought themselves bound by the words of the commission to offer every thing they thought might conduce to the peace of the church, without considering what an aspect this would have with the world, or what influence their numerous demands might have upon the minds of those who were now their superiors in numbers and strength,§

“commission; yet no regard was had to their case, nor any one of that persuasion appointed to have any share in it. They did not design to reform so far; for if they could but bring the *presbyterian* party in, which was the most numerous of the dissenters, that might be sufficient to secure their power; though, by the consequence of this proceeding, it seems probable, there was no design of reformation; but only to quiet the minds of the people, till they could gain time.” Crosby, v. ii. p. 84-5. Ed.

* *Baxter's Life*, part ii. p. 305. † *Ibid.* p. 306. || P. 262.

§ “This,” observes a late writer, “was precisely what the advocates for persecution desired: they could say, that the king had taken every
 2 2 “step,

but when they were put in mind that the *king's commission* gave them no power to alter the government of the church, nor to insist upon archbishop *Usher's* model, nor so much as to claim the concessions of his majesty's late declaration, they were quite heartless; for they were now convinced that all they were to expect was a few amendments in the liturgy and common-prayer book. This was concluded beforehand at court, and nothing more intended than to drop the presbyterians with a show of decency.

The ministers were under this further hardship, that they were to transact for a body of men from whom they had no power, and therefore could not be obliged to abide by their decisions; they told the king and the *prive minister*, that they should be glad to consult their absent brethren, and receive from them a commission in form, but this was denied, and they were required to give in their own sense of things, to which they consented, provided the bishops at the same time would bring in their concessions; but these being content to abide by the liturgy as it then stood, had nothing to offer, nor would they admit of any alterations but what the presbyterians should make appear to be necessary. With this dark and melancholy prospect the conference was opened.† It would interrupt the course of this history too much, to insert all the exceptions of the presbyterians to the present liturgy, and the papers which passed between the commissioners, with the letter of the presbyterian ministers to the archbishop and bishops, and the report they made of the whole to the king. I shall only take notice in this place, that, instead of drawing up a few supplemental forms, and making some amendments to the old

“step, which the best policy and the tenderest concern for the happiness of
 “all his subjects could suggest, to gain over and compose the jarring sects
 “into a system of perfect harmony, but that all his wise and benevolent
 “endeavours were defeated by the wilful obstinacy and perverseness of the
 “non-conformists; and that he must therefore now pursue such measures as
 “the safety both of the church and state required.” *Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 349, 50. Ed.*

† N. B. *All the papers relating to the conference at the Savoy are collected in a book, entitled, THE HISTORY OF NON-CONFORMITY, as it was argued and stated by commissioners on both sides appointed by his majesty King Charles II. in the year 1661. Octavo, 2d edit. 1708.*

litu gy,

liturgy, Mr. *Baxter* composed an entire new one in the language of scripture, which he called the *reformed liturgy*; not with a design entirely to set aside the old one, but to give men liberty to use either as they approved. It was drawn up in a short compass of time, and after it had been examined, and approved by his brethren, was presented to the bishops in the conference, together with their exceptions to the *old liturgy*. This gave great offence, as presuming that a liturgy drawn up by a single hand in fourteen days, was to be preferred, or stand in competition with *one* which had been received in the church for a whole century. Besides, it was inconsistent with the commission and the bishops' declaration of varying no further from the *old standard* than should appear to be necessary; and therefore the *reformed liturgy*, as it was called, was rejected at once without being examined.

When the presbyterians brought in their exceptions to the liturgy, they presented at the same time a PETITION FOR PEACE, beseeching the bishops to yield to their amendments; to free them from the subscriptions and oaths in his majesty's late declaration, and not to insist upon the *re-ordination* of those who had been ordained without a diocesan bishop, nor upon the *surplice*, the *cross in baptism*, and other *indifferent ceremonies*; for this purpose they make use of various motives and arguments, sufficient, in my judgment, to influence all who had any concern for the honour of God, and the salvation of souls. The bishops gave a particular answer to these exceptions; to which the presbyterians made such a reply as, in the opinion of their adversaries, shewed them to be men of learning, and well versed in the practice of the antient church; however, the bishops would indulge nothing to their prejudices; upon which they sent them a large expostulatory letter, wherein, after having repeated their objections, they lay the wounds of the church at their door.

The term for the treaty being almost spun out in a paper controversy, § about ten days before the commission expired, a disputation

§ In the course of this controversy many points, connected with the doctrine and manner of *baptism*, came into discussion: such as, the right of the children of *heathens*, or of the excommunicated, to baptism: the efficacy of children's baptism; the qualifications for this ordinance; the use of god-fathers

a disputation was agreed on, to argue the *necessity* of alterations in the present liturgy.* Three of each party were chosen to manage the argument; Dr. *Pearson*, *Gunning*, and *Sparrow*, on one side; and Dr. *Bates*, *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Baxter*, on the other. The rest were at liberty to withdraw if they pleased. Mr. *Baxter* was opponent, and began to prove the sinfulness of impositions; but through want of order, frequent interruptions, and personal reflections, the dispute issued in nothing; a number of young divines interrupting the presbyterian ministers and laughing them to scorn. At length bishop *Cosins* produced a paper,† containing an expedient to shorten the debate, which was, to put the ministers on distinguishing between *those things which they charged as SINFUL, and those which were only INEXPEDIENT*. The three disputants on the ministers' side were desired to draw up an answer to this paper, which they did, and charged the rubrick and injunctions of the church with eight things flatly *sinful*, and contrary to the word of God.‡

1. That no minister be admitted to baptize without using the *sign of the cross*.

2. That no minister be admitted to officiate without wearing a *surplice*.

3. That none be admitted to the Lord's supper without he receive it *kneeling*.

4. That ministers be obliged to pronounce all baptized persons *regenerated by the Holy Ghost*, whether they be the children of Christians or not.

5. That ministers be obliged to deliver the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ to the *unfit both in health and sickness*, and that, by personal application, putting it into their hands, even those who are forced to receive it against their wills, through consciousness of their impenitency.

6. That ministers are obliged to absolve the *unfit*, and that in absolute expressions.

fathers and god-mothers, and of the sign of the cross, and other questions. The debate on which, it is said, contributed much to encourage and promote what was called *anabaptism*.

Crosby's History of the Baptists, v. ii. p. 85, 86. ED.

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 337.

† Kennet's Chronicle, p. 504.

‡ Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 341.

7. That

7. That ministers are forced to give thanks for all whom they bury, as *brethren whom God has taken to himself*.

8. That none may be preachers who do not subscribe, that *there is nothing in the common-prayer book, book of ordination, and the thirty-nine articles, contrary to the word of God*.

After a great deal of loose discourse it was agreed to debate the third article, *of denying the communion to such as could not kneel*. The ministers proved their assertion thus, that it was denying the sacrament to such whom the Holy Ghost commanded us to receive; Rom. xiv. 1, 2, 3. "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations: one believes he may eat all things; another, that is weak, eateth herbs: let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth, for God has received him." The episcopal divines would not understand this of the *communion*. They also distinguished between things lawful in themselves, and things both lawful in themselves *and required by lawful authority*. In the former case they admit a liberty, but the latter being enjoined by *authority* become necessary. The ministers replied, that things about which there is to be a forbearance ought not to be enjoined by authority, and made necessary; and for governors to reject men by this rule is to defeat the apostle's reasoning, and so contradict the law of God. But when Dr. Gunning had read certain citations* and authorities for the other side of the question, bishop Cosins the moderator called out to the rest of the bishops and doctors, and put the question, *All you that think Dr. Gunning has proved that Romans xiv. speaketh not of receiving the sacrament, say aye*. Upon which there was a general cry among the hearers, *aye, aye*; the episcopal divines having great numbers of their party in the hall; whereas the ministers had not above two or three gentlemen and scholars who had the courage to appear with them. Nevertheless they maintained their point, and (as bishop Burnet observes) insisted upon it, that a "law which excludes all from the sacrament who dare not kneel, was unlawful, as it was a limitation in point of communion put upon the laws of Christ, which ought to be the only condition of those that have a right to it."

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 506.

At length the episcopal divines became opponents upon the same question, and argued thus; "That command which enjoins only an act in itself lawful, is not sinful." Which Mr. *Baxter* denied. They then added, "That command which enjoins only an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful." This also Mr. *Baxter* denied. They then advanced further, "That command which enjoins only an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby an unjust penalty is enjoined, or any circumstance, whence directly or *per accidens* any sin is consequent which the commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a command, and particularly cannot be charged with enjoining an act *per accidens* unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an unjust penalty." This also was denied, because, though it does not command that which is sinful, it may restrain from that which is lawful, and it may be applied to undue subjects. Other reasons were assigned;* but the dispute broke off with noise and confusion, and high reflections upon Mr. *Baxter's* dark and cloudy imagination, and his perplexed, scholastick, metaphysical manner of distinguishing, which tended rather to confound than to clear up that which was doubtful; and bishop *Saunderson* being then in the chair, pronounced that Dr. *Gunning* had the better of the argument.

Bishop *Morley* said, that Mr. *Baxter's* denying that plain proposition was destructive of all authority human and divine; that it struck the church out of all its claims for making canons, and for settling order and discipline; nay, that it took away all legislative power from the king and parliament, and even from God himself; for no act can be so good in itself, but may lead to a sin *by accident*; and if to command such an act be a sin, then every command must be a sin.

Bishop *Burnet* adds,† "that *Baxter* and *Gunning* spent several days in logical arguing, to the diversion of the town, who looked upon them as a couple of *fencers* engaged in a dispute that could not be brought to any end. The bishops insisted upon the laws being still in force; to which they would admit of no exception, unless it was proved that the matter of them was sinful. They charged the presbyterians with making a schism for that which

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 505. † Vol. i. p. 264. "they

“ they could not prove to be sinful. They said there was
“ no reason to gratify such men; that one demand granted
“ would draw on many more; that all authority in church
“ and state was struck at by the position they had insisted
“ on, namely, *That it was not lawful to impose things indif-*
“ *ferent*, since these seemed to be the only matters in which
“ authority could interfere.”—Thus ended the disputation.

From arguments the ministers descended to intreaties, and prayed the bishops to have compassion on scrupulous minds, and not despise their weaker brethren. If the non-conformists should be ejected, they urged, that there would not be clergymen enough to fill the vacant pulpits; they put them in mind of their peaceable behaviour in the late times; what they had suffered for the royal cause, and the great share they had in restoring the king; they pleaded his majesty's late declaration, and the design of the present conference. To all which the bishops replied, that they were only commissioned *to make such alterations in the liturgy as should be necessary, and such as should be agreed upon*. The ministers replied, that the word *necessary* must refer to the satisfying tender consciences; but the bishops insisted, that they saw no alterations *necessary*, and therefore were not obliged to make any till they could prove them so. The ministers prayed them to consider the ill consequence that might follow upon a separation. But all was to no purpose, their lordships were in the saddle, and, if we may believe Mr. *Baxter*, would not abate the smallest ceremony, nor correct the grossest error for the peace of the church. Thus the king's commission expired July 25, and the conferences ended without any prospect of accommodation.

It was agreed at the conclusion, that each party might represent to his majesty, that they were all agreed upon the ends of the conference, which were the *church's welfare, unity and peace*, but still disagreed as to the means of procuring them. The bishops thought they had no occasion to represent their case in writing; but the presbyterian commissioners met by themselves, and drew up an account of their proceedings, with a petition for that relief which they could not obtain from the bishops.* They presented it to

* Mr. *Crosby* says, “ he had been informed, that when the *presbyterians*
“ were pleading hard for such concessions from his majesty, as they thought
“ would

the king by bishop *Reynolds*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, and Mr. *Baxter*;^{*} but received no answer.

Before we leave this famous conference at the *Savoy*, it will not be amiss to remark the behaviour of the commissioners on both sides, some of whom seldom or never appeared, as Dr. *King* bishop of *Chichester*, Dr. *Heylin*, *Barwick*, and *Earle*;§ *Sheldon* bishop of *London* came but seldom, though he, with *Henchman* and *Morley*, had the chief management of affairs;|| others who were present, but did not much concern themselves in the debate, as Dr. *Frewen* archbishop of *York*; *Lucy* of *St. David's*; *Warner* of *Rochester*; *Saunderson* of *Lincoln*; *Laney* of *Peterborough*; *Walton* of *Chester*; *Sterne* of *Carlisle*; Dr. *Hacket* and Dr. *Sparrow*. On the side of the presbyterians Dr. *Horton* never appeared, nor Dr. *Drake*, because of a *misnomer* in the commission; Dr. *Lightfoot*, *Tuckney*, and Mr. *Woodbridge*, were present only once or twice.

Among the bishops; Dr. *Morley* was the chief speaker; his manner was vehement, and he was against all abatements.

“ would bring about an union: the lord chancellor told them, his majesty
“ had received petitions from the *anabaptists*, who desired nothing more than
“ to have liberty to worship God according to their consciences. At which
“ they were all struck dumb, and remained in a long silence.” Mr. *Baxter*
places this matter in another light: that petitions having been received
from the *independents* and *anabaptists*, the chancellor proposed to add a
clause to the king's declaration, permitting others, besides the *presbyterians*,
to meet, if they did it peaceably, for religious worship, secure from mo-
lestation by any civil officer. On this the bishops and the *presbyterians*,
seeing it would operate in favour of the *papists*, were silent: till Mr. *Baxter*,
judging that consenting to it would bring on them the charge of speaking
for the toleration of *papists* and *sectaries*, and that opposing it would draw
on them the resentment of all sects and parties as the causes of their suffer-
ings, said, “ that as they humbly thanked his majesty for his indulgence to
“ themselves, so they must distinguish the *tolerable* parties from the *intoler-*
“ *able*: that for the former they craved favour and lenity; but that they
“ could not request the toleration of the latter, such as the *papists* and *soci-*
“ *nians*, whom Dr. *Gunning*, speaking against the sects, had then named.”
To this his majesty said, “ that there were laws enough against the *papists*.”
Mr. *Baxter* replied, “ they understood the question to be, whether those
“ laws should be executed on them or not.” And so his majesty broke up
the meeting of that day. Crosby's History of the Baptists, v. ii. p. 87-89.
Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 277. Ed.

* *Baxter's Life*, part ii. p. 366. § *Ibid.* p. 307.

¶ *Kennet's Chronicle*, p. 507.

He frequently interrupted Mr. *Baxter*;† and when Dr. *Bates* said, *Pray, my Lord, give him leave to speak*, he could not obtain it.

Bishop *Cosins* was there constantly, and though he was inclined to moderate measures, said some very severe things. When the ministers prayed the bishops to have some compassion on their brethren, and not cast such great numbers unnecessarily out of the ministry, he replied, *What, do you threaten us with numbers? For my part, I think the king would do well to make you name them all.* Again, when the ministers complained, that after so many years calamity the bishops would not yield to that which their predecessors suffered before the war, bishop *Cosins* replied, *Do you threaten us then with a new war? It is time for the king to look to you.*

Bishop *Gauden* often took part with the presbyterian divines, and was the only moderator among the bishops, except bishop *Reynolds*, who spoke much the first day for abatements and moderation; but afterwards, sitting among the bishops he only spoke now and then a qualifying word, though he was heartily grieved for the fruitless issue of the conference.

Of the disputants, it is said, Dr. *Pearson*, afterwards bishop of *Chester*, disputed accurately, soberly, and calmly. The presbyterian ministers had a great regard for him, and believed, that if he had been an umpire in the controversy his concessions would have greatly relieved them.

Dr. *Gunning* was the most forward speaker, and stuck at nothing. Bishop *Burnet* says,* that all the arts of sophistry were used by him in as confident a manner as if they had been sound reasoning; that he was unweariedly active to every little purpose, and being very fond of the popish rituals and ceremonies, he was much set upon reconciling the church of England to Rome.

On the side of the presbyterians, Dr. *Bates* and *Manton* behaved with great modesty; the most active disputant was Mr. *Baxter*, who had a very metaphysical head and fertile invention, and was one of the most ready men of his time for an argument, but too eager and tenacious of his own opinions. Next to him was Mr. *Calamy*, who had a great interest among the presbyterian ministers in city and country, and for his age and gravity was respected as their father.

† *Baxter's Life*, part. ii. p. 363.

* Page 263, 4.

Among

Among the auditors Mr. *Baxter* observes* there was with the bishops a croud of young divines who behaved indecently; but mentions only two or three scholars and laymen, who, as auditors, came in with the presbyterians, as Mr. *Miles*, Mr. *Tillotson*, &c.

This Mr. *Tillotson* was afterwards the most reverend and learned archbishop of *Canterbury*, one of the most celebrated divines and preachers of the age. We shall have frequent occasion to mention him hereafter, and therefore, I shall give a short account of him in this place. He was born in *Yorkshire* 1630, and received his first education among the *puritans*; and though he had freer notions, he still stuck to the strictness of life to which he was bred, and retained a just value and a due tenderness for men of that persuasion. He was admitted student of *Clare-hall* in *Cambridge*, under the tuition of Mr. *David Clarkson*, in the year 1647. He was bachelor of arts 1650, and within the compass of a year was elected fellow. He had then a sweetness of temper which he retained as long as he lived; and in those early years was respected as a person of very great parts and prudence.† In the year 1661, he continued a non-conformist, and has a sermon in the morning exercises on *Matt. vii. 12*. He appeared with the presbyterians at the *Savoy* disputation; and though he conformed upon the act of uniformity in 1662, he was always inclined to the puritans, never fond of the ceremonies of the church, but would dispense sometimes with those who could not conscientiously submit to them. He owned the dissenters had some plausible objections against the common-prayer; and in the opinion of some persuaded men rather to bear with the church, than be zealous for it. In the year 1663, he was preferred to the rectory of *Kedington* in *Suffolk*, vacant by the non-subscription of Mr. *Samuel Fairclough*. Next year he was chosen preacher to *Lincoln's Inn*, and lecturer of *St. Lawrence's church* in *London*, where his excellent sermons, delivered in a most graceful manner, drew the attention of great numbers of the quality, and of most of the divines and gentlemen in the city. In 1669, he was made canon of *Christ-church* in *Canterbury*; and in 1672, dean of that church, and residentiary; but rose no

* *Baxter's Life*, p. 337.

† *Athen. Oxon.* p. 968.

gher till the revolution of king *William* and queen *Mary*, when he was first made clerk of the closet, and then advanced once to the archbishoprick of Canterbury, in the room of *Dr. Sancroft* a non-juror. He was a divine of moderate principles to the last, and always disposed to promote a toleration, and if possible a comprehension of the dissenters within the church. Upon the whole, he was a second *cranmer*, and one of the most valuable prelates that this, or, may be, any other church ever produced.

Various censures were passed within doors upon the *Savoy* conference; the *independants* were disgusted, because none of them were consulted, though it does not appear to me what concern they could have in it, their views being only to a toleration, not a comprehension. Some blamed their brethren for yielding too much, and others thought they might have yielded more; but when they saw the fruitless end of the treaty, and the papers that were published, most of them were satisfied.—Bishop *Burnet* says,† the conference did rather hurt than good, it heightened the sharpness which was already on people's minds to such a degree, that it needed no addition to raise it higher.—Mr. *Robinson* says,* “It was notorious that the business of the episcopal party was not to consult the interest of religion, but to cover a political design, which was too bad to appear at first; nor did they mean to heal the church's wounds, so much as to revenge their own. When they knew what the presbyterians scrupled, they said, now they knew their minds they would have matters so fixed that not one of that sort should be able to keep his living. They did not desire, but rather fear their compliance.” Nay, so unacceptable was the publishing the papers relating to the conference, that bishop *Auderson* and some of his brethren cautioned their clergy against reading them. From this time the presbyterians were out of the question, and the settlement of the church referred entirely to the convocation and parliament.

It had been debated in council, whether there should be a convocation while the conference at the *Savoy* was depending; but at the intercession of *Dr. Heylin* and others, the court was prevailed with to consent that there should; and such

† Page 265. * Answer to Bennett, of *Liturgies*, p. 382.

care was taken in the choice of members (as bishop *Burnet* observes) that every thing went among them as was directed by bishop *Sheldon* and *Morley*. If a convocation had been holden with the convention parliament the majority would have been against the hierarchy; but it is not to be wondered they were otherwise now, when some hundreds of the presbyterian clergy, who were in possession of sequestered livings, had been dispossessed; and the necessity of ordination by a bishop being urged upon those who had been ordained by presbyters only, great numbers were denied their votes in elections. Nevertheless the presbyterian interest carried it in London for Mr. *Baxter* and *Calamy* by three voices; but the bishop of London, having a power of choosing two out of four, or four out of six within a certain circuit, left them both out; by which means the city of London had no clerks in the convocation. The author of the *Conformists Piece** says, “That to frame a convocation to
 “their mind great care and pains were used to keep out,
 “and to get men in, by very undue proceedings; and that
 “protestations were made against all incumbents not or-
 “dained by bishops.”

The *Savoy* conference having ended without success, the king sent a letter to the convocation, Nov. 20, commanding them to review the book of common-prayer, and make such additions and amendments† as they thought necessary. Letters to the same purpose were sent to the archbishop of *York*, to

* Page 35.

† It was required, “that all proposed alterations should be exhibited
 “and presented for his majesty’s farther allowance and confirmation:” this was accordingly done. He was finally to pronounce on the propriety and truth of the proposed alterations. All the debates, investigations, and decisions of the clergy and bishops, had no efficacy without the sanction of the king. They might be mistaken: but he could not. There is an absurdity in ascribing infallibility to any human being, necessarily liable to imperfect views, to prejudices and to error. “But, if possible, the absurdity is
 “greater in attributing it to the sceptered, rather than to the mitred sove-
 “reign. The former is not educated to a religious profession; and his
 “time, from the moment he fills the throne, that is, from the moment he
 “becomes infallible, must be constantly employed in civil concerns: but
 “yet, as head of the church, to him all truth is known; to him all appeals
 “from the ecclesiastical courts must be made.”

A Treatise on Heresy, p. 73, 74. Ed. be

be communicated to the clergy of his province, who for the greater expedition sent proxies with procuratorial letters to those of Canterbury, and obliged themselves to abide by their votes under forfeiture of their goods and chattels.

“It is inconceivable, says Dr. *Nichols*, what difficulties the bishops had to contend with, about making these *alterations*; they were not only to conquer their own former resentments, and the unreasonable demands of presbyterians, but they had the court to deal with, who pushed them on to all acts of severity.”* Whereas on the contrary, the tide was strong on their side, the bishops pushed on the court, who were willing to give them the reins, that when the breach was made as wide as possible a door might be opened for the toleration of papists. The review of the common-prayer book engaged the convocation a whole month; and on the 20th of December it was signed, and approved by all the members of both houses.*

The alterations were these,†

1. The rubrick for *singing of lessons*,‡ &c. was omitted, the distinct reading of them being thought more proper.
2. Several collects for Sundays and holy days complained of, were omitted, and others substituted in their room.
3. Communicants at the Lord's supper were enjoined to signify their names to the curate some time the day before.
4. The preface to the ten commandments was restored.§
5. The exhortations to the holy communion were amended.
6. The general confession in the communion office was appointed to be read by one of the ministers.
7. In the office for *Christmas day* the words *this day* were changed for *as at this time*.

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 574. † Ibid. 585.

‡ The rubrick in king *James's* review directed also the two lessons to be distinctly read, but it added; “To the end the people may better hear, in such places where they do sing, there shall the lessons be sung in a plain tune, after the manner of distinct reading, and likewise the epistle and gospel.” Grey's Examination, p. 308. Ed.

§ “So indeed says bishop *Kennet*,” remarks Dr. *Grey*; but they are both mistaken. The commandments were not in king *Edward's* first liturgy, but in king *Edward's* 1552, and in the reviews of queen *Elizabeth* and king *James*. Grey's Examination, p. 309. Ed.

8. In the prayer of consecration the *priest* is directed to break the bread.

9. The rubrick for explaining the reason of kneeling at the sacrament was restored.

10. Private baptism is not to be administered but by a lawful minister.

11. The answer to the question in the catechism, *Why then are children baptized?* is thus amended, *because they promise them both by their sureties; which promise, when they come to age, themselves are bound to perform.*

12. In the last rubrick before the catechism these words are expunged, *And that no man shall think that any detriment shall come to children by deferring of their confirmation, &c.*

13. It is appointed that the curate of every parish shall either bring or send in writing, with his hand subscribed thereunto, the names of all such persons within his parish, as he shall think fit to be presented to the bishop to be confirmed.

14. The rubrick after confirmation was thus softened; *None shall be admitted to the communion till such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed.*

15. In the form of matrimony, instead of, *till death us depart*, it is, *till death us do part.*

16. In the rubricks after the form of matrimony, it is thus altered, *After which, if there be no sermon declaring the duties of man and wife, the minister shall read as followeth:—* And instead of the second rubrick, it is advised to be convenient, that the new married persons should receive the communion at the time of marriage, or at the first opportunity afterwards.

17. In the order for visitation of the sick it is thus amended: *Here the sick person shall be moved to make special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter; after which the priest shall absolve him, if he humbly and heartily desire it, after this sort.—*

18. In the communion for the sick the minister is not enjoined to administer the sacrament to every sick person that shall desire it, but only as he shall judge expedient.

19. In the order for the burial of the dead it is thus altered: the priests and clerks meeting the corpse at the entrance
of

of the church-yard, and going before it either into the church, or towards the grave, shall say or sing,—In the office itself, these words, *In sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life*, are thus altered, in sure and certain hope of *the* resurrection to eternal life; and to lessen the objection of *God's taking to himself the soul of this our dear brother departed*, &c. the following rubrick is added; *Here is to be noted, that the office ensuing is not to be used for any that die unbaptized or excommunicate, or who have laid violent hands upon themselves.*

20. In the *churching of women* the new rubrick directs, that the woman at the usual time after her delivery, shall come into the church decently appareled, and there shall kneel down in some convenient place, *as has been accustomed, or as the ordinary shall direct*, and the cxvith or cxxviith psalm shall be read.

Dr. *Tenison*, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, says, “They made about six hundred small alterations or additions, but then adds, If there was reason for these changes, there was equal, if not greater reason for some further improvements. If they had foreseen what is since come to pass, I charitably believe they would not have done all they did, and just so much and no more; and yet I also believe, if they had offered to move much further, *A stone would have been laid under their wheel, by a secret but powerful hand*; for the mystery of popery did even then work.”* Bishop *Burnet* confesses, that no alterations were made in favour of the presbyterians, for it was resolved to gratify them in nothing.

But besides the alterations and amendments already mentioned, there were several additional forms of prayer, § as for the 30th of January and the 29th of May, forms of prayer to be used at sea; and a new office for the administration of baptism to grown persons. † Some corrections were

* Compl. Hist. p. 252. in Marg.

§ Besides the new forms specified by Mr. *Neal*, there were also added, Dr. *Grey* says, the prayer for the high court of parliament, the prayer for all conditions of men, and the general thanksgiving. Examination, p. 310. Ed.

† This service was added, because on account of the spread of *baptistical* sentiments, there were now many grown up too old to be baptised as infants, whose duty it was to make a profession of their own faith. Wall's Hist. of Infant baptism. vol. ii. p. 215. Ed.

made in the kalendar. Some new holidays were added, as *the conversion of St. Paul*, and *St. Barnabas*.^{*} More new lessons were taken out of the Apocrypha, as *the story of Bel and the Dragon*, &c. But it was agreed, that no apocryphal lessons should be read on Sundays. These were all the concessions the convocation would admit§; and this was all the fruit of the conference at the Savoy, by which, according to Mr. *Baxter* and bishop *Burnet*, the common-prayer book was rendered more exceptionable, and the terms of conformity much harder than before the civil war.

The common-prayer book thus altered and amended was sent up to the king and council, and from thence transmitted to the house of peers, Feb. 24, with this message, That his majesty had duly considered of the alterations, and does with the advice of his council fully approve and allow the same; and doth recommend it to the house of peers, that “the said
“books of common-prayer, and of the forms of ordination,
“and consecration of bishops, priests and deacons, with those
“additions and alterations that have been made, and presented to his majesty by the convocation, be the book which
“in and by the intended act of uniformity shall be appointed
“to be used by all that officiate in all cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels, &c. and in all parish churches
“of England and Wales, under such sanctions or penalties as
“the parliament shall think fit†.” When the *lords* had gone through the book, the lord chancellor Hyde, by order of the house, gave the bishops thanks, March 15, for their care in this business||; and desired their lordships to give the like thanks to the lower house of convocation, and acquaint them,

^{*} These two holidays, though then first appointed by act of parliament, were not now added to the kalendar; for they stand in the liturgy of *Edward VI.* by *Whitchurch*, 1549; in his *Review*, 1552; in *Q. Elizabeth's* review, 4to. 1601; in *K. James's* review 1609; and in the *Scotch* liturgy, at *Edinburgh*, folio, 1637. *Grey's Examination*, p. 311. It may be added, they are, with suitable collects, in the liturgy printed by *Bonham Norton* and *John Bill*, 1629, *penes me.* ED.

§ There is one alteration not mentioned by Mr. *Neal*. In the second collect, in the *visitation of the sick*, these words are omitted; “Visite him, O Lord, as thou didst *Peter's* wife's mother, and the captain's servant:” which were in *K. Edward's*, *Q. Elizabeth's* and *K. James's* review. Id. p. 311. ED.

† Kennet's *Chron.* p. 633.

|| Id. p. 642, 3.

that

that their amendments were well received and approved, though some of them met with a considerable opposition. From the lords they were sent down to the commons, and inserted in the act of uniformity, as will be seen under the next year.

But before this famous act had passed either house the presbyterians were reduced to the utmost distress. In the month of March, 1661-62,* the grand jury at Exeter found above forty bills of indictment against some eminent non-conformist ministers for not reading the common prayer according to law. They likewise presented the travelling about of divers itinerant preachers, ejected out of sequestered livings, as dangerous to the peace of the nation. They complained of their teaching sedition and rebellion in private houses, and other congregations, tending to foment a new war. They also presented such as neglected their own parish churches, and run abroad to hear factious ministers; and such as walked in the churchyards, or other places, while divine service was reading; all which were the certain forerunners of a general persecution.

In Scotland the court carried their measures with a high hand; for having got a parliament to their mind,§ the earl of Middleton, a most notorious debauchee, opened it, with presenting a letter of his majesty to the house; after which they passed an act, declaring all *Leagues not made with the king's authority illegal*. This struck at the root of the *covenant made with England in 1643*.† They passed another act rescinding all acts made since the late troubles, and another empowering the king to settle the government of the church *as he should please*. It was a mad, roaring time, (says the bishop) and no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk. The king hereupon directed that the church should be governed by synods, presbyters, and kirk sessions, till he should appoint another government, which he did by a letter to his council of Scotland, bearing date Aug. 14, 1661, in which he recites the inconveniencies which had attended the presbyterian government for the last twenty-three years, and its inconsistency with monarchy.—“Therefore (says he)

* Kennet's Chron. p. 647.

§ Burnet, vol. i. p. 161, &c.

† Burnet, p. 166.

“ from our respect to the glory of God, the good and inter-
 “ rest of the protestant religion, and the better harmony with
 “ the government of the church of England, *We declare our*
 “ *firm resolution to interpose our royal authority for restoring the*
 “ *church of Scotland to its right government by bishops, as it*
 “ *was before the late troubles.* And our will and pleasure is,
 “ that you take effectual care to restore the rents belonging
 “ to the several bishopricks; that you prohibit the assembling
 “ of ministers in their synodical meetings till our further
 “ pleasure; and that you keep a watchful eye over those, who
 “ by discourse or preaching endeavour to alienate the affections
 “ of our people from us or our government.—” Pursuant to these directions the lords of the council ordered the heralds to make publick proclamation at the market cross in Edinburgh, Sept. 6, of this his majesty’s royal will and pleasure. In the month of December a commission was issued out to the bishops of London and Worcester* to ordain and consecrate according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England, Mr. *James Sharp*, archbishop of St. *Andrews*, Mr. *Andrew Fairfoul*, archbishop of Glasgow, Mr. *Robert Leighton*, bishop of Dunblain, and Mr. *James Hamilton*, bishop of Galloway. A very bad choice, says bishop *Burnet*. *Sharp* was one of the falsest and vilest dissemblers in the world. *Fairfoul* was next akin to a natural. *Leighton* was an excellent prelate; but *Hamilton*’s life was scarce free from scandal.† He had sworn to the covenant, and when one objected to him, that it went against his conscience, he said, *Such medicines as could not be chewed must be swallowed whole.*§ The English bishops insisted upon their renouncing their presby-

* *Burnet*, p. 133, 134.

† *Ibid.* 191, 192.

* It is, as Dr. *Grey* remarks, that Mr. *Neal* has here strangely confounded two characters; ascribing to bishop *Hamilton* what bishop *Burnet* has applied to bishop *Fairfoul*. It is singular that Dr. *Grey* has, in the next paragraph, committed a similar mistake; for quoting Mr. *Neal*’s account of the death of Mr. *James Guthrie*, who, on the authority of *Burnet*, he says, “spoke an hour before his execution, with great composedness,” he admits the correctness of this passage: but adds, that *Burnet*, but two pages before, said, that Mr. *Guthrie* spoke for half an hour with great appearance of serenity; and observes, “so consistent was this great man with himself in the compass of two pages.” Now the inconsistency is in Dr. *Grey*, and not bishop *Burnet*, who speaks in the first place not of Mr. *Guthrie*, but of the Marquis of *Argyle*, vol. i. p. 179. Ed.

terian orders, which they consented to, and were, in one and the same day, ordained, first deacons, then priests, and last of all bishops, according to the rites of the church of England.

Bishop *Burnet* says, that though the king had a natural hatred to presbytery, he went very coldly into this design; nay, that he had a visible reluctance against it, because of the temper of the *Scots* nation, and his unwillingness to involve his government in new troubles; but the earl of *Clarendon** pushed it forward with great zeal; and the duke of *Ormond* said, that episcopacy could not be established in Ireland, if presbytery continued in Scotland. The earls of *Lauderdale* and *Crawford* indeed opposed it, but the council of Scotland not protesting, it was determined; but it was a large strain of the prerogative for a king by a royal proclamation to alter the government of a church established by law, without consent of parliament, convocation or synod of any kind whatsoever; for it was not until May the next year that this affair was decided in parliament.

Some of the *Scots* ministers preached boldly against this change of government; and among others, Mr. *James Guthrie*, minister of *Stirling*, for which, and some other things, he was convicted of sedition and treason. Bishop *Burnet*,§ who saw him suffer, says that he expressed a contempt of death; that he spoke an hour upon the ladder with the composure of a man that was delivering a sermon rather than his last words; that he justified all he had done, exhorting all people to adhere to the covenant, which he magnified highly. He was executed June 14, 1661, and concluded his dying speech with these words,† “I take God to record upon my soul, that
“I would not exchange this scaffold with the palace or mitre
“of the greatest prelate in Britain. Blessed be God, who
“hath shewed mercy to such a wretch, and has revealed
“his son in me, and made me a minister of the everlasting
“gospel; and that he has designed, in the midst of much con-
“tradiction from satan and the world, to seal my ministry up-
“on the hearts of not a few of this people, and especially in
“the congregation and presbytery of *Stirling*.” There was with

* Hist. p. 130, 131. Kennet's Chron. 577.

§ Hist. of the Stuarts, p. 144. † Kennet's Chron. p. 459. Burnet, p. 181.
him

him on the same scaffold, young captain *Govan*, whose last words were these, “ I bear witness with my blood to the persecuted government of this church, by synods and presbyteries. I bear witness to the solemn league and covenant, and seal it with my blood. I likewise testify against all popery, prelacy, idolatry, superstition, and the service book, which is no better than a relic of the *Romish* idolatry—” *
 Soon after this the rights of patronages were restored, and all the presbyterian ministers silenced, though the court had not a supply of men of any sort to fill up their vacancies.

The account that bishop *Burnet* gives of the old *Scots* presbyterian ministers, who were possessed of the church livings before the Restoration, is very remarkable, and deserves a place in this history. “ They were (says he) a brave and solemn people; their spirits were eager, and their tempers sour, but they had an appearance that created respect; they visited their parishes much, and were so full of scripture, and so ready at extempore prayer, that from that they grew to practise extempore sermons; for the custom in Scotland was, after dinner or supper, to read a chapter in the bible, and when they happened to come in, if it was acceptable, they would on a sudden expound the chapter; by this means the people had such a vast degree of knowledge, that the poor cottagers could pray extempore. Their preachers went all in one tract in their sermons, of doctrine, reason, and use; and this was so methodical, that the people could follow a sermon quite through every branch of it. It can hardly be imagined to what a degree these ministers were loved and revered by their people. They kept scandalous persons under severe discipline; for breach of the sabbath, for an oath, or drunkenness, they were cited before the kirk sessions, and solemnly rebuked for it; for fornication they stood on the stool of repentance in the church, at the time of worship, for three days, receiving admonition, and making professions of repentance, which some did with many tears, and exhortations to others to take warning by them; for adultery they sat in the same place six months covered with sackcloth. But with all this (says the bishop) they had but a narrow compass of

* Burnet, p. 152, 153.

† *ib.* p. 226, 227.

“ learning

“learning, were very affected in their deportment, and were
 “apt in their sermons to make themselves popular, by preach-
 “ing against the sins of princes and courts, which the people
 “delighted to hear, because they had no share in them.”*

The bishops and clergy, who succeeded the presbyterians, were of a quite different stamp; most of them were very mean divines, vicious in their morals, idle and negligent of their cures; by which means they became obnoxious to the whole nation, and were hardly capable of supporting their authority through the reign of king *Charles II.* even with the assistance of the civil power. Bishop *Burnet* adds§, that they were mean and despicable in all respects; the worst preachers he ever heard; ignorant to a reproach, and many of them openly vicious; that they were a disgrace to their order, and to the sacred functions, and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. The few who were above contempt or scandal were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were despised.

In Ireland the hierarchy was restored after the same manner as in Scotland; the king by his letters patent, in right of his power to appoint bishops to the vacant sees, issued his royal mandate to Dr. *Bramhall*, archbishop of Armagh, and Dr. *Taylor* bishop of Down and Connor, by virtue of which they consecrated two archbishops, and ten bishops, in one day.† His grace insisted on the re-ordination of those who had been ordained in the late times without the hands of a bishop, but with this softening clause in their orders: *Non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forinsecarum condemnantes, quos proprio iudicio relinquimus: Sed solummodo suppletis quicquid prius defuit per canones ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum*—i. e. “Not annihilating his former orders (if he had any) nor determining
 “concerning their validity or invalidity, much less condemn-
 “ing all the sacred ordinations of foreign churches whom we
 “leave to their own judge, but only supplying what was
 “wanting according to the canons of the church of Eng-
 “land.—” Without such an explication as this, few of the

§ Page 229.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 440, 441.

clergy of Ireland would have kept their stations in the church.* On the 17th of May, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in parliament assembled in Ireland, declared their opinion and high esteem of episcopal government, and of the book of common-prayer, according to the use of the church of England; and thus the old constitution, in church as well as state, was restored in the three kingdoms.

The French ministers, who had been tools to persuade the English presbyterians to restore the king *without a treaty*, went along with the torrent, and complimented the church of England upon her re-establishment; they commended the liturgy, which they formerly treated with contemptuous language. Some few of them pretended to bemoan the want of episcopacy among themselves, and to wonder that any of the English presbyterians should scruple conformity.† The French church at the Savoy submitted to the rites and ceremonies of the English hierarchy; and M. *Du Bosc*, minister of Caen, writes to the minister of the Savoy, that he was as dear to him under the *surplice* of England, as under the *robe* of France.‖ So complaisant were these mercenary divines towards those who disallowed their orders, disowned their churches, and the validity of all their administrations.

Lord *Clarendon* and the bishops having got over the Savoy conference, and carried the service-book with the amendments through the convocation, were now improving the present temper of the parliament to procure it the sanction of the legislature; for this purpose the king, *though a papist*, is made to speak the language of a zealous churchman. In his speech to the parliament, March 1st, he has these words: “Gentlemen, I hear you are zealous for the church, and
“very solicitous, and even jealous, that there is not expe-
“dition enough used in that affair. I thank you for it, since
“I presume it proceeds from a good root of piety and de-
“votion; but I must tell you, that I have the worst luck in
“the world, if after all the reproaches of being a *papist*,
“while I was abroad, I am suspected of being a *presbyterian*
“now I am come home. I know you will not take it un-
“kindly if I tell you, I am as zealous for the church of Eng-
“land as any of you can be, and am enough acquainted

* Kennet's Chron. p. 449.

† Ibid. p. 462.

‖ Ibid. p. 475.

“with

“ with the enemies of it on all sides. I am as much in love
 “ with the book of common-prayer as you can wish, and
 “ have prejudices enough against those who do not love it;
 “ who I hope, in time, will be better informed, and change
 “ their minds. And you may be confident, I do as much
 “ desire to see an uniformity settled as any among you; and
 “ pray trust me in that affair, I promise you to hasten the
 “ dispatch of it with all convenient speed; you may rely
 “ upon me in it. I have transmitted the book of common-
 “ prayer with the amendments, to the house of lords—but
 “ when we have done all we can, the well settling that af-
 “ fair will require great prudence and discretion, and the
 “ absence of all passion and precipitation.” §

The reason of the king's requiring *discretion* in the parliament, and the absence of passion, was not in favour of the presbyterians, but the papists, who went all the lengths of the prerogative, and published a remonstrance about this time, “ wherein they acknowledge his majesty to be God's
 “ vicegerent upon earth in all temporal affairs; that they
 “ are bound to obey him under pain of sin, and that they
 “ renounce all foreign power and authority, as incapable of
 “ absolving them from this obligation.” It was given out, that they were to have forty chapels in and about the city of London, and much more was understood by them (says archbishop *Tenison*) who have penetrated into the designs of a certain paper, commonly called the *Declaration of Somerset-House*; but the design miscarried, partly by their divisions among themselves, and partly by the resoluteness of the prime minister, who charged them with principles inconsistent with the peace of the kingdom.* Father *Orleans* says, “ There
 “ were great debates in this parliament about liberty of con-
 “ science.—The catholick party was supported by the earl
 “ of *Bristol*, a man in great repute; the protestant party by
 “ chancellor *Hyde*, chief of an opposite faction, and a per-
 “ son of no less consideration, who, putting himself at the
 “ head of the prevailing church of England party in that
 “ parliament, declared not only against the Roman catho-
 “ licks, but against the presbyterians, and all those the

§ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 628, folio.

* Compl. Hist. p. 252. Kennet's Chron. p. 482 and 498.

“ church

“ church of England calls non-conformists. The king, *who*
 “ *was no good christian in his actions, but a catholick in his*
 “ *heart*, did all that could be expected from his easy temper,
 “ to maintain the common liberty, *that so the catholicks might*
 “ *have a share in it*; but the church of England, and chan-
 “ cellor *Hyde*, were so hot upon that point, that his majesty
 “ was obliged to yield rather to the chancellor’s importunity
 “ than to his reason.” § However, by the favour of the
 queen-mother, swarms of papists came over into England,
 and settled about the court; they set up private seminaries
 for the education of youth; and though they could not ob-
 tain an open toleration, they multiplied exceedingly, and
 laid the foundation of all the dangers which threatened the
 constitution and protestant religion, in the latter part of this
 and in the next reign.

Towards the latter end of this year, the court and bishops,
 not content with their triumphs over the living presbyterians,
 descended into the grave, and dug up the bodies of those
 who had been deposited in Westminster-Abbey in the late
 times, lest their dust should one time or other mix with the
 loyalists; for besides the bodies of *Cromwell*, and others al-
 ready mentioned, his majesty’s warrant to the dean and chap-
 ter of Westminster was now obtained, to take up the bodies
 of such persons who had been unwarrantably buried in the
 chapel of king *Henry VII.* and in other chapels and places
 within the collegiate church of Westminster since the year
 1641, and to inter them in the church-yard adjacent; by
 which warrant they might have taken up all the bodies that
 had been buried there for twenty years past. Pursuant to
 these orders, on the 12th and 14th of September they went
 to work, and took up about twenty,* among whom were,

The

§ Kennet’s Chron. p. 498.

* Among the following names, the reader will find some, who have not
 been noticed in the preceding history, or in the notes. The mother of
Oliver Cromwell was by no means deserving of the malevolence and indig-
 nity with which her memory was treated. For, though she lavished the
 greatest fondness on her only son, she was averse to his protectorate, seldom
 troubled him with her advice, and with reluctance partook of the pageantry
 of sovereignty. She was an amiable and prudent woman: who, to make
 up the deficiency of a narrow income, undertook and managed the brewing
 trade on her own account, and from the profits of it provided fortunes for
 her

The body of ELIZ. CROMWELL, mother of OLIVER, daughter of sir *Richard Stewart*, who died Nov. 18, 1654, and was buried in *Henry the seventh's* chapel.

The body of ELIZ. CLAYPOLE, daughter of OLIVER, who died August 7, 1658, and was buried in a vault made for her in *Henry the seventh's* chapel.

The body of ROBERT BLAKE, the famous English admiral, who after his victorious fight at Santa Cruz, died in Plymouth Sound, August 7, 1657, and was buried in *Henry the seventh's* chapel:—a man, whose great services to the English nation will be an everlasting monument of his renown.

The body of the famous Mr. JOHN PYM, a Cornish gentleman, and member of the long parliament, who was buried in the year 1643, and attended to his grave by most of the lords and commons in parliament.

The body of Dr. DORISLAUS, employed as an assistant in drawing up the charge against the king, for which he was murdered by the royalists, when he was ambassador to the states of Holland in 1649.

The body of sir WILLIAM CONSTABLE, one of the king's judges, governor of Gloucester, and colonel of a regiment of foot, who died 1655.

her daughters, sufficient to marry them into good families. Her anxiety for her son's safety kept her in such constant alarm, that she was discontented if she did not see him twice a day. The report of a gun was never heard by her, without her crying out, "My son is shot."—It ought to have softened the resentment of the royalists against Mrs. *Claypole*, though the daughter of *Cromwell*, that she had importunately interceded for the life of Dr. *Hewett*; and the denial of her suit had so afflicted her, that it was reported to have been one cause of her death, and was the subject of her exclamations to her father on her dying bed.—*Thomas May*, esq; whose name appears in the following list, was a polite and classical scholar, the intimate friend of the greatest wits of his time, and ranked in the first class of them. He was the author of several dramattick pieces; and of two historical poems of the reigns of *Henry II.* and *Edward III.* But his principal work was a "Translation of *Lucan's Pharsalia*," and a continuation of it.—Colonel, or sir *John Meldrum*, a Scotsman, displayed his military prowess in the West, defeated the earl of *Newcastle* before Hull, with the assistance of sir *Thomas Fairfax* took the strong town of *Gainsborough* and the Isle of *Axholm*, conquered the forces of the lords *Byron* and *Molyneux*, near *Ormskirk*, and took the town and castle of *Scarborough*. Biogr. Britan. vol. iv. p. 517. Ludlow's Memoirs, 4to. p. 257. Granger's History of England, vol. iii. p. 94, and vol. ii. p. 265. ED.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 536.

The

The body of colonel EDWARD POPHAM, one of the admirals of the fleet, who died 1651.

The body of WILLIAM STROUD, esq; one of the five members of parliament demanded by king *Charles I.*

The body of colonel HUMPHREY MACKWORTH, one of *O. Cromwell's* colonels, buried in *Henry the seventh's* chapel, 1654.

The body of DENNIS BOND, esq; one of the council of state, who died August 8, 1658.

The body of THOMAS MAY, esq; who compiled the history of the long parliament with great integrity, and in a beautiful stile. He died in the year 1650.

The body of colonel JOHN MELDRUM, a Scotsman, who died in the wars.

The body of colonel BOSCAWEN, a Cornish man.

To these may be added, several eminent presbyterian divines; as,

The body of Dr. *William Twisse*, prolocutor of the assembly of divines, buried in the south cross of the Abbey church, July 24, 1645.

The body of Mr. *Stephen Marshal*, buried in the south aisle, November 23, 1655.

The body of Mr. *William Strong*, preacher in the Abbey church, and buried there July 4, 1654. These, with some others of lesser note, both men and women, were thrown together into one pit in St. Margaret's church-yard, near the back door of one of the prebendaries: but the work was so indecent, and drew such a general *odium* on the government, that a stop was put to any further proceedings.

Among others who were obnoxious to the ministry, were the people called QUAKERS, who, having declared openly against the lawfulness of making use of carnal weapons, even in self-defence, had the courage to petition the house of lords for a *toleration* of their religion, and for a dispensation from taking the oaths, which they held unlawful, not from any disaffection to the government, or a belief that they were less obliged by an *affirmation*, but from a persuasion that all oaths were unlawful; and that *swearing*, upon the most solemn occasions, was forbidden in the new testament. The lords in a committee rejected their petition, and, instead of granting

granting them relief, passed the following act* May 2, the preamble to which sets forth, “ That whereas fundry persons have taken up an opinion, that an oath, even before a magistrate, is unlawful, and contrary to the word of God. And whereas, under pretence of religious worship, the said persons do assemble in great numbers in several parts of the kingdom, separating themselves from the rest of his majesty’s subjects, and from the publick congregations and usual places of divine worship; be it therefore enacted, that if any such persons after the 24th of March, 1661-2, shall refuse to take an oath when lawfully tendered, or persuade others to do it, or maintain, in writing or otherwise, the unlawfulness of taking an oath; or if they shall assemble for religious worship to the number of five or more, of the age of fifteen, they shall for the first offence forfeit five pounds; for the second ten pounds; and for the third shall abjure the realm, or be transported to the plantations: And the justices of peace at their open sessions may hear and finally determine in the affair.” The act was passed by commission, and had a dreadful influence upon that people, though it was notorious they were far from sedition or disaffection to the government. *G. Fox*, in his address to the king, acquaints his majesty, that three thousand and sixty-eight of their friends had been imprisoned since his majesty’s restoration; that their meetings

* Some of the society, getting early intelligence of this bill, interfered to stop its progress. *Edward Burrough*, *Richard Hubberthorn*, and *George Whitehead*, attended the parliament to solicit against passing it into an act: and were admitted, but without success, to offer their reasons against it, at the bar of the house. “ But political considerations, party animosity, and bigotted and exasperated zeal for the church, (so called) were the moving causes of action with the majority. Appeals to their reason and humanity were vain.” It aggravated the injustice and severity of this act, that it was framed, notwithstanding a paper, containing the sentiments of the *quakers* respecting oaths, had been lately presented to the king and council by *Edward Burrough*, entitled “ A Just and Righteous Plea:” which stated their conscientious scruples, expressed in strong terms their loyalty, and declared, “ that it had ever been with them an established principle, confirmed by a consonant practice, to enter into no plots, combinations, or rebellions against government, nor to seek deliverance from injustice or oppression by any such means.” *Gough’s History of the Quakers*, vol. i. p. 499, &c. ED.

were

were daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, and their friends thrown into the water, and trampled under foot, till the blood gushed out, which gave rise to their meeting in the open streets. Another narrative was printed, signed by twelve witnesses, which says, that more than four thousand two hundred quakers were imprisoned; and of them five hundred were in and about London, and the suburbs; several of whom were dead in the gaols.* But these were only the beginning of sorrows.

RELIGION, which had been in vogue in the late times, was now universally discountenanced; the name of it was hardly mentioned but with contempt, in a health or a play. Those who observed the sabbath, and scrupled profane swearing and drinking healths, were exposed under the opprobrious names of puritans, fanaticks, presbyterians, republicans, seditious persons, &c. The presbyterian ministers were every where suspended or deprived, for some unguarded expressions in their sermons or prayers. Lord *Clarendon* was at the head of all this madness, and declared in parliament, “that the king could distinguish between *tendernefs* of conscience and *pride* of conscience; that he was a prince of so excellent a nature, and of *so tender a conscience himself*, that he had the highest compassion for all errors of that kind, and would never suffer the weak to undergo the punishment ordained for the wicked.” Such was the deep penetration of the chancellor; and such the reward the presbyterians received for their past services!

The profligate manners of the court, at the same time, spread over the whole land, and occasioned such a general licentiousness, that the king took notice of it in his speech at

* Sewel, p. 346. Kennet's Chron. p. 651.

* “Some were put into such noisome prisons as were owned not fit for dogs. Some prisons so crowded that the prisoners had not room to sit down altogether. In Cheshire sixty-eight persons were thus locked up in a small room. No age or sex found any commiseration. Men of sixty, seventy, or more years of age, were, without pity or remorse, subjected to all the rigours of such imprisonments, under the infirmities of a natural decline; many times they were forced to lie on the cold ground, without being permitted the use of straw, and kept many days without victuals. No wonder that many grew sick and died by such barbarous imprisonments as these.” Gough, vol. i. p. 538. Ed.

the end of this session of parliament. “ I cannot but observe
 “ (says his majesty) that the whole nation seems to be a lit-
 “ tle corrupted in their excess of living; sure all men spend
 “ much more in their clothes, in their diet, and all other
 “ expences, than they have been used to do; I hope it has
 “ been only the excess of joy after so long suffering that has
 “ transported us to these other excesses, but let us take heed
 “ that the continuance of them does not indeed corrupt our
 “ natures. I do believe I have been faulty myself; I promise
 “ you I will reform, and if you will join with me in your se-
 “ veral capacities, we shall by our examples do more good
 “ both in city and country than any new laws would do.”
 This was a frank acknowledgment and a good resolution, but
 it was not in the king’s nature to retrench his expences, or
 controul his vices for the publick good.*

Though

* In the preceding year died, on the 22d of December, aged 72 years, Mr. *Thomas Lushington*, a scholar of eminence and a favourer of the sentiments of *Socinus*; who translated into *English*, and published, *Crellius’s* Commentary on the epistle to the *Galatians*, and a Commentary on that to the Hebrews from the *Latin* of the same author, or some other Unitarian writer. He published among other works two sermons on Matth. xxviii. 13, and Acts. ii. 1, entitled, ‘ The Resurrection rescued from the Soldiers’ Calumnies.’ He was reckoned more ingenious than prudent, and was more apt to display his fancy than to proceed upon solid reason. At one time he personated in his sermon, a jewish pharisee and persecutor of Christ, descanting on the whole life of our Saviour in a way suited to draw scorn and aversion on him and his attendants; he then changed his character, and speaking as a disciple of *Christ*, he answered the cavils and invectives before thrown out with such dexterity, that his hearers broke into such loud and repeated applauses as hindered him for a good space from proceeding in his sermon. He was a native of Sandwich, and matriculated at Broadgate’s Hall in Oxford, when he was seventeen, in 1606-7. He graduated, as master of arts, in Lincoln college, in 1618. In 1631 bishop *Corbet* gave him the prebendal stall of Bemister Secunda in the church of Salisbury; and afterwards bestowed on him the rectory of Burnham Westgate, in Norfolk. In the rebellion he lost his spiritualities, but on the return of *Charles II.* was restored to them. He died and was buried at Sittingbourne near Milton, in Kent. Wood’s Athen. Oxon. v. ii. p. 71, 72. ED.

In the year 1661, or soon after the restoration, died also Mr. *Henry Denne*, whom we have mentioned before, vol. iii, p. 294, note, and p. 523. He began his ministry in the church of England, and in 1641 drew great attention by a sermon which he preached at Baldock in Hertfordshire; in this discourse he freely exposed the sin of *persecution*, and inveighed against the pride and covetousness of the clergy, their pluralities and non-residences, and the corrupt

Though the revenues of the crown were augmented above double what they had been at any time since the reformation; and though the king had a vast dowry with his queen, whom he married this spring, yet all was not sufficient to defray the extravagance of the court; for besides the king's own expences, the queen mother maintained a splendid court of *Roman* catholicks at Somerfet-house, and might have done so as long as she had lived, if she could have kept within moderate bounds; but her conduct was so imprudent and profuse that she was obliged to return to France after three or four years, where she died in the year 1669. A lady of such bigotry in religion§, and intrigue in politicks, that her alliance to this nation was little less than a judgment from heaven.

To procure more ready money for these extravagances, it was resolved to sell the town of Dunkirk to the French, for five hundred thousand pounds. The lord chancellor *Clarendon* was the projector of this vile bargain,† as appears by the letters

corrupt practices of the spiritual courts. He was reckoned by one, who had a great hand in the public affairs of the age, "to be the ablest man in the kingdom for prayer, expounding and preaching." When the government declared their design to reform religion, Mr. *Denne* and many others were led to extend their enquiries, after religious truth, to points which before they had only taken for granted: and, it appearing to him, in his researches, that the practice of *baptizing children* was without any foundation in scripture, or the writings of the Christians for the two first ages, he publicly professed himself a *baptist*, and was baptized by *immersion* at London in 1643. This exposed him to the resentment of those who sat at the *helm* of *ecclesiastical affairs*: but notwithstanding this he obtained the parish of Ellsy in Cambridgeshire. Meeting with opposition and persecution, he quitted his living and went into the *army*, and gained reputation in the military line. In 1658, he held a public disputation, concerning *infant baptism*, with Dr. *Gunning*, in St. *Clement's* church, Temple-bar; in which he is said to have afforded strong proofs of his abilities and learning, as a good *scholar* and compleat *disputant*. Mr. *Edwards* gives him the character of "a very affecting preacher." A clergyman put on his grave this epitaph:

"To tell his wisdom, learning, goodness unto men,
"I need say no more, but here lies *Henry Denne*."

Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. i. p. 297, &c. Ed.

§ It was the grand argument with the Duke of *York*, for his adherence to the tenets of popery, that his mother had, upon her last blessing, commanded him to be firm and stedfast thereto. Reresby's Memoirs, p. 16.

† Dr. *Grey* is much displeased with Mr. *Neal* for imputing the sale of Dunkirk to lord *Clarendon*: and remarks on it, that "had the count *D'Estrades* declared

letters of count *D'Estrades*, published since his death, in one of which his lordship acknowledges, that the *thought came from himself*.* Several mercenary pamphlets were dispersed to justify this sale; but the wars with France in the reigns of king *William* and Queen *Anne* have sufficiently convinced us, that it was a fatal stab to our trade and commerce; insomuch that even the queen's last ministry durst not venture to make a peace with France till the fortifications of it were demolished.

But to divert the people's eyes to other objects, it was resolved to go on with the prosecution of state criminals, and with humbling and crushing the non-conformists: Three of the late king's judges being apprehended in Holland, by the forward zeal of Sir *G. Downing*, (viz.) colonel *Okey*, *Corbet* and *Berkstead*, were brought over to England by permission of the States, and executed on the act of attainder, April 19. They died with the same resolution and courage as the former had done, declaring they had no malice against the late king, but apprehended the authority of parliament sufficient to justify their conduct.

Before the parliament rose the house addressed the king to bring colonel *Lambert* and Sir *Harry Vane*, prisoners in the Tower, to their trial; and accordingly, June 4, they were arraigned at the King's-Bench bar; the former for levying war against the king; and the latter for compassing his death. *Lambert* was convicted, but for his submissive behaviour was

declared positively that the lord *Clarendon* had no concern therein, it is probable that his authority would have been rejected or passed over in silence. But lord *Clarendon* was a great friend to *monarchy* and *episcopacy*; and therefore lord *Clarendon's* character must at all adventures be run down. The reader will determine concerning the candour and fairness of this censure. The passages in which *D'Estrades* ascribes this transaction to lord *Clarendon* are to be seen in *Rapin*, and in Dr. *Harris's* life of *Charles II.* vol. ii, p. 191-98. Dr. *Grey*, on the other hand refers to *Kennet* and *Roger Coke*, esq. as acquitting his lordship from advising the sale of Dunkirk. Bishop *Burnet*, it may be added, says, on the information of his lordship's son, "that he kept himself out of that affair entirely." To reconcile the nation to the sale of Dunkirk, the king promised to lay up all the money in the Tower, and that it should not be touched but upon extraordinary occasions. But in violation of his word and of decency, it was immediately squandered away among the creatures of his mistress, *Barbara Villiers*. Burnet's History of his own times, vol. i. p. 251. ED.

* Rapin, p. 630, 631.

pardoned as to life, but confined in the isle of Guernsey, where he remained a patient prisoner till his death, which happened about thirty years after. Sir *Harry Vane* had such an interest in the convention parliament, that both lords and commons petitioned for his life, which his majesty promised; and yet afterwards, at the instigation of the present house of commons, he was tried and executed. Sir *Harry* made a brave defence; but it was determined to sacrifice him to the ghost of the earl of *Strafford*; and when his friends would have had him petition for his life, he refused, saying, *If the king had not a greater regard for his word and honour than he had for his life, he might take it.* Nevertheless bishop *Burnet* says,*
 “He was naturally a fearful man, and had a head as dark in
 “the notions of religion; but when he saw his death was de-
 “termined, he composed himself to it with a resolution that
 “surprized all who knew how little of that was natural to
 “him. He was beheaded on Tower-hill, June 14, where a
 “new and very indecent practice was begun; it was observed
 “that the dying speeches of the *regicides* had left impressions
 “on the hearers that were not at all to the advantage of the
 “government; and strains of a peculiar nature being expected
 “from him, drummers were placed under the scaffold, who,
 “as soon as he began to speak of the public, upon a sign
 “given, struck up with their drums. But this put him into
 “no disorder; he desired they might be stopt, for he knew
 “what was meant by it. Then he went to his devotion; and
 “as he was taking leave of those about him, he happened
 “to say something again with relation to the times, when
 “the drums struck up a second time; so he gave over, saying,
 “*It was a sorry cause that would not bear the words of a dying*
 “*man*; and died with so much composedness, that it was ge-
 “nerally thought the government lost more than it gained
 “by his death.” The Oxford historian says, he appeared
 on the scaffold like an old *Roman*, and died without the least
 symptoms of concern or trouble.

But the grand affair that employed the parliament this spring, was the famous *Act of uniformity of public prayers, &c.* designed for the inclosure of the church, and the *only door of admission* to all ecclesiastical preferments. The review of the

* Burnet, p. 237, 8.

common-prayer had been in convocation three or four months,* and was brought into parliament, with their alterations and amendments, before *Christmas*; § the bill was read the first time in the house of commons Jan. 14, and passed after sundry debates but by six voices, *Yeas* 186; *Noes* 180; but it met with greater obstacles among the lords, who offered several amendments, which occasioned conferences between the two houses. The lords would have exempted *schoolmasters, tutors, and those who had the education of youth*; and in the disabling clause would have included only *livings with cure*. ‡ But the commons being supported by the court would abate nothing, || nor consent to any provision for such as should be ejected. They would indulge no latitude in the *surplice or cross in baptism*, for fear of establishing a schism, and weakening the authority of the church, as to her right of imposing indifferent rites and ceremonies. † And the court were willing to shut out as many as they could from the establishment, to make a *general toleration* more necessary. When the lords urged the king's declaration from Breda, the commons replied, that it would be strange to call a schismatical conscience a tender one; but suppose this had been meant (say they) his majesty can be guilty of no breach of promise, because the declaration had these two limitations, a *reference to parliament*;—and *so far as was consistent with the peace of the kingdom*. May 8, the result of the conference with the house of commons, being reported to the lords, the house laid aside their objections, and concurred with the commons, and the bill passed; but, as bishop *Burnet* observes, with no great majority. May 19, it received the royal assent, and as to take place from the 24th of August following. This

* Dr. Grey is at a loss to understand how the act of *uniformity* could come into the *Convocation* and continue there for three or four months: for the two houses never send their bills *thither* for their perusal and approbation. He thinks, therefore, that Mr. *Neal's* mistake must be owing to their review of the *Common Prayer*. Examination, vol. iii. p. 320. Ed.

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 604.

‡ Ib. p. 677.

|| The reason for extending it to *schoolmasters* was, we are told, to guard against the influence and force of education. Exam. p. 321. Ed.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 679.

act being prefixed to the book of common-prayer, and lying open to publick view, I shall only give the reader an abstract of it. It is entitled,

“ *An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and for establishing the forms of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests and deacons in the church of England.*”

The preamble sets forth, “ That from the first of queen Elizabeth there had been one uniform order of common service and prayer enjoined to be used by act of parliament, which had been very comfortable to all good people, until a great number of people in divers parts of the realm, living without knowledge and the due fear of God, did wilfully and schismatically refuse to come to their parish churches, upon Sundays, and other days appointed to be kept as holy days. And whereas, by the scandalous neglect of ministers in using the liturgy during the late unhappy troubles, many people have been led into factions and schisms, to the decay of religion, and the hazard of many souls; therefore, for preventing the like for time to come, the king had granted a commission, to review the book of common prayer, to those bishops and divines who met at the Savoy; and afterwards his majesty required the clergy in convocation to revise it again; which alterations and amendments having been approved by his majesty, and both houses of parliament; therefore for settling the peace of the nation, for the honour of religion, and to the intent that every person may know the rule to which he is to conform in public worship, it is enacted by the king’s most excellent majesty, &c.

“ That all and singular ministers shall be bound to say and use the morning prayer, evening prayer, and all other common prayers in such order and form as is mentioned in the book; and that every parson, vicar, or other minister whatsoever, shall before the feast of St. Bartholomew, which shall be in the year of our lord 1662, openly and publickly, before the congregation assembled for religious worship, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things contained and prescribed in the said book in these words, and no other.”

“ I A. B.

“ I A. B. do here declare my unfeigned assent and consent to
 “ all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the
 “ book, entitled, *The book of common-prayer and administration*
 “ of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church,
 “ according to the use of the church of England, together with
 “ the psalter, or psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung
 “ or said in churches; and the form and manner of making, or-
 “ daining, and consecrating of bishops, priests and deacons.”*

“ The penalty for neglecting or refusing to make this de-
 “ claration, is deprivation *ipso facto* of all his spiritual pro-
 “ motions.

“ And it is further enacted, that every dean, canon, and pre-
 “ bendary; all masters, heads, fellows, chaplains, and tutors,
 “ in any college, hall, house of learning, or hospital; all pub-
 “ lic professors, readers in either university, and in every col-
 “ lege and elsewhere; and all parsons, vicars, curates, lectu-
 “ rers; and every schoolmaster keeping any public or private
 “ school; and every person instructing youth in any private
 “ family, shall, before the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662,
 “ subscribe the following declaration, (*viz.*)

“ I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful upon any pretence
 “ whatsoever to take arms against the king; and that I do abhor
 “ that traiterous position of taking arms by his authority, against
 “ his person, or against those that are commissioned by him; and
 “ that I will conform to the liturgy of the church of England, as
 “ it is now by law established. And I do hold, that there lies no
 “ obligation upon me, or on any other person, from the oath com-
 “ monly called the solemn league and covenant, to endeavour
 “ any change or alteration of government either in church or state,
 “ and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed
 “ upon the subjects of this realm, against the known laws and
 “ liberties of this kingdom.

“ This declaration is to be subscribed by the persons above-
 “ mentioned before the archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of
 “ the diocese, on pain of deprivation, for those who were
 “ possessed of livings; and for schoolmasters and tutors, three
 “ months imprisonment for the first offence; and for every
 “ other offence three months imprisonment, and the forfei-

* This form of subscription and solemn declaration was inserted by the
 acts, with whom this act of uniformity began. Ed.

“ ture of five pounds to his majesty. Provided that after the
 “ 25th of March 1682, the renouncing of the *solemn league*
 “ *and covenant* shall be omitted.

“ It is further enacted, that no person shall be capable of
 “ any benefice, or presume to consecrate and administer the
 “ holy sacrament of the lord’s supper, before he be ordained a
 “ priest by episcopal ordination, on pain of forfeiting for every
 “ offence one hundred pounds.*

“ No form, or order of common prayer, shall be used in
 “ any church, chapel, or other place of publick worship, or in
 “ either of the universities, than is here prescribed and ap-
 “ pointed.

“ None shall be received as lecturers, or be permitted to
 “ preach, or read any sermon or lecture in any church or
 “ chapel, unless he be approved and licensed by the arch-
 “ bishop or bishop, and shall read the thirty-nine articles of
 “ religion, with a declaration of his *unfeigned assent* and *con-*
 “ *sent* to the same: and unless the first time he preaches any
 “ lecture or sermon, he shall openly read the common-pray-
 “ er, and declare his assent to it; and shall on the first lecture-
 “ day of every month afterwards, before lecture or sermon,
 “ read the common-prayer and service, under pain of being
 “ disabled to preach; and if he preach while so disabled, to suf-
 “ fer three months imprisonment for every offence.

“ The several laws and statutes formerly made for unifor-
 “ mity of prayer, &c. shall be in force for confirming the
 “ present book of common-prayer, and shall be applied for
 “ punishing all offences contrary to the said laws, with relation
 “ to the said book, and no other.

“ A true printed copy of the said book is to be provided
 “ in every parish church, chapel, college and hall, at the cost
 “ and charge of the parishioners or society, before the feast of
 “ St. *Bartholomew*, on pain of forfeiting three pounds a
 “ month, for so long as they shall be unprovided of it.”†

It

* This clause was also inserted by the lords. Ed.

† “ The act of uniformity and the corporation act,” Mr. *Gough* observes,
 “ did not in themselves materially affect the quakers, who aspired to no
 “ places of honour or profit, and who testified against preaching for hire, and
 “ sought for no more than a toleration and protection in their religious and
 “ civil

It was certainly unreasonable in the legislature to limit the time of subscription to so short a period,* it being next to impossible that the clergy in all parts of the kingdom should read and examine the alterations within that time. The dean and prebendaries of Peterborough declared, that they could not obtain copies before August 17, the Sunday immediately preceding the feast of St. *Bartholomew*; so that all the members of that cathedral did not and could not read the service in manner and form as the act directs, and therefore they were obliged to have recourse to the favour of their ordinary to dispense with their default; however, their preferments were then legally forfeited, as appears by the act of the 15th of *Charles II.* cap. 6, entitled, *An act for the relief of such as by sickness, or other impediments, were disabled from subscribing the declaration of the act of uniformity*; which says, that those who did not subscribe within the time limited were utterly disabled, and *ipso facto* deprived, and their benefices void, as if they were naturally dead. And if this was the case at Peterborough, what must be the condition of the clergy in the more northern counties? In fact, there was not one divine in

“civil rights, to lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty;” yet the corporation act in its consequences did affect them, by filling the city and country with persecuting magistrates. *History of the Quakers.* vol. i. p. 469. Ed.

* Dr. Grey argues that this objection is taken off by a clause, exempting from the penalties of the act those who were prevented subscribing within the limited time by some *lawful impediment* allowed and approved by the *ordinary* of the place, and complying with its requisition within a month after such impediment was removed; and the doctor adds, that, in pursuance of this clause, Dr. *Laney*, the bishop of Peterborough, dispensed with the dean and chapter of that church. He further alledges a public advertisement given in London, 6th of August, 1662, declaring that the book of common-prayer was then perfectly and exactly printed, and books in folio were provided for all churches and chapels in the kingdom; which left a space of 18 days for conveying them through the country. But the doctor did not calculate, how many of these days would be run out, before this notice had circulated through the nation, and had reached the remoter parts and country parishes lying at a distance from the great post roads. Bishop *Burnet* says, “the vast number of copies, being many thousands, that were to be wrought off for all the parish churches of England, made the impression go on so slowly, that there were few books set out to sale when the day came.” *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 269. *Examination*, vol. i. p. 420-23, and vol. iii. p. 322-3. Ed.

ten that lived at any considerable distance from London who did peruse it within that time; but the matter was driven on with so much precipitancy, (says bishop *Burnet*†) that it seems implied, that the clergy should subscribe implicitly to a book they had never seen; and this was done by too many, as the by bishops themselves confessed.

The terms of conformity now were,

(1.) *Re-ordination*, if they had not been episcopally ordained before.

(2.) *A declaration of their unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing prescribed and contained in the book of common-prayer, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church of England, together with the psalter, and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests and deacons.*

(3.) *To take the oath of canonical obedience.*

(4.) *To abjure the solemn league and covenant, which many conscientious ministers could not disentangle themselves from.*

(5.) *To abjure the lawfulness of taking arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever.*

It appears from hence, that the terms of conformity were higher than before the civil wars; and the common-prayer book more exceptionable; for, instead of striking out the *apocryphal* lessons, more were inserted, as the story of *Bel and the dragon*; and some new holidays were added, as *St. Barnabas*, and the *conversion* of *St. Paul*; a few alterations and new collects were made by the bishops themselves, but care was taken (says *Burnet**) that nothing should be altered, as was moved by the presbyterians.—The validity of presbyterian ordination was renounced, by which the ministrations of the foreign churches were disowned.—Lecturers and school-masters were put upon the same foot with incumbents as to oaths and subscriptions.—A new declaration was invented, which none who understood the constitution of England could safely subscribe—and to terrify the clergy into a compliance, no settled provision was made for those who should be deprived of their livings, but all were refer-

red to the royal clemency.†—A severity (says bishop *Burnet*) neither practised by queen *Elizabeth* in enacting the liturgy, nor by *Cromwell* in ejecting the royalists; in both which a fifth of the benefice was reserved for their subsistence.

Mr. *Rapin* has several remarks on this act: if we compare it with the king's declaration from Breda, (says he†) it will easily be seen what care the ministers about the king, who were the real authors or promoters of this act, had for his honour and promise; though some therefore may look upon this act as the great support and bulwark of the church, others, no less attached to its interests, will perhaps look upon it as her disgrace and scandal.—His second remark is, for the reader to take notice of the amount of the promises made to the presbyterians by the king's party, upon the assurance of which they had so chearfully laboured for his restoration, and followed the directions transmitted by his friends.—His third remark is, that by an artifice, the most gross conspiracies were invented, which had no manner of reality; or supposing they had, could no ways be charged on the presbyterians, who were not to answer for the crimes of other sects.

On the other hand, bishop *Kennet* says,* “the world has
“reason to admire not only the wisdom of this act, but even
“the moderation of it, as being effectually made for *mini-*
“*sterial conformity alone*, and leaving the people unable to
“complain of any imposition. And it would certainly have
“had the desired, and most happy effect, of unity and peace,
“ (says his lordship) if the government had been in earnest
“in the execution of it.” Must the blessings of unity and
peace then be built on the foundation of persecution, plunder, perfidy, and the wastes of conscience? If his majesty's

† This was done by a *proviso*, drawn up by the lords, “that such persons as have been put out of their livings, by virtue of the act of uniformity, may have such allowances out of their livings for their subsistence as his majesty shall think fit.” *Grey's Examination*, vol. i. p. 423. A feeble, inefficient proviso, permitting the king to be kind, but leaving it to his option to be unjust and cruel; tantalising distress, rather than relieving it. Ed.

† Vol. ii. p. 629, folio.

* The references are, I apprehend, to the Bishop's Complete History. There is a passage correspondent to the first in the Chronicle, p. 712. Ed.

declaration

declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs breathed the spirit of true wisdom and charity, and ought to stand for a pattern to posterity, whenever they are disposed to heal the breaches of the church, (as the bishop has elsewhere declared||) where could be the wisdom and moderation of this act, which turned out two thousand ministers into the world to beg their bread upon such severe terms? And whereas the bishop says, the people had no reason to complain of imposition, was it no hardship to be obliged to go to church, and join in a form of worship that went against their consciences? Does not the act revive and confirm all the penal laws of queen *Elizabeth* and king *James*, in these words, “Be it farther enacted, “that the several good laws and statutes of this realm, which “have been formerly made, and are now in force for the “uniformity of prayers, and administration of the sacraments within this realm of England, and places aforesaid, “shall stand in full force and strength to all intents and purposes whatsoever, and shall be applied, practised, and be “put in use, for the punishing all offences contrary to the “said law.” Surely this must affect the laity! It is more to be admired in my opinion, that the clergy of England, and all officers both civil and military, could subscribe a declaration which gave up the whole constitution into the hands of an arbitrary prince; for if the king had abolished the use of parliaments, and commanded his subjects to embrace the popish religion, which way could they have relieved themselves, when they had sworn, that *it was not lawful to take up arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever, on pain of high treason?* It is hard to reconcile this doctrine with the REVOLUTION of king WILLIAM and queen MARY. I shall only add, that many of the most learned and judicious divines of the church have wished, for their own sakes, that the act might be amended and altered.

Mr. *Collyer*, a nonjuring clergyman, who suffered for his principles, speaks more like a gentleman and a christian than the bishop: “The misfortune of the presbyterians (says he) “cannot be remembered without regret; those who quit “their interests are certainly in earnest, and deserve a cha-

|| Kennet's Chron. p. 246.

“ ritable

“ritable construction. Mistakes in religion are to be tenderly used, and conscience ought to be pitied when it cannot be relieved.”

It is fit the authors and promoters of this memorable act, which broke the peace of the church, and established a separation, should stand upon record. Among these the earl of *Clarendon* deserves the first place, who was once for moderate measures, but afterwards altered his conduct (says bishop *Burnet*†) out of respect to the bishops. “The rhetoric and interest of this great minister,” (says *Collyer**) “might possibly make an impression upon both houses, and occasion the passing the act of uniformity in the condition it now stands.” He entertained the presbyterians with hopes, while he was cutting away the ground from under their feet. Strange! that one and the same hand could, consistently with *conscience* and *honour*, draw up the king’s declaration from *Breda*, and his late declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, and this severe act of uniformity.

Next to chancellor *Hyde* was Dr. *Sheldon*, bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, of whom notice has been already taken; he was a facetious man, (says *Burnet*‡) but of no great religion. When the earl of *Manchester* told the king, he was afraid the terms of conformity were so hard that many ministers would not comply; the bishop replied, he was afraid they would, *but now we know their minds* (says he) *we will make them all knaves if they conform.* And when Dr. *Allen* said, it is pity the door is so strait; he answered, *it is no pity at all; if we had thought so many of them would have conformed, we would have made it straiter.*§ And Mr. *Baxter* adds, that as far as he could perceive, it was by some designed it should be so.

† Page 270.

* Collyer, p. 88.

‡ Page 257.

§ It reflects some honour on the name of bishop *Saunderson*, that he spoke of this act in a milder strain. To a worthy clergyman, who was with him the evening after the king passed it, he said; “that more was imposed on ministers than he wished had been.” On passing the act he sent for Mr. *Matthew Sylvester*, whose living was in his diocese, and treating him with great civility, earnestly pressed him not to quit his living, and patiently heard him state his difficulties: and when he found, that he could not obviate them to his satisfaction, he lamented it, and at last signified a concern, that some things were carried so high in the ecclesiastical settlement;

Next to bishop *Sheldon* was bishop *Morley*, a pious man, (says *Burnet*) but extremely passionate and very obstinate. *Morley* was thought the honestest man, but *Sheldon* the abler statesman. To these may be added, Dr. *Gunning* bishop of Ely; *Henchman* of London; *Dolben* of Rochester; *Stern* of York; Dr. *Pierce*, *Sparrow*, and *Barwick*, all creatures of the court, and tools of the prerogative.

But neither the courtiers nor bishops could have accomplished their designs without tampering with the parliament. Care was therefore taken of the best speakers, and men of influence among the commons. The parliament was undoubtedly acted by a spirit of revenge, (says *Rapin*†) and being of principles directly opposite to the presbyterians, who were for reducing the royal power within certain limits, they resolved to put it out of their power for ever to restrain the prerogative, or alter the government of the church; and the king, being in continual want of money, was content to sacrifice the presbyterians for a large supply of the nation's money, especially when he knew he was serving the cause of popery at the same time, by making way for a general toleration.

The presbyterian ministers had only three months to consider what to do with themselves, and their families. There were several consultations both in city and country to know each other's sentiments; and it happened here, as it did afterwards about taking the oaths to king *William* and queen *Mary*; some, who persuaded their brethren to dissent, complied themselves and got the other's livings. It is not to be supposed they had all the same scruples.—Bishop *Kennet* says,* that *renouncing the covenant* was the greatest obstacle of conformity to the presbyterians. But his lordship is mistaken; for if abjuring the covenant had been omitted, they could not have taken the *corporation oath*. Some could not in conscience comply with the very form of the hierarchy. Great numbers scrupled the business of *re-ordination*, which implied a renouncing the validity of

ment; which, he said, should not have been if he could have prevented it. Calamy's History of his own Life, vol. ii. p. 111, MS. and Church and Dissenters compared, p. 81. ED.

† Page 632, &c.

* Page 471.

their

their former ministrations. But that which the dissenters of all denominations refused, was *giving their assent and consent to all and every thing contained in the book of common-prayer*. This they apprehended to be more than was due to any human composition.

Mr. *Eachard* represents them as under great difficulties; "Some (says he) were positive against any compliance, but great numbers were doubtful and uncertain, and had great struggles between the attractions of conscience and honour, interest and humour. The act was strictly penned, and pressed hard upon late principles and practices. A continual intercourse of letters passed between those in the city, and the rest in the countries, how to proceed in this nice affair. Sometimes the chief of them were for compliance, as I have been assured (says he) by the best hands, and then upon further consideration they changed their minds. They were under considerable temptations on both sides; on one side their livings and preferments were no small inducement towards their compliance; on the other side, besides their consciences, they were much encouraged by the greatness of their numbers, and were made to believe, that if they unanimously stood out, the church must come to them, since the people would never bear so shocking a change.—Besides, they had great expectations from several friends at court, and particularly the popish party, who gave them great encouragement, not only by a promise of pensions to some, but also by a toleration, and a suspension of the act itself, which not long after was partly made good. No doubt but the non-compliance of several proceeded purely from a tender conscience, and in that case ought not only to be pitied, but rather applauded than condemned." Bishop *Burnet* adds, that the leaders of the presbyterian party took great pains to have them all stick together: they said, that if great numbers stood out it was more likely to produce new laws in their favour; so it was thought (says his lordship) that many went out in the croud to keep their friends company.

It is possible some noblemen, and others who were in the interest of the presbyterians, might advise them to adhere to each other; but it is hardly credible, that men of abilities and

and good sense should throw up their livings, sacrifice their usefulness, and beggar their families, for the sake of good company.

Some of the non-conformists quitted their stations in the church before the 24th of August, as Mr. *Baxter* and others, with an intent to let all the ministers in England know their resolution beforehand.† Others about London preached their farewell sermons the Sunday before Bartholomew-day; several of which were afterwards collected into a volume, and printed with their effigies in the title-page; as the reverend Dr. *Manton*, *Bates*, *Jacomb*, *Calamy*, *Matth. Mead*, and others. The like was done in several counties of England; and such a passionate zeal for the welfare of their people ran through their sermons as dissolved their audiences into tears.

At length the fatal St. *Bartholomew* came, when about two thousand relinquished their preferments in the church, or refused to accept of any upon the terms of the act of uniformity: an example hardly to be paralleled in the christian world! It raised a grievous cry over the nation, for here were many men much valued (says bishop *Burnet**) and distinguished by their abilities and zeal, now cast out ignominiously, reduced to great poverty, provoked by such spiteful usage, and cast upon those popular practices, which both their principles and their circumstances seemed to justify, of forming separate congregations, and of diverting men from the publick worship. This begot esteem, and raised compassion, as having a fair appearance of suffering persecution for conscience. Mr. *Locke* calls them worthy, learned, pious, orthodox divines, who did not throw themselves out of service, but were forcibly ejected. Nor were they cast out because there was a supply of ministers to carry on the work of religion, for there was room for the employment of more hands, if they were to be found.

At the reformation from popery by queen *Elizabeth*, there were not above two hundred deprived of their livings; besides they were treated with great mildness, and had some allowances out of their livings; whereas these were treated with the utmost severity, and cast entirely upon providence for a supply. They were driven from their houses, from

† *Baxter's Life*, part ii. p. 384.

* Page 270, 280.

the society of their friends; and, what was yet more affecting, from all their usefulness, though they had merited much from the king, and laboured indefatigably for his restoration. The former were men of another faith, and owned a foreign head of the church; whereas these were of the same faith with the established church, and differed only about rites and ceremonies. It had been said, that greater numbers were ejected in the late times upon the foot of the covenant;§ but if this were true, it was in a time of war, when the civil and religious differences between the king and parliament were so intermixed, that it was impossible to separate one from the other; the whole nation was in confusion, and those who suffered by the *covenant*, suffered more for their loyalty, than their religion; for when the war was ended, the covenant was relaxed, and such as would live peaceably returned to their vacant cures, or were admitted to others.

Besides, the *ingratitude* of the high-churchmen upon this occasion ought to be taken notice of. “Who can answer for the violence and injustice of actions in a civil war (says a divine of the church of England)? Those sufferings were in a time of general calamity, but these were ejected not only in a time of peace, but a time of joy to all the land, and after an act of oblivion, when all pretended to be reconciled and made friends, and to whose common re-

§ Dr. Grey asserts this: and there was a laboured attempt by Dr. Walker to prove, that the clergy, ejected, or suffering, in the civil wars, exceeded in numbers those whom the act of uniformity ejected or silenced; and that the sufferings of the former surpassed in nature and severity those of the latter. The publication, which endeavoured to establish these points, was a folio, in small print, entitled, “An Attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and sufferings of the clergy of the church of England, heads of colleges, fellows, scholars, &c. who were sequestered, harrassed, &c. in the late times of the grand rebellion: occasioned by the ninth chapter (now the second volume) of Dr. Calamy’s Abridgment of the Life of Mr. Baxter; together with an examination of that chapter.” The publick was at first amused with so large a work, but by degrees began to speak freely of it in conversation, where it had the fate of other performances. It received from the press two able replies: one by Mr. John Withers, a judicious and worthy dissenting minister in Exeter; the other by Dr. Calamy, in a tract entitled, “The Church and Dissenters Compared as to Persecution.” On this subject we would refer the reader back to Mr. Neal, vol. iii. p. 124. Ed.

“joicings

“joicings these suffering ministers had contributed their
 “earnest prayers and great endeavours.”† Another divine
 of the same church writes, “I must own, that in my judg-
 “ment, however both sides have been excessively to blame,
 “yet that the severities used by the church to the dissenters
 “are less excusable than those used by the dissenters to the
 “church. My reason is, that the former were used in times
 “of peace and a settled government, whereas the latter
 “were inflicted in a time of tumult and confusion; so that
 “the plunderings and ravagings endured by the *church mi-*
 “*nisters*, were owing (many of them at least) to the rude-
 “ness of the soldiers, and the chances of war; they were
 “plundered not because they were conformists, but cavaliers,
 “and of the king’s party. The allowing of the sequestered
 “ministers a fifth part of their livings was a christian act,*
 “and what, I confess, I should have been glad to have seen
 “imitated at the restoration. But no mercy was to be
 “shewn to these unhappy sufferers, though it was impos-
 “sible on a sudden to fill up the gap that was made by their
 “removal.”

Bishop *Burnet* says, the old clergy, now much enriched, were despised, but the young clergy who came from the university did good service. But though all the striplings in both universities were employed, a great many poor livings in the country had no incumbents for a considerable time. The author of *The five Groans of the Church*, a very strict conformist, complains with great warmth, of above three

† Conf. Plea for Non-Conformity, p. 12, 13.

* Dr. *Grey* quotes here, from Dr. *Fuller*, (Church Hist. book xi. p. 230,) a long detail of the evasions, on which many of the sequestered clergy were refused their fifths. Dr. *Walker* has also complained, that scarcely one in ten ever had them without trouble, and to the full value. “This is a
 “case, in which,” as Dr. *Calamy* observes, “it is no easy thing to make
 “calculation.” Supposing it to have been paid ever so indifferently, it was certainly a better provision than was made by the *act of uniformity*, for those who were ejected and silenced. It afforded the sufferers, to a degree, a *legal remedy* for their calamities: and would doubtless, in many instances, be efficient. Dr. *Fuller* speaks of it as an instance of “the *pitiful*
 “and *pious intentions* of parliament; which, no doubt, desired to be like
 “the best of beings, who has closely applieth his *lenitive* as *corrosive plas-*
 “*ters*, and that his *mercy* may take as true effect as his justice.” But this matter has been before stated by Mr. *Neal*, vol. iii. p. 127, 28. Ed.

thousand

thousand ministers admitted into the church, who were unfit to teach because of their youth; of fifteen hundred debauched men ordained; of the ordination of many illiterate men; of one thousand three hundred forty-two factious ministers, a little before ordained; and that of twelve thousand church livings, or thereabouts, three thousand or more being inappropriate, and four thousand one hundred sixty-five *sine cures*, there was but a poor remainder left for a painful and honest ministry.

Such were the spoils of uniformity! And though Mr. *Eachard* says, there was more sense and sound doctrine preached in one twelve-month after the presbyterian ministers were turned out, than in nigh twenty years before; yet another *church writer*, who knew them better, calls the young clergy “ florid and genteel preachers, of a more romantick
“ than true majestick and divine stile, who tickled and capti-
“ vated people at first, but did little service to the souls of
“ men, and in process of time had fewer admirers and friends
“ than at first. He adds, that in the late times they all spake
“ the same things, and carried on the same work, which was
“ the instruction, conversion, consolation, and edification of
“ souls, not biting one another, nor grudging at one another.
“ I never heard (says he) in many hundreds of sermons, di-
“ versities of opinions either set up by some, or pulled down
“ by others; we heard indeed that some were *independants*,
“ others *presbyterians*, and others *episcopal*, but we heard no
“ such things from the pulpits. Some men think that the
“ preaching of those days was mere fanaticism, blessing the
“ usurpation, railing against bishops, or deifying *Calvin* with
“ an infallibility; but *Calvin* was preached no farther than
“ Christ spake in him; *Non Calvinum sed Christum prædi-*
“ *cabant.*”*

The truth of this observation will appear further, by mentioning the names of some of those ministers, whose learning and piety were universally acknowledged, and who were capable of preaching and writing as good sense, and to as good purpose, as most of their successors; as Dr. *Gilpin*, *Bates*, *Manton*, *Jacomb*, *Owen*, *Goodwin*, *Collins*, *Conant*, *Grew*,

* Conformist Plea, part I. in pref. and p. 53.

Bargess, and *Annesly*; *Mr. Bowles*, *Baxter*, *Clarkson*, *Woodbridge*, *Newcomen*, *Calamy*, *Jackson*, *Pool*, *Caryl*, *Charnock*, *Gouge*, *Jenkins*, *Gale*, *Corbet*, *Cradock*, *Matth. Mead*, *Howe*, *Kentish*, *Alsop*, *Vincent*, *Greenhill*, *S. Clark*, *Flavel*, *Phil. Henry*, and others of like character, “whom I have heard vilified, and represented according to the fancies, passions, or interests of men, (says a learned conformist) but I dare not but be just to them, as to eminent professors of the christian faith, and think that common christianity has suffered much by their silencing and disparagement. A great part of the world is made to believe, that *the non-conformists* are not fit to be employed in the church, nor trusted by the state; but what they are God knows, and the world may know, if they please to consult their writings—They are not to them that know them, what they are reported by them that know them not—I know them sufficiently to make me bewail their condition, and the vast damage to thousands of souls by their exclusion, not only in the outskirts, but in the very heart of England, who are committed in many parts to them that neither can nor will promote their everlasting interests.”* Upon the whole, though I do not pretend that all the ejected ministers were equally learned, pious† and deserving, yet upon a calm and sedate view of things I cannot help concluding, that in the main they were a body of as *eminent confessors* for truth and liberty as this or any other nation has produced.

Many complied with the terms of conformity, not because they approved them, but for the sake of their families, or because they were unwilling to be buried in silence, as bishop *Reynolds*, *Wilkins*, *Hopkins*, *Fowler*, &c. Several young students, who were designed for the pulpit, applied themselves to law or physick, or diverted to some secular employment. Bishop *Kennet*, in order to extenuate their calamities,§ has

* Conform. Plea, in pref. part i.

† To suppose that more than 2000 men could be equal in worth and piety, would be to admit an impossibility; but it deserves notice, that bishop *Kennet* is so candid as to *limit* the charge of scandalous lives and characters, or of a conduct which was at least no credit to the cause for which they suffered, to *some few* only. *Grey's Examination*, p. 332. Ed.

§ *Kennet's Chron.* p. 888, &c.

taken

taken pains to point out the favours the ejected ministers received from private persons:* Some (says he) found friends among the nobility and gentry, who relieved their necessities; some were taken as chaplains into good families, or officiated in hospitals, prisons, or chapels of ease; some became tutors, or school-masters; some who went beyond sea were well received in foreign parts; some became eminent physicians and lawyers; some had good estates of their own, and others married great fortunes: But how does this extenuate the guilt of the church or legislature, who would have deprived them of these retreats if it had been in their power? The bishop adds, “*Therefore we do ill to charge the church with persecution, when the laws were made by the civil government with a view to the peace and safety of the state, rather than to any honour or interest of the church.*” It seems therefore the load of persecution must lie wholly upon the legislature: but had the bishops and clergy no hand in this affair; did they not push the civil government upon these extremities, and not only concur, but prosecute the penal laws with unrelenting rigour throughout the greatest part of this reign? The church and state are said to be so incorporated as to make but *one constitution*, and the *penal laws* are shifted from one to the other till they are quite lost; the *church* cannot be charged with *persecution*, because it makes no laws; nor can the civil government be charged with it, because it makes them not against conscience, but with a view to the safety of the state; with such idle sophisms are men to be amused, when it is to cover a reproach!

Dr. *Bates* says, “they (the ministers) fell a sacrifice to the wrath and revenge of the old clergy, and to the servile compliance of the young gentry with the court, and their distaste of serious religion.† That this is no rash imputation upon the ruling clergy is evident (says the doctor) not

* Dr. *Grey* has given the passage of bishop *Kennet* at length, which Mr. *Veal* has here noticed. But the amount of the bishop’s statement, which runs out into 31 particulars, only shews, that some *men* were more equitable and kind than was the *legislature*; and that they who suffered under the operation of an *iniquitous law*, met with relief from the *kind disposals* of Divine Providence. Ed.

† Baxter, p. 101.

“ only from their concurrence in passing these laws, (for
 “ actions have a language as convincing as those of words)
 “ but from Dr. *Sheldon* their great leader, who expressed
 “ his fears to the earl of *Manchester* lest the presbyterians
 “ should comply. The act was passed after the king had en-
 “ gaged his faith and honour in his declaration from *Breda*
 “ to preserve liberty of conscience inviolable; which promise
 “ opened the way for his restoration; and after the royalists
 “ had given public assurance, that all former animosities should
 “ be laid aside as rubbish, under the foundation of universal
 “ concord.”

Sad were the calamities of far the greater part of these unhappy sufferers, who with their families must have perished, if private collections in London, and divers places of the country, had not been made for their subsistence.* Bishop *Burnet* says, they cast themselves on the providence of God, and the charity of friends. The reverend and pious Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, late of St. Sepulchre's, was their advocate, who with two or three of his brethren, made frequent application to several worthy citizens, of whom they received considerable sums of money for some years, till that charity was diverted into another channel; but nevertheless “ many
 “ hundreds of them, (according to Mr. *Baxter*§) with their
 “ wives and children, had neither house nor bread;† the peo-
 “ ple they left were not able to relieve them, nor durst they
 “ if they had been able, because it would have been called a
 “ maintenance of schism or faction. Many of the ministers,
 “ being afraid to lay down their ministry after they had been
 “ ordained to it, preached to such as would hear them, in
 “ fields and private houses, till they were apprehended and
 “ cast into gaols, where many of them perished.—The peo-
 “ ple were no less divided, some conformed, and others were

* Kennet's Chron. p. 838, 192.

§ Life, part ii. p. 385.

† The observation made, not long before he died by the excellent Mr. *Philip Henry*, who survived these times, deserves to be mentioned here. It was, that “ though many of the ejected ministers were brought very low, had
 “ many children, were greatly harrassed by persecution, and their friends
 “ generally poor and unable to support them; yet in all his acquaintance he
 “ never knew nor could remember to have heard of any non-conformist mi-
 “ nister in prison for debt.” P. Henry's Life, p. 74, 2d ed. Ed.

“ driven

“ driven to a greater distance from the church, and resolved
 “ to abide by their faithful pastors at all events: They mur-
 “ mured at the government, and called the bishops and con-
 “ forming clergy cruel persecutors; for which, and for their
 “ frequenting the private assemblies of their ministers, they
 “ were fined and imprisoned, till many families left their na-
 “ tive country, and settled in the plantations.”

The presbyterian ministers, though men of gravity, and far
 advanced in years, were rallied in the pulpits under the op-
 probrious name of *schismatics* and *fanatics*; they were ex-
 posed in the play-house, and insulted by the mob, insomuch
 that they were obliged to lay aside their habits, and walk in
 disguise. “ Such magistrates were put into commission as ex-
 “ ecuted the penal laws with severity. Informers were en-
 “ couraged and rewarded. It is impossible (says the *Conform-
 “ ist Plea for the Non-Conformist**) to relate the number of the
 “ sufferings both of ministers and people; the great trials,
 “ with hardships upon their persons, estates and families, by
 “ uncomfortable separations, dispersions, unsettlements and
 “ removes; disgraces, reproaches, imprisonments, chargeable
 “ journies, expences in law, tedious sicknesses, and incurable
 “ diseases ending in death; great disquietments and frights to
 “ the wives and families, and their doleful effects upon them.
 “ Their congregations had enough to do besides a small
 “ maintenance, to help them out of prisons, or maintain them
 “ there. Though they were as frugal as possible they could
 “ hardly live; some lived on little more than brown bread
 “ and water; many had but eight or ten pounds a year to
 “ maintain a family, so that a piece of flesh has not come to
 “ one of their tables in six weeks time; their allowance could
 “ scarce afford them bread and cheese. One went to plough
 “ six days and preached on the Lord’s day. Another was
 “ forced to cut tobacco for a livelihood. The zealous jus-
 “ tices of peace knew the calamities of the *ministers*, when
 “ they issued out warrants upon some of the *bearers*, because
 “ of the poverty of the preachers. Out of respect to the
 “ worth and modesty of some of them, (says my author§) I
 “ forbear their names.” Upon these foundations, and with

* Part iv. p. 40.

§ Ibid. part iv. p. 43.

these triumphs, was the present constitution of the church of England restored. I shall make no further remarks upon it, but leave it to the censure of the reader.

Among the presbyterian divines who died this year, was Mr. *John Ley*, M. A. born at Warwick, Feb. 4, 1583, and educated in Christ-church, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was presented to the living of Great-Budworth in Cheshire. He was afterwards prebendary of Chester, and subdean, and clerk of the convocation once or twice. In the year 1641, he took part with the parliament, was one of the assembly of divines, chairman of the committee for examination of ministers, and president of Sion college. In the year 1645, he succeeded Dr. *Hyde* in the rich parsonage of Brightwell, Berks. In 1653, he was one of the *tryers*, and at length obtained the rectory of Solyhull in Warwickshire, but having broken a vein by over-straining himself in speaking, he resigned his living, and retired to Sutton-Colfield, where he died, May 16, 1662, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. He was a very learned person, well read in the fathers and councils, a popular preacher, a pious and devout christian, and one of the main pillars (says Mr. *Wood**) of the presbyterian cause.

Mr. *Henry Jeanes*, M. A. was born in Somersetshire about the year 1611, and educated in New-Inn, and afterwards in Hart-Hall, Oxon, where he took the degrees in arts, and entered into holy orders. He was an admired preacher in the university, and was quickly preferred to the rectory of Beercrocomb, and the vicarage of Kingston in Somersetshire. In the year 1641, he closed with the parliament, and became rector of Chedsoy near Bridgwater. Here he took into his family several young persons, and instructed them in the liberal arts and sciences; he was a most excellent philosopher, a noted metaphysician, and well versed in polemical divinity. With all these qualifications (says Mr. *Wood*†) he was a contemner of the world, generous, free-hearted, jolly, witty, and facetious. He wrote many books, and died in the city of Wells a little before the fatal day of St. Bartholomew, and was buried in the cathedral church there, *ætatis* 52.

* Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 190.

† Ibid. p. 195.

Dr. *Humphrey Chambers* was born in Somersetshire, and educated in University college, Oxon. In the year 1623, he was made rector of Claverton in Somersetshire, but was afterwards silenced by his diocesan, bishop *Piers*, for preaching up the morality of the sabbath, and imprisoned for two years. He was one of the assembly of divines. In the year 1648, he was created *D. D.* and had the rich rectory of Pewsey given him by the earl of Pembroke. After the king's restoration he kept his living till the very day the act of uniformity took place, when having preached his farewell sermon on *Psal.* cxxvi. 6, he went home, fell sick and died, and was buried in his church at Pewsey, Sept. 8, without the service of the church, which had just then taken place.†

Mr. *Simeon Ash* was educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. His first station in the church was in Staffordshire, where he contracted an acquaintance with the most eminent puritans. He was displaced from his living for refusing to read the *book of sports*, and not conforming to the ceremonies. After some time he got liberty to preach in an exempt church at Wroxhall, under the protection of sir *John Burgoign*; and elsewhere, under the lord *Brook*, in Warwickshire. Upon the breaking out of the civil war he became chaplain to the earl of *Manchester*, and had a considerable part in the Cambridge visitation. After the king's death he vigorously opposed the new commonwealth, and declaimed publicly against the *engagement*. He was concerned in all the designs for bringing in the king, and went with other London divines to congratulate his majesty at Breda. He was a christian of primitive simplicity, and a non-conformist of the old stamp, being eminently sincere, charitable, holy, and of a cheerful spirit. He had a good paternal estate, and was very hospitable, his house being much frequented by his brethren, by whom he was highly esteemed. He died in an advanced age on the very evening before Bartholomew-day, in a cheerful and firm expectation of a future happiness.

Mr. *Edward Bowles*, M. A. born 1613, and educated in Katherine hall, Cambridge, under Dr. *Sibbes* and Dr. *Brown-*

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 753, or Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, vol. ii. p. 509.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 1, or Ibid. vol. i. p. 85.

rigge. He was first chaplain to the earl of *Manchester*, and upon the reduction of York to the parliament settled in that city. He was a wise and prudent man, having a clear head and a warm heart; an excellent scholar, and an useful preacher. He attended lord *Fairfax* when general *Monk* passed thro' Yorkshire, and presented an address to the general for a free parliament. He was very zealous and active in promoting the king's restoration, and waited on his majesty with lord *Fairfax* at Breda. It is credibly reported that the deanery of York was offered him, but not being satisfied with conformity, he was excluded the *minster*, though he continued preaching at Allhallows, and afterwards at St. Martin's, as he had opportunity.† When the fatal Bartholomew-day approached he grew sick of the times, and died in the flower of his life, aged forty-nine, and was buried on the eve of St. Bartholomew, 1662.

[In the preceding year there passed an act for regulating the press, enacting, "that no private person, or persons should print, or cause to be printed, any book or pamphlet whatsoever, unless the same was first lawfully licensed and authorised to be printed by certain persons appointed by the act to license the same; viz. *Law books* by the lord chancellor, or one of the chief justices, "or by the chief baron: books of *history*, or concerning *state-affairs*, by one of the principal secretaries of state; "on *heraldry*, by the earl marshal; and all other books, "i. e. to say all *novels*, *romances*, and *fairy tales*, and all "books about *philosophy*, *mathematicks*, *physick*, *divinity*, or "love, by the lord archbishop of *Canterbury*, or the bishop "of *London* for the time being." "The framers of this "curious act," observes lord *Stanhope*, "no doubt, supposing "that these *right reverend* prelates were, of *all* men in the "kingdom, most conversant with *all* these subjects." This act commenced in June 1662, and passed only for two years. It was continued by an act of the 16th of *Charles II.* and by another act of the 17th of the same reign; and in a few months afterwards it expired. We may form some idea of

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 779—782, or Palmer's Nonconf. Mem, vol. ii. p. 580. the

the private instructions given to the licenser, as well as of his excessive caution and ignorant zeal, when we are assured, that on his taking exception to the following lines in *Milton's Paradise Lost*, that admirable poem had like to have been suppressed.

“ As when the sun, new risen,
“ Looks through the horizontal mysty air
“ Shorn of his beams; or from behind the moon
“ In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
“ On half the nation, and with fear of change
“ Perplexes monarchies.”

Stanhope on the Rights of Juries, p. 64, &c. Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 441, note; and Dr. Harris's Life of Charles II. vol. ii. p. 263—274. ED.]



CHAP. VII.

From the Act of Uniformity to the Banishment of the Earl of Clarendon in the Year 1667.

—1662.—

AT this time, says bishop *Burnet*, the name of PURITANS was changed into that of PROTESTANT NON-CONFORMISTS, who were subdivided into *presbyterians*, *independants*, *anabaptists*, and *quakers*; these being shut out of the establishment, had nothing now in view but a toleration, which the credulous presbyterians said they had strong assurances of, before the act of uniformity passed into a law; but in this they were disappointed, as well as in every thing else; for which the *independants* told them they might thank themselves, because their *managers* had protested against including the papists; whereas the legislature and the bishops were concerned to prevent any mischief from that quarter, and to their care the presbyterians should have left it.† Some observing how much the court and parliament were set against them, were for removing with their ministers to Holland; and others proposed New-England; but the papists, at a meeting of the earl of *Bristol's* house, agreed to do whatever they could to keep the non-conformists in England, and buoy them up with hopes of a toleration.

The king was a concealed Roman catholick, and had swarms of that persuasion about his person and court, who had fought for his father in the wars, or been civil to him in his exile; their design was to introduce a toleration of their religion, by the royal indulgence, in common with other dissenters from the establishment; and the king was so far in their measures, that he declared openly *he would give liberty to all or none*. The court was therefore content that the act of uniformity should pass in the severest terms, on

† *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 282.

purpose to make the number of dissenters more considerable; and when this was objected, it was replied, *the more dissenters the better*, because it will make a toleration more needful, in which the papists will be included.† The papists had two maxims from which they never departed; one was, *to keep themselves united, and promote a general toleration, or a general prosecution*. The other, *to divide the protestants as much as possible among themselves*. For this reason the sword was put into the hands of such magistrates as would inflame the differences, and exasperate their spirits one against the other. Nor were there wanting some hot-headed young clergymen, who ran greedily into the snare, and became the tools of popery and arbitrary power, till the protestant religion was expiring, and must inevitably have been lost, had it not been revived almost by a miracle. With a like view the laws against prophaneness and immorality were relaxed, men's morals were neglected, interludes, masquerades, promiscuous dancing, prophane swearing, drunkenness, and an universal dissolution of manners, were connived at, and the very name of godliness became a reproach.

The parliament, being made up of a set of pensioners and mercenaries, went into all the court measures, and enacted more penal laws for religion, than it may be all the parliaments put together since the reformation. They pressed the act of uniformity with inflexible rigour, and enforced it with so many other penal laws, that under their wing popery grew to such a height, as to threaten the extirpation of the *Northern heresy*. At length many of the members being dead, and others grown fat with the spoils of the publick, they would have retrieved their errors, and distinguished between *protestant non-conformists* and *popish recusants*, but it was too late; and the king having found ways and means to subsist without parliaments, resolved to adhere by his standing maxim, *to give ease to all dissenters or to none*.

It is impossible to excuse the clergy from their share in the troubles of this reign. If the convocation of 1662, in their review of the liturgy, had made any amendments for the satisfaction of the presbyterians, they would undoubtedly have passed both houses of parliament, and healed in some

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 285.

measure the divisions of the church; but they were actuated by a spirit of revenge, and not only promoted such laws as might deprive the presbyterians of the power of hurting them for the future; but assisted in putting them in execution. None had a greater share in inflaming the minds of the people, and in sounding the trumpet to persecution. But here the reader must distinguish between those zealots, who, from resentment, bigotry, or sinister views, set themselves to encourage and promote all the methods of oppression and tyranny; and those, who, though they complied with the terms of conformity themselves, were disposed to an accommodation with the protestant non-conformists upon moderate terms.

The bishops were generally of the former sort; they were old and exasperated, fond of their persecuting principles, and fearful of every thing that tended to relieve the presbyterians. They went with zeal into all the slavish doctrines of the prerogative, and voted with the court in every thing they required. But even some of these bishops, who at first were very zealous to throw the presbyterians out of the church, afterwards grew more temperate. Dr. *Laney*, bishop of Peterborough, who made a great bustle in the Savoy conference, was willing at length to wipe his hands of the dirty work, and (to use his own expression) could look through his fingers, and suffer a worthy non-conformist to preach publicly near him for years together.—Bishop *Saunderson* had a roll of non-conformist ministers under his angry eye, designed for discipline, but when he was near his end, he ordered the roll to be burnt, and said he would die in peace.—And most remarkable is the passage in the last will and testament of Dr. *Cosins*, bishop of Durham, a zealous enemy of the presbyterians, and who had met with ill usage in the late times.—“I take it to be my duty, (says he) and that of
“all the bishops and ministers of the church, to do our ut-
“most endeavour, that at last an end may be put to the dif-
“ferences of religion, or at least that they may be lessened.” Such was the different temper of this learned prelate in the vigour of life, and when he came to review things calmly on his dying bed. To these may be added bishop *Gauden*, *Wilkins*, *Reynolds*, and a few others, who were always moderate,

derate, and are said to carry the wounds of the church in their hearts to the grave; but the far greater majority of the bench, especially those who frequented the court, were of different principles.

The like may be observed of the inferior clergy, who were divided, a few years after, into those of the *court* and the *country*; the former were of an angry superstitious spirit, and far more strenuous for a few indifferent ceremonies, than for the peace of the church, or its more important articles; their sermons were filled with the reverence due to their *holy mother*, with the sacred dignity of their own indelible characters, with the slavish doctrines of passive-obedience and non-resistance, and with the most bitter raillery and invectives against the routed presbyterians; they encouraged the enacting severe laws, and carried them into execution as long as their superiors would permit, without any regard to mercy or merit; but took comparatively little or no care, by their doctrine or example, of the morals of the people, which were shamefully neglected throughout the nation. The clergy of this character were by far the more numerous for twenty years after the restoration; the tide of church preferments running in this channel, and their doctrines being the most fashionable.

The *country* clergy were of a quite different spirit; they were determined protestants and true churchmen, but more disposed to a coalition with protestant dissenters than with papists: Among these were the *Tillotsons*, *Stillingfleets*, *Whitchcots*, *Wilkins*, *Cudworths*, &c. men of the first rank for learning, sobriety and virtue; they were the most eminent preachers of the age, whose sermons and writings did honour to the church of England, and supported its character in the worst of times. They lamented the corruptions and vices of the people, and stood in the gap against an inundation of popery and tyranny; but their numbers were small, because the road to preferment lay another way: and when the high church clergy had betrayed the liberties of their country, and the cause of the protestant religion, into the hands of the papists, these appeared boldly in their defence, disarmed their adversaries, and saved the nation.

When

When therefore we speak of the furious proceedings of the bishops and clergy, it must not be understood of the whole body, but only of those who were tools of a corrupt court and ministry, and who, out of ignorance or other private and personal motives, went blindfold into all their destructive measures.

Bishop Burnet, in his book against the author of *Parliamentum Pacificum*, has the following remarkable passage: “It is well known, that those who were secretly papists, and “disguised their religion, as the king himself did, animated “the chief men of the church to carry the points of uniformity as high as possible—That there might be many non-conformists, and great occasion for a toleration, under “which popery might creep in; for if the king’s declaration “from Breda had taken place, of two thousand ministers “that were turned out, above seventeen hundred had stayed “in; but the practice of the papists had too great an influence on the churchmen, whose spirits were too much “soured by their ill usage during the war; nor were they “without success on the dissenters, who were secretly encouraged to stand out, and were told, that *the king’s temper and principles, and the consideration of trade, would “certainly procure them a toleration.* Thus they tampered “with both parties; liberty of conscience was their profession, but when a session of parliament came, and the king “wanted money, then a new severe law against the dissenters was offered to the angry men of the church party as “the price of it; and this seldom failed to have its effect; “so that they were like the jewels of the crown, pawned “when the king needed money, but redeemed at the next “prorogation.”

The same prelate observes in another performance, “that “the first spirit of severity was heightened by the practices of “the papists.—That many churchmen, who understood not “the principles of human society, and the rules of the English government, wrote several extravagant treatises about “the *measures of submission*; that the dissenters were put to “great hardships in many parts of England.” But concludes, that “He must have the brow of a jesuit that can “cast this *wholly* upon the church of England, and *free the* “court

“*court of it.* Upon the whole matter (says his lordship)
 “it is evident, that the passions and infirmities of some
 “of the church of England being unhappily stirred up by
 “the dissenters, they were fatally conducted by the popish
 “party to be the instruments of doing a great deal of mis-
 “chief.”

But to go on with the history: three days after the act of uniformity took place, the silenced ministers presented a petition to his majesty for a toleration, by the hands of Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, and Mr. *Calamy*, to this effect; “that
 “having had former experience of his majesty’s clemency
 “and indulgence, some of the London ministers, who are
 “like to be deprived of all future usefulness by the late
 “act of uniformity, humbly cast themselves at his majesty’s
 “feet, desiring him of his princely wisdom to take some ef-
 “fectual course, that they may be continued in their mini-
 “stry, to teach his people obedience to God and his majesty;
 “and they doubt not but by their dutiful and peaceable be-
 “haviour, they shall render themselves not altogether un-
 “worthy of so great a favour.”† The matter being debated
 next day in council, his majesty gave his opinion for an in-
 dulgence if it was feasible. Others were for conniving at
 the more eminent divines, and putting curates into their
 churches to read the service till they should die off.* This
 was the opinion of the earl of *Manchester*, who urged it
 with a great deal of earnestness; but lord *Clarendon* was for
 the strict execution of the law: “Surely (says he) there
 “cannot be too intent a care in kings and princes to pre-
 “serve and maintain all decent forms and ceremonies both
 “in church and state, which keeps up the reverence due to
 “religion, as well as the duty and dignity due to the go-
 “vernment and the majesty of kings.”§ Bishop *Sheldon*
 was of the same side, and declared, that if the act was sus-
 pended he could not maintain his episcopal authority; that
 this would render the legislature ridiculous, and be the oc-
 casion of endless distractions.|| England is accustomed to
 to obey laws, (says he) so that while we stand on that ground
 we are safe; and to answer all objections, he undertook to

† Kennet’s Chron. p. 753.

* Ibid. p. 730, 742.

§ Parker’s History, p. 29.

|| Burnet, vol. i. p. 279.

fill the vacant pulpits more to the people's satisfaction. By such arguments, delivered with great earnestness and zeal, they prevailed with the council to let the law take place for the present.

Nevertheless, about four months after, his majesty published a declaration to all his loving subjects, by advice of his privy council, dated December 26, 1662, in which, after reciting those words of his declaration from Breda, relating to his giving liberty to tender consciences, and his readiness to consent to an act of parliament for that purpose, his majesty adds, "As all these things are fresh in our memory, so
"are we still firm in the resolution of performing them to
"the full. But it must not be wondered at, since that par-
"liament to which those promises were made, never thought
"fit to offer us an act for that purpose, that *we being so*
"*zealous as we are (and by the grace of God shall ever be)*
"*for the maintenance of the true protestant religion,* should
"give its establishment the precedency before matters of in-
"dulgence to dissenters from it; but that being done, we
"are glad to renew to all our subjects concerned in those
"promises of indulgence this assurance, That as for what
"concerns the penalties upon those, who (living peaceably)
"do not conform to the church of England through scruple,
"or tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly, and
"without scandal, perform their devotions in their own
"way, we shall make it our special care, as far as in us lies,
"without invading the freedom of parliament, to incline
"their wisdom at the next approaching sessions, to concur
"with us in making some act for that purpose, as may ena-
"ble us to exercise with a more universal satisfaction *that*
"*power of dispensing which we conceive to be inherent in us;*
"nor can we doubt of their cheerful co-operating with us
"in a thing wherein we conceive ourselves so far engaged
"both in honour, and in what we owe to the peace of our
"dominions, which we profess we can never think secure
"whilst there shall be a colour left to disaffected persons
"to inflame the minds of so many multitudes upon the score
"of conscience, with despair of ever obtaining any effect
"of our promises for their ease."

His

His majesty then proceeds to obviate the objection of his favouring papists; and after having avowed to the world the due sense he had of their having deserved well from his royal father, and from himself, and even from the protestant religion, in adhering to them with their lives and fortunes, for the maintenance of their crown in the religion established, he declares, that “it is not in his intention to exclude them
 “ from all benefit from such an act of indulgence, but that
 “ they are not to expect an open toleration; but refers the
 “ manner to the approaching sessions of parliament, which
 “ he doubts not will concur with him in the performance of
 “ his promises.”—He concludes, “with hoping that all his
 “ subjects, with minds happily composed by his clemency
 “ and indulgence, (instead of taking up thoughts of deserting
 “ their professions, or transplanting) will apply themselves
 “ comfortably, and with redoubled industry, to their several
 “ vocations, in such manner as the private interest of every
 “ one in particular may encourage him to contribute cheer-
 “ fully to the general prosperity.

“ Given at our court at Whitehall, this 26th of December,
 “ in the 14th year of our reign.”

This declaration was thought to be framed at Somerset-house, where the queen-mother kept her court, without the knowledge of lord *Clarendon* or bishop *Sheldon*; and, according to *Burnet*, was the result of a council of papists at the earl of *Bristol*'s, (who were under an oath of secrecy) and of the king himself.* It is modestly expressed; and though it carries in it a claim of the *dispensing power*, and of good-will to popery, yet it refers all to the parliament. Accordingly his majesty, in his speech at the opening the next sessions, Feb. 28, 1663, supported his declaration in the following words, “That though he was in his nature an enemy
 “ to all severity in religion, he would not have them infer
 “ from thence, that he meant to favour popery, though
 “ several of that profession, who had served him and his fa-
 “ ther well, might justly claim a share in that indulgence
 “ he would willingly afford to other dissenters; not that I
 “ intend them to hold any place in the government (says his

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 282, 3.

“ majesty) for I will not yield to any, no not to the bishops them-
 “ selves, in my zeal for the protestant religion, and my liking
 “ the act of uniformity; and yet if the dissenters will behave
 “ themselves peaceably and modestly under the government,
 “ I could heartily wish I had such a power of indulgence to use
 “ upon all occasions, as might not needlessly force them out of the
 “ kingdom; or staying here, give them cause to conspire against
 “ the peace of it.” This was the first open claim of a *dispen-*

sing power, which the reader will observe did not propose a
law for liberty of conscience, but that his majesty might have a
 legal power of *indulgence* vested in himself, which he might
 use or recal as he thought fit. This alarmed the house of
 commons, who voted the thanks of the house for his majesty’s
 resolution to maintain the act of uniformity; but that it
 was the opinion of the house, that *no indulgence be granted to*
dissenters from it; and an address was appointed to be drawn
 up, and presented to his majesty, with the following reasons:

“ We have considered (say they) your majesty’s *declaration*
 “ from Breda, and are of opinion, that it was not a *promise*,
 “ but a gracious declaration to comply with the advice of
 “ your parliament, whereas no such advice has been given.*
 “ They who pretend a right to the supposed promise, put
 “ the right into the hands of their representatives, who have
 “ passed the act of uniformity. § If any shall say, a right to
 “ the benefit of the declaration still remains, it tends to dis-
 “ solve the very bond of government, and to suppose a disa-
 “ bility in the whole legislature to make a law contrary to
 “ your majesty’s declaration. We have also considered the
 “ nature of the *indulgence* proposed, and are of opinion,
 “ 1. That it will establish schism by a law, and make the cen-
 “ sures of the church of no consideration. 2. That it is un-
 “ becoming the wisdom of parliament to pass a law in one

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 634.

§ According to this curious mode of reasoning, the authority of a trust
 justifies the abuse of it, and persons elected for the general welfare are not
 accountable for acting contrary to the interest of their constituents. Such a
 position is just as absurd, to use the simile of a late writer, as to imagine
 “ that physicians, chosen to superintend and cure the sick in hospitals, have
 “ a right to kill their patients if they please.” Secret History of the Reign
 of Charles II, vol. ii. p. 7, note. ED.

“ session for uniformity, and in another session to pass a law
 “ to frustrate or weaken it, the reasons continuing the same.
 “ 3. That it will expose your majesty to the restless importu-
 “ nities of every sect who shall dissent from the established
 “ church. 4. That it will increase sectaries, which will
 “ weaken the protestant profession, and be troublesome to the
 “ government; and in time some prevalent sect may contend
 “ for an establishment which may end in popery. 5. That
 “ it is unprecedented, and may take away the means of con-
 “ victing recusants. 6. That the indulgence proposed will
 “ not tend to the peace, but to the disturbance of the king-
 “ dom; the best way therefore to produce a settled peace is
 “ to press vigorously the act of uniformity.”

The reader will judge of the force of these reasons, which, in my opinion, would justify the severest persecution in the world; however, the king was convinced with a sum of money, and therefore made no other reply, but that *he had been ill understood*. The house then addressed him to put the laws in execution against papists; and a proclamation was issued out for that purpose, but little regarded. However, this opposition to the king and the *Roman* catholicks by lord *Clarendon*, and his friends in the house of commons, laid the foundation of his impeachment the next year, and of his ruin some time after. Bishop *Kennet* admits, That the king was inclined to a general indulgence,* “ though whether it was from his good-nature, or a secret inclination to introduce popery, is not very decent to determine;” but both he and *Eachard* are of opinion,|| “ That the king’s clemency hardened the dissenters against the church; whereas, if they had lost all dependance on a court interest, and had found the king and his ministry intent upon the strict execution of the act of uniformity, most of them (say they) would at this juncture have conformed.” A notorious mistake! the contrary to this being evident to a demonstration throughout the course of this reign. The conformity of honest men does not depend upon the will, but the understanding, and it is very ungenerous at this distance to impeach men’s integrity, who underwent a long course of the severest trials to retain it.

* Page 258.

|| *Eachard*, p. 806.

Some of the ejected presbyterians, who were men of piety and learning, complied as far as they could, and made a distinction between *lay-conformity*, and *ministerial*; they practised the former, and went sometimes to their parish churches before or after the exercise of their ministry in some private houses; and this they did, not for interest or advantage, but to all appearance to express their catholicism and brotherly love.* Here was the rise of *occasional conformity*, practised by Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Baxter*, and others, to their death; but this, instead of being well taken, was the occasion of bringing some of them into trouble; for Mr. *Calamy*, late minister of Aldermanbury, being at his parish church December 28, the preacher happened to disappoint them; upon which, at the importunity of the parishioners, Mr. *Calamy* went up into the pulpit, and preached a sermon upon *Eli's concern for the Ark of God*; a subject much upon their thoughts at that time: but this was so highly resented at court, that he was sent to Newgate next week for sedition, in breaking the king's laws.† It was done *in terrorem*, says my author, but there was such a clamour among the people, and such a resort of persons of distinction to visit the prisoner, that his majesty thought fit to release him in a few days, which not being done by due course of law, the commons resented it, and presented an address, that the laws for the future might have their free course. This disgusted the king, who was willing to assert his prerogative, and shew some favour to the presbyterians, that he might cover the papists; but lord *Clarendon*, who was their implacable enemy, and at the head of that party which meditated their ruin, opposed the court measures, and encouraged his friends in both houses to abide by the laws.‡

The following summer [1663] there was a fresh discourse of liberty for the silenced ministers; and the court were so far in the design as to encourage them to petition for a *general toleration*, insinuating this to be the only way of relief, and that the legislature would go on to increase their burdens, and lay them in gaols till they complied. The *independants* went up to court to speak for themselves, but the *presbyterians* refused;

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 436. Compl. Hist. p. 267.

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 6.

‡ Rapin, p. 312-13.

upon which Mr. *Baxter* says, the independant brethren thought it owing to them that they missed of their intended liberty.* The court being displeased, lord *Clarendon* and his friends took the opportunity to awaken their resentments, by fathering upon the non-conformists some new plots against the government. There was said to be a conspiracy in the North among the republicans and separatists, to restore the long parliament, and put *Lambert* and *Ludlow* at their head, though the former was shut up in prison in a remote island, and the other gone into banishment. There had been some unadvised and angry conversation among the meaner sort of people of republican principles, but it was not pretended that any gentleman of character, much less that the body of the English non-conformists, were acquainted with it; however, about twenty were tried and condemned at York and Leeds, and several executed. Some very mean persons were indicted at the Old-Bailey for a branch of the same design, as *Tongue*, *Phillips*, *Stubbes*, *Hind*, *Sellars*, and *Gibbes*: they were not tried separately, but set at the bar together, and condemned in the lump. It was pretended that the fifth monarchy men, anabaptists, independants, and some quakers, were consenting to some desperate designs, but the authors were never discovered; however, four of these pretended conspirators were executed, who confessed, at the place of execution, that they had heard some treasonable expressions in company, but denied to the last that they were acquainted with any conspiracy against the king; and whoever reads their trials will be inclined to think, that it was a design of those who were at the head of affairs, to inflame the populace against the non-conformists, in order to bring on them greater severities.†

An act was passed this summer *for the relief of such persons as by sickness, or other impediments, were disabled from subscribing the declaration in the act of uniformity, and explanation of the said act.* The preamble sets forth, “ That divers persons of eminent loyalty, and known affection to the liturgy of the church of England, were out of the kingdom; and others by reason of sickness, disability of body, or otherwise,

* *Baxter's Life*, part ii. p. 430, 3.

† *Kennet's Chron.* p. 840, 1. *Calamy*, vol. i. p. 305. *Rapin*, p. 635.

“ could not subscribe within the time limited, and were there-
 “ fore disabled, and *ipso facto* deprived of their prebendaries,
 “ or other livings, therefore further time is given them to the
 “ feast of the *nativity of our Lord* next ensuing; or if out of
 “ England, forty days after their return:”* Which shews,
 that the time limited by the act of uniformity was not suffici-
 ent. The journal of the house of lords mentions a clause in-
 serted by their lordships, explaining the *subscription and de-*
claration to relate only to *practice and obedience to the law*,
 which passed the upper house, though several temporal lords
 protested against it, as destructive to the church of England;
 however, when it came down to the commons, the clause was
 rejected, and the lords did not think fit to insist upon its be-
 ing restored.†

While the parliament were relieving the loyalists, they in-
 creased the burdens of the non-conformists, for under colour
 of the late pretended plots, they passed an act for *suppressing*
sedition conventicles; the preamble to which having set forth,
 that the sectaries, under pretence of tender consciences, at
 their meetings had contrived insurrections, the act declares the
 35th of Queen *Elizabeth* to be in full force, which condemns
 all persons refusing peremptorily to come to church, after
 conviction, to banishment, and in case of return to death,
 without benefit of clergy. It enacts further, “ That if any
 “ person above the age of sixteen, after the first of July 1664,
 “ shall be present at any meeting, under colour or pretence
 “ of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed
 “ by the liturgy or practice of the church of England, where
 “ shall be five or more persons than the household, shall for
 “ the first offence suffer three months imprisonment, upon
 “ record made upon oath under the hand and seal of a justice
 “ of peace, or pay a sum not exceeding five pounds; for the
 “ second offence six months imprisonment, or ten pounds;
 “ and for the third offence the offender to be banished to
 “ some of the American plantations for seven years, excepting

* 15 Car. II. cap. 6.

“ † Thus it is the declared sense of the legislature, that the unfeigned
 “ assent and consent relates not only to the *use*, but to the *inward and en-*
 “ *tire approbation of all and every thing* as expressed in the subscription.”
 Fowler’s French Constitution, p. 352, note.

‡ 16 Car. II. cap. 4.

“ New-

“ New-England and Virginia, or pay one hundred pounds ;
“ and in case they return, or make their escape, such persons
“ are to be adjudged felons, and suffer death without benefit
“ of clergy. Sheriffs, or justices of peace, or others com-
“ missioned by them, are empowered to dissolve, dissipate,
“ and break up all unlawful conventicles, and to take into
“ custody such of their number as they think fit. They who
“ suffer such conventicles in their houses or barns are liable
“ to the same forfeitures as other offenders. The prosecu-
“ tion is to be within three months. Married women taken
“ at conventicles are to be imprisoned for twelve months,
“ unless their husbands pay forty shillings for their redemp-
“ tion. This act to continue in force for three years after
“ the next session of parliament.”

This was a terrible scourge over the *laity*, put into the hands of a single justice of peace, without the verdict of a jury, the oath of the *informer* being sufficient. The design of the parliament (says *Rapin*) was to drive them to despair, and to force them into real crimes against the government. By virtue of this act the gaols in the several counties were quickly filled with dissenting protestants, while the papists had the good fortune to be covered under the wing of the prerogative. Some of the ministers who went to church in sermon time, were disturbed for preaching to a few of their parishioners after the publick service was over ; their houses were broke open, and their hearers taken into custody ; warrants were issued out for levying twenty pounds on the minister, twenty pounds upon the house, and five shillings upon each hearer. If the money was not immediately paid, there was a seizure of their effects, the goods and wares were taken out of the shops ; and in the country, cattle were driven away and sold for half the value. If the seizure did not answer the fine, the minister and people were hurried to prison, and held under close confinement for three or six months. The trade of an *informer* began to be very gainful, by the encouragement of the spiritual courts. At every quarter-sessions several were fined for not coming to church, and others excommunicated ; nay, some have been sentenced to abjure the realm, and fined in a sum much larger than all they were worth in the world.

Before

Before the conventicle act took place the laity were courageous,* and exhorted their ministers to preach till they went to prison; but when it came home to themselves, and they had been once in gaol, they began to be more cautious, and consulted among themselves, how to avoid the edge of the law in the best manner they could; for this purpose their assemblies were frequently held at midnight, and in the most private places; and yet, notwithstanding all their caution, they were frequently disturbed; but it is remarkable, that under all their hardships they never made the least resistance, but went quietly along with the soldiers or officers, when they could not fly from them. The distress of so many families made some confine themselves within their own houses, some remove to the plantations, and others have recourse to *occasional conformity*, to avoid the penalty for not coming to church; but the *independants*, *anabaptists*, and *quakers*, declined the practice, for they said, If *persecution* was the mark of a false church, it must be absolutely unlawful to join with one that was so notoriously guilty.

Indeed the *quakers* gloried in their sufferings, and were so resolute as to assemble openly at the Bull and Mouth near Aldersgate,|| from whence the soldiers and other officers dragged them to prison, till Newgate was filled, and multitudes died by close confinement in the several gaols. The account published about this time says, there were six hundred of them in prison, *merely for religion sake*, of whom several were banished to the plantations. Sometimes the *quakers* met and continued silent, upon which it was questioned, whether such an assembly was a *conventicle for religious exercise*; and when some were tried for it in order to banishment, they were acquitted of the banishment, and came off with a fine, which they seldom paid, and were therefore continued in prison,† In short the *quakers* about London gave such full employment to the *informers*, that they had less leisure to attend the meetings of other dissenters.

So great was the severity of these times, and the arbitrary proceedings of the justices, that many were afraid to pray in their families, if above four of their acquaintance who came only to visit them were present. Some families scrupled ask-

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 436.

|| Sewel, p. 445.

† Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 436.

ing a blessing on their meat, if five strangers were at table. In London, where the houses join, it was thought the law might be evaded if the people met in several houses, and heard the minister through a window or hole in the wall; but it seems this was over-ruled, the determination being (as has been observed) in the breast of a single mercenary justice of peace. And while conscientious people were thus oppressed, the common people gave themselves up to drunkenness, prophane swearing, gaming, lewdness, and all kinds of debauchery, which brought down the judgments of heaven upon the nation.

The first general calamity that befel the kingdom, was a war with the *Dutch*, which the king entered into this winter, by the instigation of the young *French* monarch *Lewis XIV.* who, being grown rich by a long peace, sought for an opportunity to make new conquests in the *Spanish Flanders*; for this purpose he engaged the maritime powers in a war, that by weakening each other's hands they might not be at leisure to assist the Spaniards whom he intended to attack. The English made complaints of the encroachments of the Dutch upon their trade, and indignities offered to his majesty's subjects in India, Africa, and elsewhere; the French promoted these misunderstandings, and promised to supply the king with what sums of money he wanted; till at length war was proclaimed Feb. 22, 1664-65, in the course of which sundry bloody engagements happened at sea; the two nations were drained of their blood and their treasure, and the protestant interest almost ruined, while the French were little more than spectators. The war continued about two years and a half, and then ended with no manner of advantage to either nation.

[In the year 1663 there was obtained, by the interest of Mr. *Baxter* and Mr. *Asburst* with the lord chancellor *Hyde*, a charter for the incorporating "A society or company for propagation of the gospel in New-England, and the parts adjacent in America." Such a society had been formed under the sanction of an act of parliament in 1646: and, by a collection made in all the parishes in England, there had been raised a sum sufficient to purchase an estate in land of between 500l. and 600l. a year. Upon the restoration of
king

king *Charles II.* the charter became void, and colonel *Beddingfield*, a Roman-catholick officer in the army, of whom a considerable part of the land was bought, seized it for his own use; pretending he had sold it under the value, in hopes of recovering it upon the king's return. The society, being re-established, at great trouble and expence, were again put in possession of the estate by a decree of chancery, which the honourable Mr. *Boyle* was very instrumental in obtaining. He was appointed the first governor of the company.*

On the 4th of June this year died, aged 81, Dr. *William Juxon*, archbishop of Canterbury, whose elevation to the post of lord high-treasurer of England and other early preferments have been mentioned before, (vol. ii. p. 275.) He was born in Chichester, received his grammar learning at Merchant-taylors school, became fellow of St. *John's* college, Oxford in 1598, and batchelor of the civil law in 1603, being about that time a student in *Gray's* inn. Soon after he entered into holy orders, and in 1609 was made vicar of St. *Giles*, Oxford. In 1626 he executed the office of vice-chancellor. After the death of *Charles I.* he retired to his paternal manor of Little-Compton in Gloucestershire, and devoted himself to liberal studies. On the restoration, he was advanced, Sept. 4, 1660, to the see of *Canterbury*. He was buried with great funeral pomp in St. *John's* college, Oxon. He is said to have acted, at a very critical time, with a prudence, moderation, and integrity, which enmity could not impeach in his arduous office as high treasurer. He left many monuments of his munificence and liberality. "The mildness of his temper, the gentleness of his manners, and the integrity of his life," says Mr. *Granger*, "gained him universal esteem; and even the haters of Prelacy could never hate *Juxon*."†

Mr. *Henry Jessey*, an eminent divine among the puritans, died, also, on the 4th of Sept. this year. He was born on the 3d of Sept. 1601, at West-Rowton, near Cleveland in

* Neal's History of New-England, vol. i. p. 262.

† Granger's History of England, vol. ii. p. 109, 154. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 662-3, and Richardson de Præsulibus, p. 162.

Yorkshire, where his father was minister. At seventeen years of age he was sent to St. *John's* college in Cambridge; he continued six years at the university, where he commenced first bachelor, then master of arts. In 1623 died his father, who had hitherto supplied him according to his ability; which event left him in such strait circumstances, that he had not above 3d. a day for his maintenance, yet he so economically managed this small pittance, as to spare some of it for hiring books. He pursued his studies with diligence, and, not contenting himself with the *ipse dixit* of authority, he investigated science freely. He left the university well versed in the *Hebrew* and the writings of the *rabbies*, with a knowledge of *Syriac* and *Chaldee*. During this period his mind imbibed a strong sense of religion, and he determined to devote himself to the ministry. He spent nine years, after leaving the university, as chaplain in the family of Mr. *Brampton Gurdon*, at Affington in Suffolk, improving his time, and, among other studies, giving his attention to physick. In 1627 he received *episcopal* ordination, but could not be prevailed upon to accept any promotion until 1633, when the living of Aughton, in Yorkshire, was given to him. But he was removed the very next year for not using the ceremonies, and for taking down a crucifix. On this he was received into the family of Sir *Matthew Bointon* in the same county, and preached frequently at two parishes in the neighbourhood. In 1635, accompanying his patron to London, he was invited to be pastor of the congregation formed in 1616 by Mr. *Henry Jacob*; this his modesty led him to decline for some time, but, after many prayers and much consideration, he accepted the invitation, and continued in this post till his death. Soon after the sentiments of the *baptists* were embraced by many of this society. This put him upon studying the controversy; and the result was, that after great deliberation, many prayers, and frequent conferences with pious and learned friends, he altered his sentiments, first concerning the mode, and then the subjects of baptism. But he maintained the same temper of friendship and charity towards other christians, not only as to conversation, but church communion. When he visited the churches in the north and west of England, he laboured to promote the spirit of love and
union

union among them, and was a principal person in setting up and maintaining, for some time, a meeting of some eminent men of each denomination in London. He divided his labours according to the liberality of his temper. In the afternoon of every Lord's day he was among his own people. In the morning he usually preached at St. George's church, Southwark, and once in the week at Ely-house, and at the Savoy to the maimed soldiers. The master study of his life was a new translation of the bible; in this design he engaged the assistance of many persons of note. It was almost compleated, when the great turn given to publick affairs at the restoration rendered it abortive. The benevolence of his exertions formed a most distinguishing trait in his character. He chose a single life, that he might be more at liberty for such labours. Besides his own alms, he was a constant solicitor and agent for the poor, and carried about with him a list and description of the most peculiar objects of charity, which he knew. Thirty families had all their subsistence from him. But his charity was not limited to his own congregation: and where he thought it no charity to give, he would often lend without interest or security. One of the most remarkable instances of his charity, which had scarcely a precedent, was what he shewed to the poor *Jews* at Jerusalem, who by a war between the *Swedes and Poles*, which cut off their subsistence from their rich brethren in other countries, were reduced to great extremities. Mr. *Jessy* collected for them 300*l.* and sent with it letters with a view to their conversion to christianity. In the year 1650 he had written a treatise to remove their prejudices, and convince them of the messiahship of Jesus, recommended by several of the assembly of divines, and afterwards translated into *Hebrew* to be dispersed among the *Jews* of all nations. He was exposed to a great number of visitors; which occasioned him to have it written over his study door;

AMICE, QUISQUIS HUC ADES;
AUT AGITO PAUCIS, AUT ABI,
AUT ME LABORANTEM ADJUA.

WHATEVER FRIEND COMES HITHER,
DISPATCH IN BRIEF, OR GO,
OR HELP ME BUSIED TOO. H. J.

When

When he went long journies, he laid down rules to regulate the conversation for his fellow travellers, which were enforced by small pecuniary mulcts on the violation of them. He was meek and humble, and very plain in speech, dress and demeanour. He was so great a scripturist, that if one began to rehearse any passage, he could go on with it, and name the book, chapter and verse, where it might be found. The original languages of the Old and New Testament were as familiar to him as his mother tongue. He was several times apprehended at meetings for religious worship. Upon the restoration he was ejected from his living at St. George's, silenced from his ministry, and committed to prison. About five or six months after his last release, he died full of peace and joy; lamented by persons of different persuasions, several thousands of whom attended his funeral. Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. i. p. 307—21. Palmer's Non-conformists Memorial, vol. i. p. 108—13. The Life and Death of Mr. Jessey, 1671; where are the letters written to the Jews, remarks on our translation of the bible, and rules for a new version. Ed.]

The next judgment which befel the nation was the most dreadful *plague* that had been known within the memory of man. This was preceded by an unusual drought; the meadows were parched and burnt up like the highways, inso-much that there was no food for the cattle, which occasioned first a murrain among them, and then a general contagion among the human species, which increased in the city and suburbs of London until eight or ten thousand died in a week.* The richer inhabitants fled into the remoter coun-

* Dr. Grey has introduced here a full and affecting narrative of the progress of this calamity, and of the mortality it produced; drawn up by the pen of Mr. Vincent, one who charitably gave his assistance at that time, as copied by Dr. Calamy, in his Continuation, p. 33. It was usual for people, as they went about their business, to drop down in the street. A bagpiper, who, excessively overcome with liquor, had fallen down and lay asleep in the street, was taken up, and thrown into a cart, and betimes the next morning, carried away with some dead bodies. At day-break he awoke, and rising began to play a tune: which so surprized those who drove the cart, and could see nothing distinctly, that in a fright they betook them to their heels, and would have it they had taken up the devil in the disguise of a dead man. Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 10, 11. Ed.

ties; but the calamities of those who stayed behind, and of the poorer sort, are not to be expressed. Trade was at a full stand; all commerce between London and the country was entirely cut off, lest the infection should be propagated thereby. Nay, the country house-keepers and farmers durst not entertain their city friends or relations till they had performed quarantine in the fields or out-houses. If a stranger passed through the neighbourhood, they fled from him as an enemy. In London the shops and houses were quite shut up, and many of them marked with a red cross, and an inscription over the door, *Lord have mercy upon us!* Grass grew in the streets; and every night the bell-man went his rounds with a cart, crying, *Bring out your dead.* From London the plague spread into the neighbouring towns and villages, and continued near three quarters of a year, till it had swept away almost one hundred thousand of the inhabitants.

Some of the established clergy, with a commendable zeal, ventured to continue in their stations, and preach to their parishioners throughout the course of the plague, as Dr. *Walker*, Dr. *Horton*, Dr. *Meriton*, and a few others;* but most of them fled, and deserted their parishes at a time when their assistance was most wanted; upon this some of the ejected ministers ventured to preach in the vacant pulpits, imagining that so extraordinary a case would justify their disregard to the laws. The ministers who embarked in this service were the reverend Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, Mr. *Chester*, Mr. *Janeway*, Mr. *Turner*, *Grimes*, *Franklin*, and others. The face of death, and the arrows that fled among the people in darkness at noon-day, awakened both preachers and hearers: Many who were at church one day were thrown into their graves the next; the cry of great numbers was, *What shall we do to be saved?* A more awful time England had never seen.

But it will amaze all posterity, that in a time both of war and pestilence, and when the non-conformist ministers were hazarding their lives in the service of the souls of the distressed and dying citizens of London, that the prime minister and his creatures,§ instead of mourning for the nation's sins, and meditating a reformation of manners, should pour out all their

* Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 2.

§ Ibid. part iii. p. 3.

vengeance upon the non-conformists, in order to make their condition more insupportable. One would have thought such a judgment from heaven, and such a generous compassion in the ejected ministers, should have softened the hearts of their most cruel enemies; but the presbyterians must be crushed, in defiance of the rebukes of Providence. Bishop *Kennet* and Mr. *Eachard* would excuse the ministry, by alledging, that some of the old *Oliverian* officers were enlisted in the *Dutch* service;* which, if true, was nothing to the body of the presbyterians, though lord *Clarendon* did what he could to incense the parliament, and make them believe they were in confederacy with the enemies of the government. In his harangue to the house, he says, “their countenances were more erect, and more insolent, since the beginning of the war than before; that they were ready, if any misfortune had befallen the king’s fleet, to have brought the war into our fields and houses. The horrid murderers of our late royal master have been received into the most sacred councils in Holland; and other infamous persons of our nation are admitted to a share in the conduct of their affairs, with liberal pensions. Too many of his majesty’s subjects have been enlisted in their service for a maintenance. Their friends at home made no doubt of doing the business themselves, if they could pitch upon a lucky day to begin the work. If you carefully provide for suppressing your enemies at home, you will find your enemies abroad more inclined to peace—” Is it possible that such a speech could proceed from the lips of a wise and faithful counsellor, who was to ask for money to carry on the war? Could the chancellor think, that the way to conquer abroad was to divide and harass the king’s subjects at home, in the midst of the distress of a terrible plague? He confessed afterwards, that he was most averse to this war, and abhorred it from his very soul; and yet he makes a handle of it to rain down vengeance on the presbyterians, who had no concern in it; but it happened to them as in popish countries, when any general calamity befalls the people, it is imputed to too great an indulgence to *hereticks*, and the vengeance is returned upon their heads.† Bishop *Burnet* is of opinion that

* *Eachard*, p. 824.† *Ib.* p. 846.

the Oxford act was rather owing to the liberty the non-conformists took in their sermons to complain of their own hardships, and to lament the vices of the court, as the causes of the present calamities. And supposing this to be true, their complaints were not without reason.

However, the load was to lie on the dissenting ministers, and therefore an act was brought into the house to banish them from their friends, which had the royal assent, October 31, 1665. It was entituled, *An Act to restrain Non-Conformists from inhabiting Corporations*; the preamble to which sets forth, “ That divers parsons, and others in holy orders, “ not having subscribed the act of uniformity, have taken “ upon them to preach in unlawful assemblies, and to instil “ the poisonous principles of schism and rebellion into the “ hearts of his majesty’s subjects, to the great danger of “ the church and kingdom. Be it therefore enacted, that “ all such non-conformist ministers shall take the following “ oath: *I A. B. do swear, that it is not lawful upon any pre- “ tence whatsoever, to take arms against the king;* and that I “ do abhor that traiterous position of taking arms by his au- “ thority, against his person, or against those that are commis- “ sioned by him, in pursuance of such commissions; and that I “ will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government “ either in church or state.* And all such non-conformist “ ministers shall not after the 24th of March, 1665, unless “ in passing the road, come, or be within five miles of any “ city, town corporate, or borough that sends burgessees to “ parliament; or within five miles of any parish, town, or “ place, wherein they have since the act of oblivion been “ parson, vicar, or lecturer, &c. or where they have preached “ in any conventicle on any pretence whatsoever, before “ they have taken and subscribed the aforesaid oath before “ the justices of peace at their quarter-sessions for the coun- “ ty, in open court; upon forfeiture for every such offence “ of the sum of forty pounds, one third to the king, another “ third to the poor, and a third to him that shall sue for it.

* A project was formed of imposing this clause on the whole nation, by requiring this oath of every subject. The point was so near being carried, that the bill brought in for the purpose was rejected by three voices only. Secret History of the Reign of Charles II. vol. ii. p. 172, note. Ed.

“ And

“ And it is further enacted, that such as shall refuse the oath
 “ afore said shall be incapable of teaching any publick or
 “ private schools, or of taking any boarders§ or tablers to
 “ be taught or instructed, under pain of forty pounds, to be
 “ distributed as above. Any two justices of peace, upon
 “ oath made before them of any offence committed against
 “ this act, are empowered to commit the offender to prison
 “ for six months, without bail or mainprize.”

The earl of *Southampton*, lord *Wharton*, *Ashley*, Dr. *Earl* bishop of *Salisbury*, and others, vehemently opposed this bill, out of compassion to the non-conformists, and as it enforced an unlawful and unjustifiable oath, which (as the earl of *Southampton* observed) *no honest man could take*; but the madness of the times prevailed against all reason and humanity.† The promoters of the act were lord chancellor *Clarendon*, archbishop *Sheldon*, *Ward* the new bishop of *Salisbury*, and their creatures, with all that were secret favourers of popery (says bishop *Burnet*.) It was moved that the word *legally* might be inserted in the oath, before the word *commissioned*; and that before the words *endeavoured to change the government*, might be inserted the word *unlawfully*; but all amendments were rejected;‡ however, *Bridgman*, chief justice of the *common-pleas*, declaring that the oath must be so understood, Dr. *Bates* and about twenty others took it, to avoid the imputation of sedition; but they had such a lecture afterwards from the bench for their scruples, that they repented of what they had done before they went out of court. Mr. *Howe*, and about twelve in *Devonshire*, and a few in *Dorsetshire*, took the oath with a declaration in what sense and with what limitations they understood it.*

But the body of the non-conformist ministers refused the oath, choosing rather to forsake their habitations, their relations, and friends, and all visible support, than destroy the

§ “ This act seemed,” it is justly observed, “ to be the last step in the
 “ climax of intolerance; for to deprive men of the means of subsistence im-
 “ plies more deliberate cruelty, though it does not excite so much horror
 “ as fire and faggots.” *Secret History of the Reign of Charles II. vol. ii. p. 171, note. Ed.*

† *Baxter*, part iii. p. 3. *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 329.

‡ *Baxter's Life*, part iii. p. 15.

* *Howe's Life*, p. 41.

peace of their consciences. Those ministers who had some little estate or substance of their own, retired to some remote and obscure villages, or such little market-towns as were not corporations, and more than five miles from the places where they had preached; but in many counties it was difficult to find such places of retirement; for either there were no houses untenanted, or they were annexed to farms which the ministers were not capable of using; or the people were afraid to admit the ministers into their houses, lest they should be suspected as favourers of non-conformity. § Some took advantage of the ministers' necessities, and raised their rents beyond what they could afford to give. Great numbers were thus buried in obscurity, while others who had neither money nor friends, went on preaching as they could, till they were sent to prison, thinking it more eligible to perish in a gaol than to starve out of one; especially when by this means they had some occasional relief from their hearers, and hopes that their wives and children might be supported after their death. † Many who lay concealed in distant places from their flocks in the day-time, rode thirty or forty miles to preach to them in the night, and retired again before daylight. These hardships tempted some few to conform (says Mr. *Baxter*,) contrary to their former judgments; but the body of dissenters remained stedfast to their principles, and the church gained neither reputation nor numbers. The *informers* were very diligent in hunting after their game; and the soldiers and officers behaved with great rudeness and violence. When they missed of the ministers, they went into the barns and out-houses, and sometimes thrust their swords up to the hilts in the hay and straw, where they supposed they might lie concealed; they made havock of their goods, and terrified the women and children almost out of their lives. These methods of cruelty reduced many ministers with their families to the necessity of living upon brown rye-bread and water; but few were reduced to publick beggary, (says Mr. *Baxter**) the providence of God appearing wonderfully for their relief, in their greatest extremities.

§ *Baxter*, part iii. p. 4. Burnet, p. 331.

† *Baxter's Life*, part iii. p. 15.

* Page 4.

And as if the judgments of heaven upon this nation were not heavy enough, nor the legislature sufficiently severe, the bishops must throw their weight into the scale; for in the very midst of the plague July 7, 1665, archbishop *Sheldon* sent orders to the several bishops of his province to return the names of all ejected non-conformist ministers, with their places of abode, and manner of life; and the returns of the several bishops are still preserved in the Lambeth library.* The design of this enquiry was to gird the laws closer upon the dissenters, and to know by what means they earned their bread; and if this tender-hearted archbishop could have had his will, they must have starved, or sought a livelihood in foreign countries.

This year put an end to the life of Dr. *Cornelius Burges*, a divine of the puritan stamp† educated at Oxford, and chaplain

* Comp. Hist. vol. iii. p. 279.

† “If all the *puritans*,” says Dr. Grey, “had been of his rebellious stamp, they had certainly been a *wicked crew*, but there was a great difference in *puritans*, some very good, and some very bad, as is justly observed by Mr. *Fuller*.” In his first volume also, p. 268, the doctor impeaches the character of this divine, in the words of *Eachard*; who calls him “*The seditious Dr. Burges*, and one of the greatest *Bontefeus* of the whole party, being the perpetual trumpeter to the most violent proceedings, a great instrument in bringing on the miseries of the nation; who died in great want and poverty, tormented and eaten up by a cancer in his neck and cheek—a fearful instance of rebellion and sacrilege.” To these and other invectives of the archdeacon *Eachard* against Dr. *Burges*, Dr. *Calamy* replied; but the reply goes chiefly to shew the archdeacon’s partiality, by inveighing in this manner against *Burges*, when the characters of some on the other side were open to similar charges. The *fact*, which seems to bear hard on the name of this divine is, that though he declared it “by no means lawful to alienate the bishops’ lands from publick and pious uses, or to convert them to any *private person’s* property;” yet he gained so much as to grow rich by the purchase of them. After the restoration he lost all. This, Dr. *Calamy* thinks, might be allowed a sufficient punishment without branding his memory. What inconsistency or faults soever might be chargeable on Dr. *Burges*, the interpretation which the archdeacon puts on his death deserves severe censure, “as rash and presuming.” This method gives a particular and invidious construction to events that arise from *general* laws, and equally befall the righteous and the wicked: and it shews, how *they* who use it would direct, if it were in their power, the evils and calamities of life. It indicates as much a want of candour and generosity as of sound judgment.—It appears from a MS. history drawn up by Dr. *Henry Sampson*, a noted physician, that Dr. *Burges* was deemed a man of solid parts and great learning; that no temptations could induce

lain to king *Charles I.* He suffered much by the high commission court, but taking part with the parliament, was chosen one of the pacifick divines who met at the Jerusalem Chamber, to accommodate differences in the church: He often preached before the house of commons, and was one of the assembly of divines, but refused to take the covenant till he was suspended. He was ejected at the restoration from St. Andrews in the city of Wells in Somersetshire, and having laid out all his money in the purchase of bishops' lands, he was reduced to absolute poverty.|| He appeared at the head of the London divines, against bringing the king to his trial, and was esteemed a very learned and able divine. He died at his house at Watford, June 1665.

We have already remembered Dr. *Cheyne* among the Oxford professors, a man of great abilities, and a member of the assembly of divines. He quitted his preferments in the university, for refusing to take the *engagement*, and was ejected from the living of Petworth at the restoration, without having enriched himself by any of his preferments.† It is reported that he was sometimes disordered in his head, but he was perfectly recovered some years before his death, which happened at his house near Brighthelmstone in Suffex, September 1665.*

induce him to return to the episcopal side; that in the year 1648, he preached a sermon fuller of loyalty than the boldest at that time would dare to express; that he was against imposing the covenant, and refused to take it till he was suspended. He was excellently skilled in the liturgical controversies and those of church-government; and was possessed of all the books of common-prayer that were ever printed in England, and bestowed them upon Oxford library. Dr. Calamy's Letter to Mr. Archdeacon Eachard, p. 107—111. ED.

|| Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 235. Calamy, vol. ii. p. 586, or Palmer's Non-Conformists Memorial, vol. ii. p. 384.

† For he was remarkable throughout his life for hospitality and contempt of money. Dr. *Johnson* published an account of this extraordinary man, that appeared first in the Gentleman's Magazine for March and April 1775: which, Mr. *Palmer* remarks, is a satire both upon Dr. *Cheyne* and the times. Dr. *Cheyne*, this narrative says, "had an intrepidity which was never to be shaken by any danger, and a spirit of enterprize not to be discouraged by difficulty; which were supported by an unusual degree of bodily strength. Whatever he believed he thought himself obliged to profess, and what he professed he was ready to defend." ED.

* Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 245. Calamy, vol. ii. p. 675, and Palmer's Non-Conformists Memorial, vol. ii. p. 467. [There

[There died in prison this year, Mr. *Samuel Fisher*, a man of great parts and literature, of eminent piety and virtue, who reflected honour on each denomination of christians, with which through the change of his sentiments he became successively connected. His father was a haberdasher of hats, and mayor of Northampton. In 1623, at the age of eighteen, he became a student in Trinity college, Oxford; where he took the degree of master of arts, and then removed to New Inn. At the university, he distinguished himself by his application and proficiency, gained an accurate knowledge of Greek and Roman antiquities, and was particularly given to the study of rhetorick and poetry. When he had finished his academick course, he became chaplain to Sir *Arthur Haselrigg*. In 1632 he was presented to the vicarage of Lidd in Kent, a living of 500*l.* a year. Here he had the character of a very powerful preacher, united with humility and affability of carriage. While in this situation, in consequence of frequent conversation with a *baptist* minister, he was led into an examination of the questions concerning baptism, which ended in his embracing the opinions of the *baptists*, being baptized by *immersion*, and taking the pastoral care of a congregation of that people, having freely resigned his living and returned his diploma to the bishop; which those who differ from him must applaud as a singular instance of sincerity and self-denial. On this he rented a farm and commenced grazier; “by which he procured a decent competency, enhanced” (says Mr. *Gough*) “by the consolation of solid content, and the internal testimony of an approving heart.” During his connection with the *baptists* he baptized some hundreds, and was frequently engaged in publick disputes in vindication of their sentiments, to the number of nine in the course of three years, with several noted ministers, sometimes in the presence of 2000 auditors, and once with Dr. *Cheyne*. He published also a treatise, entitled “*Baby Baptism mere Babism;*” which is represented as containing the whole state of the controversy as it was then managed. He was deemed an ornament to the sect, and was one of the chief defenders of their doctrine. In 1655, he embraced the principles of the *quakers*, and became an active and laborious minister among them. He preached
at

at Dunkirk against the idolatry of the priests and friars: and, in company with another friend, travelled on foot over the Alps to Rome; where they testified against the superstitions of the place, and distributed some books amongst the ecclesiasticks: and left it without molestation: After his return he suffered among *protestants* the persecution which he escaped among the Romanists. The great part of the four last years of his life was spent in prison; and after two years confinement in the White-Lyon prison in Southwark, he died, “in perfect peace with God; in good esteem both
 “with his friends and many others, on account of the eminence of his natural parts and acquired abilities as a scholar, and of his exemplary humility, social virtues, and circumspect conversation as a christian: In meekness instructing those who opposed him, and labouring incessantly
 “by his discourses and by his writings to propagate and promote true christian practice and piety.” Wood’s Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 243. Crosby’s History of the Baptists, vol. i. p. 361, &c. and Gough’s History of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 163, and vol. ii. p. 141. Ed.]

The vices of the nation not being sufficiently punished by *pestilence* and *war*, it pleased Almighty God this year to suffer the city of London to be laid in ashes by a dreadful *conflagration*, which broke out in Pudding-lane behind the Monument, Sept. 2, 1666, and within three or four days, consumed thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, eighty-nine churches, among which was the cathedral of St. Paul’s; many publick structures, schools, libraries, and stately edifices. Multitudes lost their goods and merchandize, and the greatest part of their substance, and some few their lives; the king, the duke of *York*, and many of the nobility, were spectators of the desolation, but had not the power to stop its progress, till at length it ceased almost as wonderfully as it began. Moorfields was filled with household goods, and the people were forced to lodge in huts and tents: Many families who were the last week in prosperity, were now reduced to beggary, and obliged to begin the world again. The authors of this *fire* were said to be the *papists*, as appears by the inscription upon the monument. The parliament,

ment, being of this opinion, petitioned the king to issue out a proclamation, requiring all popish priests and jesuits to depart the kingdom within a month, and appointed a committee who received evidence of some papists who were seen to throw fire-balls into houses, and of others who had materials for it in their pockets; but the men were fled, and none suffered but one *Hubert*, a Frenchman, by his own confession.*

In this general confusion, the churches being burnt, and many of the parish ministers withdrawn for want of habitations or places of worship, the non-conformists resolved again to supply the necessities of the people, depending upon it that in such an extremity, they should escape persecution. Some churches were erected of boards, which they called *tabernacles*, and the dissenters fitted up large rooms with pulpits, seats, and galleries, for the reception of all who would come. Dr. *Manton* had his rooms full in Covent-Garden; Mr. *Tho. Vincent*, Mr. *Doolittle*, Dr. *Turner*, Mr. *Grimes*, Mr. *Jenkyns*, Mr. *Nath. Vincent*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Mr. *Watson*, had their separate meetings in other places. The independants also, as Dr. *Owen*, Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Griffiths*, *Brooks*, *Caryl*, *Barker*, *Nye*, and others, began the same practice; many citizens frequented the meetings, where the liturgy was not read; though the few parish pulpits that remained were filled with vety able preachers; as Dr. *Tillotson*, *Stillingfleet*, *Patrick*, *White*, *Gifford*, *Whichcot*, *Horton*, *Meriton*, &c. But none of these calamities had any farther influence upon the court prelates, than that they durst not prosecute the preachers so severely for the present.†

Among the non-conformist ministers who died this year, were the Reverend Mr. *Edward Calamy*, B. D.‖ the ejected minister of Aldermanbury, born in London, 1600, and bred in Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge; he was first chaplain to Dr. *Felton*, bishop of Ely; and afterwards settled at St. Edmondsbury, from whence, after ten years, he with thirty other

* *Hubert* was a French *Hugonot*, of Roan in Normandy. Though he confessed the fact, yet, according to *Eachard*, he suffered unjustly; for he was a sort of lunatick, and had not landed in England till two days after the fire, as appeared by the evidence of the master of the ship who had him on board. *Grey's Examination*, vol. iii. p. 349. ED.

† *Baxter's Life*, part iii. p. 19.

‖ *Calamy's Abridg.* vol. ii. p. 4.

ministers,

ministers, were driven out of the diocese by bishop *Wren's* visitation articles and the book of sports. Upon the death of Dr. *Stoughton*, 1639, he was chosen to Aldermanbury, where he soon gained a vast reputation. He was one of the divines who met in the Jerusalem chamber for accommodating ecclesiastical matters in the year 1641. He was afterwards a member of the assembly at Westminster, and an active man in all their proceedings. He was one of the most popular preachers in the city,* and had a great hand in the king's restoration, but soon repented his having done it without a previous treaty. He refused a bishoprick, because he could not have it upon the terms of the king's declaration; and soon after the *Bartholomew* act, was imprisoned in Newgate for preaching an occasional sermon to his parishioners.† He afterwards lived pretty much retired till this year, when being

* His week-day lecture was constantly attended for twenty years together by persons of the greatest quality, there being seldom so few as twenty coaches. He was president in meetings of the city ministers, and qualified, by natural and acquired abilities, to be the leader of the *presbyterians*. He dared to censure the conduct of *Cromwell* to his face, and was never known to be intimidated, where he thought his duty was concerned. Of which his grandson gives a remarkable proof.† He was one of the writers against the liturgy. The title of one of the answers to him and his brethren is a curious specimen of the taste and spirit of the times. It was called "A Throat Hapse for the Frogs and Toads that crept abroad croaking against the Common-Prayer-Book." Granger's History of England, vol. ii. p. 184. octavo, and nete. Ed.

§ This confinement made no small noise; Mr. *Calamy* was a man so generally beloved and respected. Dr. *Wilde* published a copy of verses on the occasion, which was spread through all parts of the kingdom. And the passage through Newgate-street was obstructed by the coaches of those who visited him in his imprisonment. A popish lady, who had been stopt by them, finding what alarm and disturbance this proceeding against Mr. *Calamy* had produced, took the first opportunity to wait upon the king at Whitehall, and communicate the whole matter to him, expressing her fear, that if such steps as these were taken, he would lose the affections of the city, which might be of very ill consequence. On this remonstrance, and for some other reasons, Mr. *Calamy* was in a little time discharged by the express order of his majesty. Memoirs of Dr. Edmund Calamy, a MSS. Ed.

† Preaching before General Monk, soon after the restoration, having occasion to speak of filthy lucre, he said, "Some men will betray three kingdoms for filthy lucre's sake:" and immediately threw his handkerchief, which he usually waved up and down while he was preaching, towards the general's pew. Palmer and Granger, ut supra. Ed.

driven

driven in a coach through the ruins of the city of London, it so affected him, that he went home, and never came out of his chamber more, dying within a month in the 67th year of his age.*

Mr. *Arthur Jackson*, M. A. the ejected minister of St. Faith's, was born about the year 1593, and educated in Cambridge. He became minister of St. *Michael's* Wood-street in the year 1625, when the pestilence raged in the city; and continued with his parish throughout the whole course of the distemper.† He was fined five hundred pounds for refusing to give evidence against Mr. *Love*, and committed prisoner to the Fleet, where he remained seventeen weeks. At the restoration he was chosen by the provincial assembly of London to present a bible to the king at his public entrance.§ He was afterwards one of the commissioners of the Savoy; and when the uniformity act took place, being old, he retired to a private life, and died with great satisfaction in his non-conformity, Aug. 5, 1665, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

Dr. *William Spurstow*, the ejected minister of Hackney, was sometime master of Katherine-Hall, Cambridge, but ejected for refusing the *engagement*. He was one of the authors of *Smectymnuus*, a member of the assembly of divines, and afterwards one of the commissioners of the Savoy; a man of great learning, humility and charity, and of a cheerful conversation: He lived through the *sickness* year, but died the following in an advanced age.‡

This year was memorable for the fall of the great earl of *Clarendon*, lord high chancellor of England, who attended

* Non-conformists Memorial, vol. i. p. 73.

† Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 3; or Palmer's Non-conformists Memorial, vol. i. p. 104.

§ "There was," Mr. *Granger* observes, "a particular propriety in assigning this office to him, as he had written a commentary on several parts of the bible." He was a man of prodigious application; at the university he studied fourteen or sixteen hours a day, and to the day of his death constantly rose, summer and winter, at three or four o'clock in the morning. *Granger's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 43, octavo. ED.

‡ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 471; or Palmer's Nonconformists Memorial, vol. ii. p. 173.

the king in his exile, and upon his majesty's restoration was created a peer; and advanced to the high dignity of chancellor of England. He governed with a sovereign and absolute sway as prime minister for about two years; but in the year 1663, he was impeached of high treason by the earl of *Bristol*; and though the impeachment was dropt for want of form, his interest at court declined from that time, and after the Oxford parliament of 1665, his lordship was out of all credit. This summer the king took the seals from him, and on the 12th of November Sir *Edward Seymour* impeached him of high treason, at the bar of the house of peers, in the name of all the commons of England, for sundry arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings contrary to law, by which he had acquired a greater estate than could be honestly gotten in that time—For procuring grants of the king's lands to his relations, contrary to law—for corresponding with *Cromwell* in his exile*—for advising and effecting the sale of Dunkirk—for issuing out *Quo Warranto's* to obtain great sums of money from the corporations—for determining people's title to their lands at the council table, and stopping proceedings at law, &c. The earl had made himself obnoxious at court by his magisterial carriage to the king,† and was grown very unpopular by his superb and magnificent palace at St. James's, erected in a time of war and pestilence, which cost him fifty thousand pounds:§ Some called it Dunkirk-house, as being built with his share of the price of that fortress; and others Holland-house, as if he had received money from the king's enemies in time of war. The king's second marriage, which proved

* Dr. *Grey* supposes that Mr. *Neal* could not but know that lord *Clarendon* had cleared himself from this charge to the king's satisfaction during his exile; who declared “that he was sorry that he was not in a condition to do him more justice than to declare him innocent, which he did, and commanded the clerk of the council to draw up a full order for his justification: which his majesty himself would sign.” *Ed.*

† Burnet, p. 365, 369, 370.

§ Mr. *Eachard* says that this palace was built in the absence of the chancellor, principally at the expence of the *Vintner's* company; and that when he came to see the case of it, he rather submitted than consented, and with a sigh said, “This house will one day be my ruin.” *Grey's Examination*, vol. iii. p. 352, note. The doctor fills two pages here, with quoting lord *Clarendon's* vindication of himself. *Ep.*

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barren, was laid to his charge, and said to be contrived for the advancement of his grand-children by the duchess of York, who was the earl's daughter. When his majesty inclined to part with his queen, and if possible to legitimate his addressees to Miss *Steward*, the chancellor got her married privately to the duke of *Richmond*, without the king's knowledge, which his majesty was told was to secure the succession of the crown to his own family. This intriguing, together with his high opposition to the Roman catholicks, and to all who were not of his principles, procured him many enemies, and struck him quite out of the king's favour. The earl did not think fit to abide the storm, but withdrew to France, leaving a paper behind him, in which he denies almost every article of his charge;* but the parliament voted his defence scandalous, and ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. December 18, his lordship was banished the king's dominions for life by act of parliament; he spent the remaining seven years of his life at Roan in Normandy, among papists and presbyterians, whom he would hardly suffer to live in his own country, and employed the chief of his time in writing the history of the grand rebellion,§ which is in every one's hands.

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* The articles of the charge stated by Mr. *Neal* were, if you credit Dr. *Welwood*, the ostensible causes only of the chancellor's fall. The true reason why he was abandoned to his enemies was, that he secretly opposed the design of the parliament to settle such a revenue upon the king during life as would place him beyond the necessity of asking more, except on some extraordinary occasion; and he drew the earl of *Southampton* into his views, urging that he knew the king so well, that if such a revenue were once settled upon him for life, neither of them two would be of any farther use; and there would be no probability of seeing many more sessions of parliament during that reign. This came to the king's ears. *Memoirs*, p. 109-110, 6th ed. Lord *Cornbury* in a letter to the duke of *Ormond*, preserved by *Carte*, said that his father never stirred as long as he saw any probability of being brought to his trial in parliament, though all his friends persuaded him to leave the kingdom, fearing that his innocence would not protect him against the malice of his enemies. When he found that there was a design to prorogue the parliament on purpose to try him by a *jury of peers*, by which means he might fall into the hands of the *protesting lords*, he resolved to avail himself of an opportunity of going over to Calais. *Grey's Exam.* vol. iii. p. 355, 56. ED.

§ He also read over *Livy* and *Tacitus*, and almost *Tully's* works; and "was a much greater, perhaps a happier man alone and in exile," says
Mr. *Granger*,

The earl of *Clarendon* was a protestant of Laudean principles in church and state, and at the head of all the penal laws against the non-conformists to this time. Bishop *Burnet* says,† “ He was a good chancellor,§ but a little too rough; that he meddled too much in foreign affairs, which he never understood well: that he had too much levity in his wit, and did not observe the decorum of his post.” Mr. *Rapin* adds,|| “ That from him came all the blows aimed at the non-conformists since the beginning of this reign. His immoderate passion against presbyterianism was this great man’s foible. He gloried in his hatred of that people; and, perhaps, contributed more than any other person to that excess of animosity which subsists against them at this day among the followers of his maxims and principles.” Mr. *Eachard* says, “ His removal was a great satisfaction to the dissenters;” directly contrary to Mr. *Baxter*, “ who observes a remarkable providence of God, that he who had dealt so cruelly by the non-conformists should be banished by his own friends, while the others, whom he had persecuted, were most moderate in his case, and many of them for him. It was a great ease that befel good men by

Mr. *Granger*, “ than *Charles* the second upon his throne.” History of England, vol. iii. p. 360, and vol. iv. p. 64, note. ED.

† Page 33.

‡ Dr. *Grey* gives bishop *Burnet*’s character of the lord *Chancellor* more at length; and prefixes another character of his lordship drawn by the pen of Mr. *Carte*, to “ obviate,” as he expresses himself, “ the ill-natured reflection cast upon him by Mr. *Neal*; because he adhered to the interest of his king and country, and would not give up the church established into the hands of unreasonable fanatics.” ED.

§ A domestick incident, related by bishop *Burnet*, is supposed to have fixed and heightened the chancellor’s zeal for the constitutional liberties of his country, in civil matters. On a visit which he paid to his father, a gentleman of Wiltshire, when he began to grow eminent in his profession, as they were walking one day in a field, his father observed to him, “ that men of his profession did often stretch law and prerogative to the prejudice of the liberty of the subject, to recommend and advance themselves;” and charged him, that he should “ never sacrifice the laws and liberties of his country to his own interest, or to the will of a prince.” He repeated this twice; and immediately fell into a fit of apoplexy, of which he died in a few hours. *Burnet*’s History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 231.

|| Vol. ii. p. 650, folio ed.

“ his

“his fall, (says he) for his way was to *decoy men into conspiracies, or pretended plots, and upon those rumours innocent people were laid in prison, so that no man knew when he was safe; whereas since his time, though the laws have been made more severe, yet men are more safe.*”* His lordship was undoubtedly a person of very considerable abilities, which have been sufficiently celebrated by his admirers, but I have not been able to discover any great or generous exploits for the service of the publick; and how far his conduct with regard to the non-conformists was consistent with humanity, religion, or honour, must be left with the reader.

* Baxter, part iii. p. 20, 21.



CHAP. VIII.

From the Banishment of the Earl of Clarendon to the King's Declaration of Indulgence in the year 1672.

—1667.—

UPON the fall of the earl of *Clarendon*, the discourse of a toleration began to revive: The king in his speech to his parliament, Feb. 10, has this passage: “ One thing
“ more I hold myself obliged to recommend to you at this
“ present, that is, that you would seriously think of some
“ course to beget a better union and composure in the minds
“ of my protestant subjects in matters of religion, whereby
“ they may be induced not only to submit quietly to the
“ government, but also cheerfully give their assistance to
“ the support of it.”* Sundry pamphlets were published upon this head; and the duke of *Buckingham* being now prime minister, the non-conformists about London were connived at, and people went openly and boldly to their meetings.

But the house of commons, who were yet influenced by the pernicious maxims of the late chancellor, petitioned the king to issue out his proclamation, for enforcing the laws against conventicles; and for preserving the peace of the kingdom, against unlawful assemblies of papists and non-conformists. Accordingly, his majesty issued out his proclamation, that “ upon consideration of the late petition, and
“ upon information that divers persons in several parts of
“ the realm (abusing his clemency, even while it was under
“ consideration to find out a way for the better union of his
“ protestant subjects) have of late frequently and openly,
“ in great numbers, and to the great disturbance of the
“ peace, held unlawful assemblies and conventicles, his ma-
“ jesty declares, that he will not suffer such notorious con-

* Calamy's Abridgment, vol. i. p. 316.

“tempt of the laws to go unpunished, but requires, charges,
 “and commands, all officers to be circumspect and vigilant
 “in their several jurisdictions, to enforce and put the laws
 “in execution against unlawful conventicles, commanding
 “them to take particular care to preserve the peace.”

The sufferings of the dissenters began to excite compassion in the minds of the people, insomuch that their numbers visibly increased, partly through the indulgence of the court, and the want of churches since the fire of London, and partly through the poverty of the common people, who having little to lose, ventured to go publickly to *meetings* in defiance of the laws. The indolence of the established clergy, and the diligence of the non-conformist ministers, contributed very much to the increase of *non-conformists*. Bishop *Burnet* says, § “The king was highly offended at the behaviour of
 “most of the bishops; archbishop *Sheldon* and *Morley*, who
 “kept close by lord *Clarendon*, the great patron of persecuting power, lost the king’s favour; the former never recovered it, and the latter was sent from court into his diocese. When complaint was made of some disorders and
 “conventicles, the king said the clergy were chiefly to blame, for if they had lived well, and gone about their parishes, and taken pains to convince the non-conformists, the nation might have been well settled, but they thought of
 “nothing but to get good benefices, and keep a good table.” In another conversation with the bishop, about the ill state of the church, † his majesty said, “If the clergy had done
 “their parts it had been easy to run down the non-conformists, but they will do nothing, (says the king) and will
 “have me do every thing; and most of them do worse than if they did nothing. I have a very honest chaplain, (says he) to whom I have given a living in Suffolk, but he is a
 “very great blockhead, and yet has brought all his parish to church; I cannot imagine what he could say to them, for he is a very silly fellow; but he has been about from
 “house to house, and I suppose his nonsense has suited their nonsense; and in reward of his diligence I have given him
 “a bishoprick in Ireland.” About this time *Ralph Wallis*, a cobbler of Gloucester, published an account of a great num-

§ Vol. i. p. 371, 379.

† Page 380.

ber of scandalous conformist ministers, and enumerated their scandals, to the great displeasure of the clergy; and I fear (says Mr. *Baxter**) to the temptation of many non-conformists, who might be glad of any thing to humble the prelatists.

The learned Dr. *Lazarus Seaman*, the ejected minister of Allhallows, Bread-street, died this year, of whom we have given some account among the Cambridge professors; he was educated in Emanuel college, and by his indefatigable industry rose to high reputation in the learned world for his exact acquaintance with the oriental languages; he was an able divine, an active member of the assembly at Westminster, and was taken notice of by king *Charles I.* at the treaty of the isle of Wight, for his singular abilities in the debates about church government.¶ He was also master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, but lost all at the restoration; he underwent strong pains with admirable patience, and at length died in peace in the month of September 1667.‡

Mr. *George Hughes*, B. D. the ejected minister of Plymouth, born in Southwark,§ and educated in Corpus Christi college in Cambridge. He was called to a lecture in London, but was silenced for non-conformity by archbishop *Laud*. After some time he went to Tavistock, and last of all settled at Plymouth, having institution and induction from Dr. *Brownrigge* bishop of Exeter, in the year 1644. Here he continued till the year 1662, whence he was ejected a week before the act of uniformity took place. He was afterwards imprisoned in St. Nicholas Island, where he contracted an incurable scurvy and dropfy, which at length put an end to his life. He was well read in the fathers, an acute disputant, a most faithful pastor to a large flock under his care, and a most holy, pious, and exemplary christian. He had the greatest interest and influence of any minister in the west country, and

* Life, part iii. p. 23.

¶ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 17, and Palmer's Non-conf. Mem. vol. ii. p. 76.

‡ He left a very valuable library, which yielded 700l. and was the first sold by auction in England. Ed.

§ In 1603, when his mother, who had never child before, though she was now married to her fourth husband, was fifty-two years of age. She lived to her 96th year. Ed.

refused a rich bishoprick at the restoration. He was both charitable and hospitable when it was in his power, and died at length in a most heavenly manner, in the month of July, 1667, and in the sixty-fourth year of his age. The reverend Mr. *John Howe*, his son-in-law, composed a Latin epitaph for him, which is inscribed on his tomb.*

The kingdom was at this time full of factions and discontents, arising from the late calamities of fire and plague, as well as the burthen of the Dutch war; trade was at a stand, and great numbers of his majesty's subjects were both dispirited and impoverished by the penal laws; but that which struck all considerate men with a panick, was the danger of the protestant interest, and the liberties of Europe, from the formidable progress of the French armies, which this very summer overrun the Spanish Flanders, and took the strong towns of Charleroy, Bergue, Aeth, Douay, Tournay, Audenard, Lisle, Courtray, Furnes, &c. which, with their dependencies, were yielded in full sovereignty to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The English court seemed unconcerned at the French conquests, till they were awakened by the clamours of the whole nation; upon this Sir *William Temple* was sent into Holland, who in a few weeks concluded a triple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, which strengthened the protestant interest while it subsisted; but the French mistresses and money could dissolve the strongest bonds.

In this critical situation of affairs abroad, some attempts were made to quiet the minds of his majesty's protestant subjects at home, for men began to think it high time for protestants to put a stop to the pulling down their neighbours houses, when the common enemy was threatening the destruction of them all; therefore lord keeper *Bridgman*, lord chief justice *Hales*, bishop *Wilkins*, *Reynolds*, Dr. *Burton*, *Tillotson*, *Stillingfleet*, and others, set on foot a *comprehension* of such as could be brought into the church by some abatements, and a *toleration* for the rest. But the project was blasted by the court bishops, and lord *Clarendon*'s friends, who took the alarm, and raised a mighty outcry of the danger of the church.† No body (say they) knows where the demands of

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 222, or Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, vol. i. p. 387.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 380, &c.

the presbyterians will end; the cause of the hierarchy will be given up, if any of those points are yielded, which have been so much contested; besides, it is unworthy of the church to court, or even treat with her enemies, when there is so little reason to apprehend that we should gain any considerable numbers thereby. But to this it was replied, that the prodigious increase of popery and infidelity was a loud call of Providence, to attempt every thing that could be done without sin for healing our divisions. That though the non-conformists could not legally meet together to bring in their concessions in the name of the body, it was well enough known what they scrupled, and what would bring most of them into the church. That a compliance in some lesser matters of indifference would be no reproach, but an honour to the church, how superior soever she might be in argument or power.

The proposals were drawn up by bishop *Wilkins* and Dr. *Burton*, and communicated by the lord keeper to Dr. *Bates*, *Manton*, and *Baxter*, and by them to their brethren, under the following particulars:

1. That such ministers who in the late times had been ordained only by presbyters, should have the imposition of the hands of a bishop, with this form of words: *Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and administer the sacraments in any congregation of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, when thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto.*

2. That instead of all former subscriptions, after the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, they subscribe the following declaration: I *A. B.* do hereby profess and declare, that I approve the doctrine, worship, and government established in the church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation; and that I will not endeavour by myself, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any doctrine contrary to that which is so established. And I do hereby promise, that I will continue in the communion of the church of England, and will not do any thing to disturb the peace thereof.

3. That the gesture of kneeling at the sacrament, the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, be left indifferent, or taken away.

† *Baxter's Life*, part iii. p. 25.

4. That

4. That if the liturgy and canons be altered in favour of dissenters, then every preacher upon his institution shall declare his assent to the lawfulness of the use of it, and promise, that it shall be constantly used at the time and place accustomed.

The alterations proposed to be made in the liturgy, were these:

To read the psalms in the new translation.

To appoint lessons out of the canonical scripture instead of the apocrypha.

Not to enjoin god-fathers and god-mothers, when either of the parents are ready to answer for the child in baptism. To omit that expression in the prayer, *By spiritual regeneration*. To change the question, *Wilt thou be baptized?* into, *Wilt thou have this child baptized?* To omit those words in the thanksgiving, *To regenerate this infant by thy Holy Spirit, and to receive him for thy child by adoption*. And the first rubrick after baptism, *It is certain by God's word, &c.* In the exhortation after baptism, instead of, *Regenerate and grafted into the body*, to say, *received into the church of Christ*. No part of the office of baptism to be repeated in publick when the child has been lawfully baptized in private.

To omit this passage in the office of confirmation: *After the example of thy holy apostles, and to certify them by this sign of thy favour and gracious goodness towards them*. And instead of, *vouchsafe to regenerate*, read, *vouchsafe to receive into thy church by baptism*.

To omit the expressions in matrimony, *with my body I thee worship*; and that in the collect, *Thou hast consecrated, &c.*

In the visitation of the sick, ministers to be allowed to make use of such prayers as they judge expedient.

In the burial of the dead, instead of, *Forasmuch as it has pleased Almighty God, of his great mercy, to take unto himself, &c.* read, *Forasmuch as it has pleased Almighty God to take out of this world the soul &c.* Instead of, *In sure and certain hope*, to read, *In a full assurance of the resurrection by our Lord Jesus Christ*. To omit the following words, *We give thee hearty thanks, for that it has pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world*; and these other, *As our hope is this our brother doth*.

In the communion service to change, *That our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, into, Our sinful souls and bodies may be cleansed by his precious body and blood.*

The commination not to be enjoined.

The liturgy to be abbreviated, especially as to the morning service, by omitting all the responsal prayers, from, *O Lord, open thou &c.* to the litany; and the litany, and all the prayers, from, *Son of God, we beseech thee, &c.* to, *We humbly beseech thee, O Father.*

The Lord's prayer not to be enjoined more than once, viz. after the absolution, except after the minister's prayer before sermon.

The *gloria patri* to be used but once, after reading the psalms.

The *venite exultemus* to be omitted, unless it be thought fit to put any, or all of the first seven among the sentences at the beginning.

The communion service to be omitted when there are no communion days, except the ten commandments, which may be read after the creed; and enjoining the prayer, *Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep these laws,* only once, at the end.

The *collects, epistles, and gospels*, to be omitted, except on particular holy days.

The prayers for the parliament to be inserted immediately after the prayer for the royal family, in this or the like form: *That it may please thee to direct and prosper all the consultations of the high court of parliament to the advantage of thy glory, the good of the church, the safety, honour, and welfare of our sovereign and his kingdoms.*

To omit the two hymns in the consecration of bishops, and ordination of priests.

In the catechism, after the first question, *What is thy name?* It may follow, *When was this name given thee?* After that, *What was promised for you in baptism?* answ. *Three things were promised for me.* In the question before the commandments, it may be altered thus, *You said it was promised for you.* To the fourteenth question, *How many sacraments hath Christ ordained?* the answer may be, *Two only, baptism and the Lord's supper.*

Mr.

Mr. *Baxter* proposed further, that the subscription might be only to the doctrinal articles of the church. That the power of bishops, and their courts, to suspend and silence men, might be limited. That the baptismal covenant might be explicitly owned by all who come to the sacrament. But it was replied, that more than what was above-mentioned would not pass with the parliament.

The proposals for a *toleration* were communicated by Mr. *Baxter* to the independants by Dr. *Owen*, and were to the following effect:

1. That such protestants who could not accept of the proposals for a *comprehension* might have liberty for the exercise of their religion in publick, and to build, or to procure places for their publick worship at their own charges, either within or near towns, as shall be thought most expedient.

2. That the names of all such persons who are to have this liberty be registered, together with the congregations to which they belong; and the names of their teachers.

3. That every one admitted to this liberty be disabled from bearing any publick office, but shall fine for offices of burden.

4. Upon shewing a certificate of being listed among those that are indulged, they shall be freed from such legal penalties as are to be inflicted on those who do not frequent their parish churches.

5. Such persons so indulged shall not for their meeting in conventicles be punished by confiscation of estates.

6. Provided they pay all publick duties to the parish where they inhabit, under penalty of ———.

7. This indulgence to continue three years.*

According to these heads of agreement a bill was prepared for the parliament by lord chief justice *Hales*; but bishop *Wilkins*, an honest and open-hearted man, having disclosed the affair to bishop *Ward*, in hopes of his assistance, alarmed the bishops, who, instead of promoting the design, consulted measures to defeat it; for as soon as the parliament met, notice was taken that there were rumours without doors of an act to be offered for *comprehension* and *indulgence*, upon which a vote was passed, that *no man should bring such an act into*

* *Baxter's Life*, part iii. p. 25.

the house. And to crush the non-conformists more effectually, archbishop *Sheldon* wrote a circular letter to the bishops of his province, dated June 8, to send him a particular account of the conventicles in their several dioceses, and of the numbers that frequented them; and whether they thought *they might be easily suppressed by the civil magistrate.** When he was provided with this information he went to the king, and obtained a proclamation to put the laws in execution against the non-conformists, and particularly against the *preachers*, according to the statute of 17th king *Charles II.* which forbids their inhabiting corporations.

Thus the persecution was renewed; and the parliament, still bent on severities, appointed a committee to enquire into the behaviour of the non-conformists, who reported to the house, that divers conventicles, and other seditious meetings, were held in their very neighbourhood, in defiance of the laws, and to the danger of the peace of the kingdom.† General *Monk*, who was near his end, and sunk almost into contempt, was employed to disperse them, and received the thanks of the house for his zeal in that important service, wherein he was sure to meet with no opposition. They also returned his majesty thanks for his proclamation for suppressing conventicles, desiring him to take the same care for the future. By this means the private meetings of the dissenters, which had been held by connivance, were broken up again. Mr. *Baxter* was committed to Clerkenwell prison, for preaching to his neighbours in his own house at Acton, and for refusing the Oxford oath; but upon demanding an *habeas corpus*, his *mittimus* was declared invalid for want of naming the witnesses.§ The justices would have mended their *mittimus* and sent him to Newgate, but Mr. *Baxter*, being released, wisely kept out of the way. Mr. *Taverner* of Uxbridge, was sentenced to Newgate, for teaching a few children at Brentford. Mr. *Button*, late university orator, was sent to prison for teaching two knights sons in his own house; and multitudes in many counties had the like usage, suffering imprisonment for six months.||

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 382.

† Ibid. p. 139.

§ Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 49.

|| Ibid. p. 36.

But this was contrary to the king's inclinations, who was only for playing the dissenters against the parliament for a sum of money; when the house therefore was up, his majesty ordered some of the non-conformists to be told, that he was desirous to make them easy, and that if they would petition for relief they should be favourably heard.* Sir J. Barber secretary of state acquainted Dr. Manton with the king's intention, upon which an address was drawn up and presented to his majesty at the earl of Arlington's lodgings by Dr. Jacob, Manton, and Bates; the king received them graciously, and promised to do his utmost to get them comprehended within the establishment. He wished there had been no bars at all, but that he was forced to comply for peace sake, and that he would endeavour to remove them, though it was a work of difficulty. He complained of the umbrage that their numerous assemblies gave to clamorous people, and advised them to use their liberty with more discretion hereafter. When the ministers promised obedience, and assured his majesty of their steady loyalty, and constant prayers for the prosperity of his person and government, he dismissed them with a smile, and told them, that *he was against persecution, and hoped ere long to be able to stand upon his own legs.* But his majesty's promises were always to be bought off by a sum of money to support his pleasures.

The controversy of the *reasonableness of toleration* was now warmly debated without doors; many ill-natured books were written to expose the doctrine of the presbyterians, as leading to *antinomianism* and licentiousness of manners.† Others exposed their characters and manner of preaching. Among these, must be reckoned *the friendly debate*, which, though written by a good man, (says bishop Burnet‡) had an ill effect in sharpening people's spirits too much against the dissenters: The author was Dr. Simon Patrick, afterwards bishop of Ely, but now in the heat of his youth; who, by aggravating some weak and unguarded expressions, endeavoured to expose the whole body of non-conformist ministers to contempt. But I must do this prelate so much justice as to inform the

* Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 37, 87.

† Ibid. part iii. p. 39.

‡ Burnet, vol. i. p. 382.

reader, that in his advanced age he expressed his dissatisfaction with this part of his conduct; and, in a debate in the house of lords about the *occasional bill*, declared, “he had been known to write against the dissenters with some warmth in his younger years, but that he had lived long enough to see reason to alter his opinion of that people, and that way of writing.” A rare instance of ingenuity and candour! We shall have occasion to mention Sir *Roger L'Estrange* hereafter.

But one of the most virulent writers of his time, under the form of a clergyman, was *Samuel Parker*, afterwards bishop of Oxford, a man of considerable learning and great smartness, but of no judgement, and as little virtue; and as to religion (says bishop *Burnet**) rather impious than otherwise. At length *Andrew Marvel*, the liveliest wit of the age, attacked him in a burlesque strain, and with so peculiar and entertaining an address, that from the king down to the tradesman, his books were read with the highest pleasure. He had all the men of wit on his side, and not only humbled *Parker* more than the serious and grave writings of *Dr. Owen*, but silenced the whole party; one of whom concludes his letter to *Mr. Marvel* with these words: *If thou darest to print or publish any lye or libel against Dr. Parker, by the eternal God I will cut thy throat.* Subscribed *J. G.*

All sober men were of opinion, that it was ungenerous and cruel to treat a number of peaceable men, whom the laws had put almost out of their protection, in so ludicrous a manner.† Religion itself suffered by it. I remember, says lord chief justice *Hales*, that when *Ben Johnson*, in his play of the *Alchymist*, introduced *Anartus* in derision of the *puritans*, with many of their phrases taken out of scripture, in order to render that people ridiculous, the play was detested and abhorred, because it seemed to reproach religion itself; but now, when the presbyterians were brought upon the stage in their peculiar habits, and with their distinguishing phrases of scripture exposed to the laughter of spectators, it met with approbation and applause.

But such was the complexion of the court, that they bid defiance to virtue, and even to decency, giving countenance to all manner of licentiousness. The play-houses were be-

* *Burnet*, p. 382.

† *Rapin*, p. 406.

come nests of prostitution (says *Burnet**,) and the stage was defiled beyond example; the king, queen, and courtiers, went about in masks, and came into citizen's houses unknown, where they danced with a great deal of wild frolic, and committed indecencies not to be mentioned. They were carried about in hackney chairs, and none could distinguish them except those who were in the secret. Once the queen's chairman, not knowing who she was, left her to come home in a hackney coach, some say in a cart. *Buckingham*, who gloried in his debaucheries, and *Wilmot* earl of *Rocheſter*, the greatest wit and libertine of his age, were the principal favourites. To support these extravagances the house of commons supplied the king with what money he wanted, and were themselves so mercenary, that the purchase of every man's vote was known; for as a man rose in credit in the house, he advanced his price, and expected to be treated accordingly.

The university was no less corrupt, there was a general licentiousness of manners among the students; the sermons of the younger divines were filled with encomiums upon the church, and satires against the non-conformists; the evangelical doctrines of repentance, faith, charity, and practical religion, were unfashionable. The speeches and panegyricks pronounced by the *orators* and *terræ filius*, on publick occasions, were scurrilous, and little less than blasphemous; as appears by the letter in the margin from Mr. *Wallis*, to the honourable *Robert Boyle*, Esq.† of the proceedings at the opening

* *Burnet*, p. 267, 386. *Rapin*, p. 652.

† *A letter from Mr. John Wallis to the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq;*
S I R, *dated from Oxford, July 17, 1669.*

AFTER my humble thanks for the honour of yours of July 3, I thought it not unfit to give you some account of our late proceedings here. Friday, July 9, was the dedication of our new theatre. In the morning was held a convocation in it, for entering upon the possession of it; wherein was read, first the archbishop's instrument of donation (sealed with his archiepiscopal seal) of the theatre, with all its furniture, to the end that St. Mary's church may not be further profaned by holding the act in it. Next a letter of his, declaring his intention to lay out 2000l. for a purchase to endow it. Then a letter of thanks to be sent from the university to him, wherein he is acknowledged to be both our *creator* and *redeemer*, for having not only built a theatre for the act, but, which is more, *delivered the blessed Virgin from being so profaned for the future*: He doth (as the words of the letter

opening of archbishop *Sheldon's* theatre, which is copied *verbatim* from the original under his own hand.

letter are) *non tantum condere, hoc est creare, sed etiam redimere*. These words (I confess) stopped my mouth from giving a *placet* to that letter when it was put to the vote. I have since desired Mr. *Vicechancellor* to consider, whether they were not liable to a just exception. He did at first excuse it; but, upon further thoughts, I suppose he will think fit to alter them, before the letter be sent and registered. After the voting of this letter, Dr. *South* (as university orator) made a long oration; the first part of which consisted of satyrical invectives against *Cromwell*, fanaticks, the royal society, and new philosophy. The next of encomiasticks; in praise of the archbishop, the theatre, the vicechancellor, the architect, and the painter. The last of execrations; against fanaticks, conventicles, comprehension, and new philosophy; damning them *ad inferos, ad gehennam*. The oration being ended, some honorary degrees were conferred, and the convocation dissolved. The afternoon was spent in panegyrick orations, and reciting of poems in several sorts of verse, composed in praise of the archbishop, the theatre, &c. and crying down fanaticks. The whole action began and ended with a noise of trumpets; and twice was interposed variety of music, vocal and instrumental; purposely composed for this occasion. On *Saturday* and *Monday*, those exercises appertaining to the act and vespers, which were wont to be performed in St. Mary's church, were had in the theatre. In which, beside the number of proceeding doctors (nine in divinity, four in law, five in physick, and one in musick) there was little extraordinary; but only that the *terræ filius* for both days were abominably scurrilous; and so suffered to proceed without the least check or interruption from vicechancellor, pro-vicechancellors, proctors, curators, or any of those who were to govern the exercises; which gave so general offence to all honest spectators, that I believe the university hath thereby lost more reputation than they have gained by all the rest; all or most of the heads of houses, and eminent persons in the university, with their relations, being represented as a company of whore-masters, whores, and dunces. And, among the rest, the excellent lady, which your letter mentions, was, in the broadest language, represented as guilty of those crimes, of which (if there were occasion) you would not stick to be her compurgator; and (if it had been so) she might (yet) have been called *whore* in much more civil language. During this solemnity (and for some days before and since) have been constantly acted (by the vicechancellor's allowance) two stage plays in a day (by those of the Duke of York's house) at a theatre erected for that purpose at the town-hall; which (for ought I hear) was much the more innocent theatre of the two. It hath been here a common fame for divers weeks (before, at, and since the act) that the vicechancellor had given 300l. bond (some say 500l. bond) to the *terræ filius*, to save them harmless, whatever they should say, provided it were neither blasphemy nor treason. But this I take to be a slander. A less encouragement would serve the turn with such persons. Since the act (to satisfy the common clamour) the vicechancellor hath imprisoned both of them; and it is said, he means to expel them. I am, Sir,

Your honour's very humble and affectionate Servant,

JOHN WALLIS.

About

About this time died the reverend Mr. *Matthew Newcomen*, M. A. the ejected minister of Dedham in Essex; he was educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, and succeeded the famous Mr. *John Rogers*. He was a most accomplished scholar and christian, a member of the assembly of divines, and together with Dr. *Arrowsmith* and *Tuckney*, drew up their catechism.* He was one of the commissioners of the Savoy, and had many offers of preferment in the late times, but would not desert his church at Dedham, till he was displaced by the act of uniformity; after which he retired to Holland, and became pastor of the English church at Leyden, where he died about this time, universally lamented by the professors, for his humble and pleasant conversation, as well as his universal learning and piety§.

Mr. *Joseph Allein*, the ejected minister† of Taunton, and author of the *Call to the unconverted*, was born at the Devizes in Wiltshire, and educated in Lincoln college, Oxon. He was publick preacher in the church of Taunton about seven years, and was universally beloved for his great piety and devotion. After his ejection, he preached as he had opportunity six or seven times a week. May 26, 1663, he was committed to Ilchester gaol, for singing psalms in his own house, and preaching to his family, others being present: here he continued a year, but upon his enlargement he returned again to his work, which he followed with unwearied diligence. July 10, 1665, he was committed a second time to gaol with several other ministers, and forty private persons, where he contracted such distempers and weakneses as brought him to his grave, before he was thirty-six years of age.‡ He was an awakening, lively preacher, zealous and successful in his

* I have by me a copy of Mr. *Neal's* History, which was formerly the property of the Rev. *John Waldron*, a dissenting minister in Exeter, who has written in the margin, here, this note. "I have been assured by Mr. *Edward Parr*, an ejected minister, who lived with Dr. *Gouge*, that he drew up the catechism. J. W." Ed.

§ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 294. Palmer's Non-conformists' Memorial, vol. i. p. 503.

† To speak with accuracy, Mr. *Allein* was only assistant to Mr. *George Newton* the minister of Taunton. Dr. Grey. Ed.

‡ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 574. Palmer, vol. ii. p. 377.

master's work, and withal of a peaceable and quiet spirit. He died in the year 1668 or 69.

The tide in the house of commons still run very strong on the side of persecution, as appears by two extraordinary clauses added to the conventicle act, which, having expired some time since, was now revived by the parliament which met October 19. The court went into it with a view of reducing the presbyterians to the necessity of petitioning for a *general toleration*. "If we would have opened the door to let in popery (says Mr. *Baxter**) that *their toleration* might have been charged upon us, as done for our sakes, and by our procurement, we might in all likelihood have had our part in it; but I shall never be one of them who, by any new pressures, shall consent to petition for the papist's liberty; no craft of jesuits or prelates shall make me believe, that it is necessary for the non-conformists to take this odium upon themselves."§ The court bishops were for the bill, but the moderate clergy were against it. Bishop *Wilkins* spoke against it in the house; and when the king desired him in private to be quiet, he replied, that he thought it an ill thing both in conscience and policy, therefore as he was an Englishman, and a bishop, he was bound to oppose it; and since by the laws and constitution of England, and by his majesty's favour, he had a right to debate and vote, he was neither afraid nor ashamed to own his opinion in that matter. However, the bill passed both houses, and received the royal assent April 11, 1670.† It was to the following effect; "that if any persons upwards of sixteen years shall be present at any assembly, conventicle or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in any other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, where there are five persons or more present, besides those of the said household, in such cases the offender shall pay five shillings for the first offence, and ten shillings for the second. And the preachers or teachers in any such meetings shall forfeit twenty pounds for the first and forty for the second offence. And lastly, those who knowingly suffer any such conventicles in their houses,

* Part iii. p. 36.

§ Burnet, vol. i. p. 400.

† Rapin, p. 655.

"barns,

barns, yards, &c, shall forfeit twenty pounds. Any justice of peace, on the oath of two witnesses, or any other sufficient proof, may record the offence under his hand and seal, which record shall be taken in law for a full and perfect conviction, and shall be certified at the next quarter sessions. The fines above-mentioned may be levied by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels, and in case of the poverty of such offender, upon the goods and chattels of any other person or persons, that shall be convicted of having been present at the said conventicle, at the discretion of the justice of peace, so as the sum to be levied on any one person, in case of the poverty of others, do not amount to above ten pounds for any one meeting: the constables, headboroughs, &c. are to levy the same by warrant from the justice, and to be divided, one third for the use of the king, another third for the poor, and *the other third to the informer or his assistants, regard being had to their diligence and industry in discovering, dispersing, and punishing the said conventicles.* The fines upon ministers for preaching are to be levied also by distress; and in case of poverty, upon the goods and chattels of any other present; and the like upon the house where the conventicle is held, and the money to be divided as above.

“ And it is further enacted, that the justice or justices of peace, constables, headboroughs, &c. may by warrant, with what aid, force and assistance they shall think necessary, break open, and enter into any house or place where they shall be informed of the conventicle, and take the persons so assembled into custody.—And the lieutenants, or other commissioned officers of the militia, may get together such force and assistance as they think necessary, to dissolve, dissipate, and disperse such unlawful meetings, and take the persons into custody.” Then follow two extraordinary clauses: That if any justice of peace refuse to do his duty in the execution of this act, he shall forfeit five pounds.

“ And be it further enacted, that all clauses in this act shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof. No warrant or mittimus shall be made void, or reversed, for any
“ default

“ default in the form; and if a person fly from one county or
 “ corporation to another, his goods and chattels shall be
 “ seizable wherever they are found. If the party offending
 “ be a wife cohabiting with her husband, the fine shall be
 “ levied on the goods and chattels of the husband, provided
 “ the prosecution be within three months.”

The wit of man could hardly invent any thing short of capital punishment, more cruel and inhuman.* One would have thought a prince of so much clemency as *Charles II.* who had often declared against persecution, should not have consented to it, and that no christian bishop should have concurred in the passing it. Men's houses are to be plundered, their persons imprisoned, their goods and chattels carried away, and sold to those who would bid for them. Encouragement is given to a vile set of *informers*, and others, to live upon the labour and industry of their conscientious neighbours.† Multitudes of these *infamous wretches* spent their profits in ill houses, and upon lewd women, and then went about the streets again to hunt for further prey. The law is to be construed in their favour, and the power to be lodged in the hand of every individual justice of peace, who is to be fined five pounds if he refuses his warrant. Upon this, many honest men, who would not be the instruments of such severities, quitted the bench. Mr. *Eachard*, being ashamed to ascribe these cruelties to the influence of the bishops, says, “ that this and all the penal laws made against
 “ the dissenters were the *acts of the parliament*, and not of the
 “ *church*, and were made more on a civil and political, than
 “ upon a moral or religious account; and always upon some
 “ fresh provocation in reality or appearance.” This is the

* This iniquitous law, by the power with which it invested a single justice, destroyed the bulwark of English liberty, the *trial by jury*. It punished the innocent for the guilty, by subjecting the husband to a penalty for the conduct of the wife, and the goods of any person present to fines, which other offenders were incompetent to discharge. The mode of conviction was clandestine. Its natural tendency was to influence magistrates to partiality in judgement, and to reverse the scriptural qualification for magistracy to the encouragement of evil doers, and the punishment of those who do well; by the fines it imposed on justices and on officers, and by the sanction it gave to informers. Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. ii. p. 298, 99. Ed.

* Burnet, p. 398.

language by which the patrons of high-church cruelty endeavour to excuse themselves from the guilt of persecution; but it must fall somewhere; and that it may not fall too heavy upon the church, it is artfully, and with great good manners, cast *entirely upon the legislature*, and put upon the score of sedition, whereas it was well known the dissenters behaved peaceably, and were very far from disturbing the state. Nor does the preamble to the act charge them with disloyalty, but only says, “that for the providing speedy remedies against the practice of seditious sectaries, and others, who under pretence of tender consciences, have or *may* at their meetings contrive insurrections,* be it enacted, &c.” as if it was possible to do this in the company of women and servants, who were always present in their assemblies. It is therefore evident, that the act was levelled purely against liberty of conscience, and was so severely executed, that (as Sir *Harry Capel* observes) there was hardly a conventicle to be heard of all over England. The two houses (says our church historian,†) were express for the execution of these laws; the bishops and clergy were sincerely zealous in it, and the honest justices and magistrates (as he calls them) bore the more hard upon them, because they saw them so bold in despising and evading the justice of the nation.

Great numbers were prosecuted on this act, and many industrious families reduced to poverty. Many ministers were confined in gaols and close prisons; and warrants were issued out against them and their hearers, whereby great sums of money were levied. In the diocese of Salisbury the perse-

* “These words, *as late experience has shewn*, were silyly omitted,” says Dr. *Grey*, who adds, “Here he (Mr. *Neal*) injuriously lays the blame upon the bishops, as if the king and the two houses were wholly under their direction and influence; and treats Mr. Archdeacon *Eachard* not over-civilly for being of a contrary opinion.” The first censure in this paragraph is not very civil in Dr. *Grey*; nor does it appear well grounded, since Mr. *Neal* has inserted so much of the paragraph as *charges* the sectaries with *having* contrived insurrections. Nor does Mr. *Neal* lay the *whole blame* upon the bishops, for he says, “the two houses were for the execution of these laws:” though, it is true, indeed, he is not willing that the guilt should be cast *entirely upon the legislature*; for “the bishops and clergy were sincerely zealous in this business of persecution.” Ed.

† Page 286.

cution was hottest, by the instigation of bishop *Ward*; many hundreds being pursued with great industry, and driven from their families and trades. || The act was executed with such severity in *Starling's* mayorality, that many of the trading men in the city were removing with their effects to Holland, till the king put a stop to it. *Informers* were every where at work, and having crept into religious assemblies in disguise, levied great sums of money upon ministers and people. Soldiers broke into the houses of honest farmers, under pretence of searching for conventicles, and where ready money was wanting, they plundered their goods, drove away their cattle, and sold them for half price. Many were plundered of their household furniture; the sick had their beds taken from under them, and themselves laid on the floor. Should I sum up all the particulars, and the accounts I have received (says Mr. *Sewel*†) it would make a volume of itself. These vile creatures were not only encouraged, but pushed on vehemently by their *spiritual guides*; for this purpose archbishop *Sheldon* sent another circular letter to all the bishops in his province, dated May 7, 1670, in which he directs all ecclesiastical judges and officers, “ to take notice of all non-
 “ conformists, holders, frequenters, maintainers, and abettors
 “ of conventicles, especially of the preachers or teachers in
 “ them, and of the places wherein they are held; ever keep-
 “ ing a more watchful eye over the cities and greater towns,
 “ from whence the mischief is for the most part derived unto
 “ the lesser villages and hamlets. And wheresoever they
 “ find such wilful offenders, that then with an hearty affec-
 “ tion to the worship of God, the honour of the king and
 “ his laws, and the peace of the church and kingdom, they
 “ do address themselves to the civil magistrate, justices, and
 “ others concerned, imploring their help and assistance for
 “ preventing and suppressing the same, according to the late
 “ act in that behalf made and set forth.—And now, my lord,
 “ what the success will be we must leave to God Almighty;
 “ yet, my lord, I have this confidence under God, that if we
 “ do our parts now at first seriously, by *God's help, and the*

|| Calamy's Abridgement, vol. i. p. 332.

§ Burnet, p. 398.

† Sewel, p. 493.

“ assistance

“ assistance of the civil power, considering the abundant care and
 “ provision the act contains for our advantage, we shall in a few
 “ months see so great an alteration in the distractions of these
 “ times, as that the seduced people returning from their se-
 “ ditious and self-seeking teachers to the unity of the church,
 “ and uniformity of God’s worship, it will be to the Glory
 “ of God, the welfare of the church, the praise of his ma-
 “ jesty and government, and the happiness of the whole
 “ kingdom.” Can this be the language of a christian and
 protestant bishop; or is it not more like a father of the inqui-
 sition, or the dragooning commission of *Lewis XIV.* when he
 revoked the edict of Nantz?†

Copies of this letter were sent by the archdeacons to the
 officers of the several parishes within their jurisdictions, ear-
 nestly exhorting them to take especial care, to perform
 whatsoever is therein required, and to give an account at the
 next visitation. Many of the bishops chose to lie behind the
 curtain, and throw off the odium from themselves to the *civil*
magistrate; but some of the more zealous could not forbear
 appearing in person, as bishop *Ward*, already mentioned, and
 bishop *Gunning*,|| who often disturbed the *meetings* in person;
 once finding the doors shut, he ordered the constable to
 break them open with a sledge; another time he sat upon the
 bench at the quarter-sessions, upon which the chairman de-
 sired his lordship to give the *charge*, which he refusing, re-
 ceived a very handsome rebuke; it being hardly consistent
 with one that is an ambassador of the prince of peace, to set
 in judgement upon the consciences of his poor countrymen
 and neighbours, in order to plunder and tear them to pieces.§
 The bishop was so zealous in the cause, that he sunk his cha-

† Calamy’s Abridg. vol. i. p. 328.

|| *Henshaw*, the bishop of Peterborough, declared publickly in the church
 at Rowel, after he had commanded the officers to put this act in execution,
 “ Against all fanaticks it hath done its business, except the quakers; but
 “ when the parliament sits again, a stronger law will be made, not only to
 “ take away their lands and goods, but also to sell them for bond slaves.”
 On this Mr. *Gough* properly asks, “ Who can acquit the church so called of
 “ their share in the persecution, when the rulers thereof were so intemper-
 “ ately warm and active in it, and still insatiate with all these severities, in-
 “ humanly planning more and greater.” History, vol. ii. p. 303. Ed.

§ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 692.

rafter by giving a public challenge to the *presbyterians*, *independants*, *anabaptists*, and *quakers*, and appointed three days for the disputation; on the first of which his lordship went into the pulpit in the church, where was a considerable congregation, and charged the former with sedition and rebellion out of their books, but would hear no reply.* When the day came to dispute with the *quakers*, they summoned their friends, and when the bishop railed, they paid him in his own coin; and followed him to his very house with repeated shouts, *the hireling flieth*.

The non-conformist ministers did what they could to keep themselves within the compass of the law; they preached frequently twice a day in large families, with only four strangers, and as many under the age of sixteen as would come; and at other times, in places where people might hear in several adjoining houses; but after all, infinite mischiefs ensued, families were impoverished and divided; friendship between neighbours was interrupted; there was a general distrust and jealousy of each other; and sometimes upon little quarrels, servants would betray their masters, and throw their affairs into distraction. Among others that suffered at this time was Dr. *Manton*, who was apprehended on a Lord's day in the afternoon, just as he had done sermon, the door being opened to let a gentleman out, the justice and his attendants rushed in and went up stairs; they stayed till the doctor had ended his prayer, and then wrote down the names of the principal persons present, and took the doctor's promise to come to them at an house in the piazza's of Covent-garden, where they tendered him the Oxford oath, upon his refusal of which, he was committed prisoner to the Gate-house; where he continued till he was released by the *indulgence*. At another time his meeting-house in White-Hart Yard was broken up; the *place* was fined forty pounds, and the *minister* twenty, which was paid by lord *Wharton*, who was then present: They also took down the names of the hearers, for the benefit of the justices of peace and spiritual courts.

The behaviour of the quakers was very extraordinary, and had something in it that looked like the spirit of martyrdom.† They met at the same place and hour as in times of

* Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 334.

† Burnet, p. 398.

liberty,

liberty, and when the officers came to seize them, none of them would stir; they went all together to prison; they stayed there till they were dismissed, for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor pay the fines set upon them, nor so much as the prison fees. When they were discharged, they went to their meeting-house again, as before; and when the doors were shut up by order, they assembled in great numbers in the street before the doors, saying, they would not be ashamed, nor afraid to disown their meeting together in a peaceable manner to worship God; but in imitation of the prophet *Daniel*, they would do it more publickly, because they were forbid. Some called this obstinacy, others firmness; but by it they carried their point, the government being weary of contending against so much perverseness.†

On the first of September, 1670, two of their principal speakers, *Wm. Penn* and *Wm. Mead*, were tried at the Old-Bailey, for an unlawful and tumultuous assembly in the open street, wherein they spake or preached to the people, who were assembled in Grace-church-street, to the number of three or four hundred, in contempt of the king's laws, and to the disturbance of the peace. The prisoners pleaded *not-guilty*, but met with some of the severest usage that has been known in an *English* court of justice. They were fined forty marks a-piece for coming into court with their hats on, though it was not done out of contempt, but from a principle of their religion. It appeared by the witnesses, that there was an assembly in Grace-church-street, but there was neither riot, nor tumult, nor force of arms. Mr. *Penn* confessed they were so far from recanting, or declining to vindicate the assembling themselves to preach, pray, or worship the eternal, holy, just

† A respectable member of the society of *quakers* has remarked, with propriety and force, on this language of bishop *Burnet*; “that had he concluded with the word *perseverance* instead of *perverseness*, his description had been *less* objectionable, as being nearer the truth. The prejudice discovered by that dignified prelate against this people tarnished his reputation as a *faithful* historian, and as a man; as a *true son of the church*, it is not much to be wondered at, when it is considered that they, rejecting its honours and its revenues, struck at the *root* of the hierarchy: whilst other dissenters, in general, contending chiefly about rites and ceremonies, manifested little or no objection to that *grand support*, pecuniary emolument; as their practice in common, particularly during the interregnum, incontestibly proved.” A Letter to the Editor. ED.

God,

God, that they declared to all the world, they believed it to be their duty, and that all the powers on earth should not be able to divert them from it. When it was said, they were not arraigned for worshipping God, but for breaking the law, *William Penn* affirmed he had broken no law, and challenged the *recorder* to tell him upon what law he was prosecuted. The recorder answered, upon the *common law*, but could not tell where that common law was to be found. *Penn* insisted upon his producing the law, but the court overruled him, and called him a troublesome fellow. *Penn* replied, "I design no affront to the court, but if you deny
"to acquaint me with the law you say I have broken, you
"deny me the right that is due to every Englishman, and
"evidence to the whole world that your designs are arbitrary." Upon which he was haled from the bar into the *bail-dock*. As he was going out, he said to the jury, "If
"these fundamental laws which relate to liberty and property must not be indispensably maintained, who can say
"he has a right to the coat upon his back? Certainly then
"our liberties are openly to be invaded, our wives to be ravished, our children enslaved, and our estates led away in
"triumph, by every sturdy beggar and malicious informer,
"as their trophies."

William Mead, being left alone at the bar, said, "You
"men of the jury, I am accused of meeting by *force of arms*,
"in a tumultuous manner.—Time was when I had freedom
"to use a carnal weapon, and then I feared no man; but
"now I fear the living God, and dare not make use thereof,
"nor hurt any man. I am a peaceable man, and therefore
"demand to know upon what law my indictment is founded;
"if the recorder will not tell what makes a riot, *Coke* will
"tell him, that it is when three or more are met together
"to beat a man, or to enter forcibly into another man's
"lands, to cut his grafs or wood, or break down his pales." Upon this the recorder, having lost all patience, pulled off his hat, and said, I thank you, sir, for telling me what the law is. *Mead* replied, thou mayest put on thy hat, I have no fee for thee now. The mayor *Starling* told him, he deserved to have his tongue cut out, and ordered him likewise to be carried to the *bail-dock*.

When

When the prisoners were gone, the recorder gave the jury their charge, upon which *William Penn* stood up, and with a loud voice said, "I appeal to the jury, and this great assembly, whether it be not contrary to the undoubted right of every Englishman, to give the jury their charge in the absence of the prisoners?" The recorder answered with a sneer, Ye are present, ye do hear, do ye not? *Penn* answered, No thanks to the court; I have ten or twelve material points to offer in order to invalidate the indictment, but am not heard. The recorder said, *Pull him down; Pull the fellow down.* *Mead* replied, these were barbarous and unjust proceedings; and then they were both thrust into the hole.

After the jury had withdrawn an hour and half, the prisoners were brought to the bar to hear their verdict; eight of them came down agreed, but four remained above, to whom they used many unworthy threats, and in particular to Mr. *Bushel*, whom they charged with being the cause of the disagreement. At length, after withdrawing a second time, they agreed to bring them in *guilty of speaking in Grace-Church-street*; which the court would not accept for a verdict, but after many menaces told them, they should be locked up without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco; nay, they should starve, unless they brought in a proper verdict. *William Penn* being at the bar, said, "My jury ought not to be thus threatened. We were by force of arms kept out of our meeting-house, and met as near it as the soldiers would give us leave. We are a peaceable people, and cannot offer violence to any man. And looking upon the jury, he said, *You are Englishmen, mind your privilege, give not away your right.*" To which some of them answered, *Nor will we ever do it.* Upon this they were shut up all night without victuals or fire, or so much as a chamber-pot, though desired. Next morning they brought in the same verdict; upon which they were threatened with the utmost resentments. The mayor said, *he would cut Bushel's throat as soon as he could.* The recorder said, *he never knew the benefit of an inquisition till now; and that the next sessions of parliament a law would be made wherein those that would not conform*

conform should not have the benefit of the law.† The court having obliged the jury to withdraw again, they were kept without meat and drink till next morning, when they brought in the prisoners *not guilty*; for which they were fined forty marks a man, and to be imprisoned till paid. The prisoners were also remanded to Newgate for their fines in not pulling off their hats.* The jury, after some time, were discharged by *habeas corpus* returnable in the *common pleas*, where their commitment was judged illegal. This was a noble stand for the liberty of the subject in very dangerous times, when neither law nor equity availed any thing. The conventicle act was made to encourage prosecutions; and a narrative was published next year, of the oppressions of many honest people in Devonshire, and other parts, by the informers and justices; but the courts of justice outran the law itself.

Hitherto the king and parliament had agreed pretty well, by means of the large supplies of money the parliament had given to support his majesty's pleasures; but now having assurance of large remittances from France, his majesty re-

† The speech of the recorder, it appears by a quotation from the "State Trials" in a late publication, was fuller and stronger than Mr. *Neal's* abridged form represents it. "Till now," said this advocate for arbitrary power, "I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the inquisition among them, and certainly it will never be well with us till something like the Spanish inquisition be in England." Stuart's Peace and Reform against War and Corruption, p. 63, note; and Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. ii. p. 336. Ed.

* The prisoners excepted to this fine, as being arbitrarily imposed, in violation of the great charter of England, which saith; "No man ought to be amerced, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage." The name of the judge, before whom the case of the jury was solemnly argued in the court of *common pleas*, and by whom it was judged illegal, was Sir *John Vaughan*, then chief justice: a name which deserves to be mentioned in this connection, with peculiar respect, and to be perpetuated by Englishmen with gratitude. For this adjudication confirmed in the strongest manner the rights of juries, and secured them from the attack of arbitrary and unprincipled judges. Sir *John Vaughan* was a man of excellent parts, and not only versed in all the knowledge requisite to make a figure in his profession, but he was also a very considerable master of the politer kinds of learning. He was the intimate friend of the great *Selden*, and was buried in the Temple church, as near as possible to his remains. He died in 1674. His son published his Reports, in which is the above case. Gough, vol. ii. p. 336. British Biography, vol. vii. p. 130, 31; and Granger's History, vol. iii. p. 369. Ed.

solved to govern by the prerogative, and stand upon his own legs.|| His prime counsellors were lord *Clifford*, *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, afterwards lord *Shaftesbury*, the duke of *Buckingham*, earl of *Arlington*, and duke *Lauderdale*, who from the initial letters of their names were called the *CABAL*. Lord *Clifford* was an open papist, and the earl of *Arlington* a concealed one. *Buckingham* was a debauchee, and reputed a downright atheist; he was a man of great wit and parts, and of sounder principles in the interests of humanity (says Mr. *Baxter*) than the rest of the court. *Shaftesbury* had a vast genius, but, according to *Burnet*, at best was a deist; he had great knowledge of men and things, but would often change sides as his interest directed. *Lauderdale* was a man of learning, and from an almost republican was become a perfect tool of the prerogative, and would offer at the most desperate councils. He had scarcely any traces of religion remaining, though he called himself a presbyterian, and had an aversion to king *Charles I.* to the last. By these five ministers of state the king and duke of *York* drove on their designs of introducing popery and arbitrary power; in order to which, a secret treaty was concluded with France; the triple alliance was broken, and a new war declared with the Dutch to destroy their commonwealth, as will be seen presently. By this means the king had a plausible pretence to keep up a standing army, which might secure him in the exercise of an absolute authority over his subjects, to set aside the use of parliaments, and settle the Roman catholic religion in the three kingdoms. These were the maxims the court pursued throughout the remaining part of this reign.

In the beginning of this year died Dr. *Anthony Tuckney*,† born in September 1599, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. He was afterwards vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire,

|| Eachard, p. 864. Rapin, p. 655.

† To what is said concerning Dr. *Tuckney* by Mr. *Neal*, and before in the note to p. 115, vol. iii. it is proper to add two facts which are much to his honour. One is, that in his elections at St. John's, when the president, according to the language and spirit of the times, would call upon him to have regard to the *godly*, his answer was "no one should have a greater regard to the truly *godly* than himself; but he was determined to choose
" non

shire, where he continued till he was called to set in the assembly of divines at Westminster. In the year 1645, he was made master of his college, and in the year 1648, being chosen vice-chancellor, he removed to Cambridge with his family. He was afterwards master of St. John's, and *regius professor*, which he held till the restoration, when the king sent him a letter, desiring him to resign his professorship, which if he did, his majesty, in consideration of the great pains and diligence of the said doctor in the discharge of his duty, would oblige his successor to give him sufficient security in law, to pay him one hundred pounds a year during his natural life. Upon this notice the doctor immediately resigned, and had his annuity paid him by Dr. Gunning who succeeded him. After the coming out of the *five mile act* he shifted about in several counties, and at last died in Spittle-yard, London, February 1669, in the seventy-first year of his age, leaving behind him the character of an eminently learned and pious man, an indefatigable student, a candid disputant, and an earnest promoter of truth and godliness.*

About the same time died Mr. *William Bridge*, M. A. the ejected minister of Yarmouth; he was student in Cambridge thirteen years, and fellow of Emanuel college. He afterwards settled in Norwich, where he was silenced by bishop *Wren* for non-conformity, 1637. He was afterwards excommunicated; and when the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* came out against him he withdrew to Holland, and became pastor to the English church at Rotterdam, where Mr. *Jer. Burroughs* was preacher. In 1642, he returned to England,

“none but scholars:” adding very wisely, “they may deceive me in their godliness; they cannot in their scholarship.” The other fact is, that though he is said to have had a great hand in composing the Confession and Catechisms of the assembly at Westminster, and in particular drew up the exposition of the commandments in the larger catechism; yet he voted against subscribing or swearing to the confession, &c. set out by authority. This conduct the more deserves notice and commendation, because the instances of a consistent adherence to the principles of religious liberty among those who were struggling for liberty, were so few and rare in that age. In the year 1753, Dr. *Samuel Salter*, prebendary of Norwich, published a correspondence between Dr. *Tuckney* and Dr. *Benjamin Whichcote*, on several very interesting subjects. See *Whichcote's Moral and Religious Aphorisms*, preface the second, p. 15. ED.

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 77; or Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 205.

and was *one of the dissenting brethren* in the assembly of divines. He was chosen after some time minister of Great Yarmouth, where he continued his labours till the *Bartholomew* act ejected him with his brethren.* He was a good scholar, and had a well-furnished library, was a hard student, and rose every morning winter and summer at four of the clock. He was also a good preacher, a candid and charitable man, and did much good by his ministry. § He died at Yarmouth, March 12, 1670, *ætat.* seventy.

While the protestant dissenters were harrassed in all parts of the kingdom, the Roman catholicks were at ease under the wing of the prerogative; there were few or no proccesses against them, for they had the liberty of resorting to mass at the houses of foreign ambassadors, and other chapels, both in town and country; nor did the bishops complain of them in the house of lords, by which means they began in a few years to rival the protestants both in strength and numbers. The commons represented the causes of this misfortune in an address to the king, together with the remedies, which if the reader will carefully consider, he will easily discover the different usage of protestant non-conformists and popish recusants. †

The causes of the increase of popery, were, 1. The great number of jesuits who were all over the kingdom. 2. The chapels in great towns for saying mass, besides ambassadors houses, whither great numbers of his majesty's subjects resorted without controul. 3. The fraternities or convents of priests and jesuits at St. James's, and in several parts of

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 478. Palmer, vol. ii. p. 208.

§ In *Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa"* is a letter of *William Bridge* to *Henry Scobel*, esq; clerk of the council, about augmenting the income of preachers, with the names of the *independant* ministers of prime note in the county of Norfolk. This shews that he was a leading man among the independants. Granger's History of England, vol. iii. p. 44. Dr. Grey imputes to Mr. *Bridge* a republican spirit, because, in a sermon before the commons, he said, "The king must not only command according to God's law, but man's laws; and if he don't so command, resistance is not resistance of *power* but of *will*. To say, that such resistance must only be defensive, is nonsense; for so a man may be ever resisting, and never resist." Grey, vol. i. p. 187.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 658

the

the kingdom, besides their schools for the educating youth. 4. The publick sale of popish catechisms, &c. 5. The general remissness of magistrates, and other officers, in not convicting papists according to law. 6. Suspected recusants enjoying offices by themselves or their deputies. 7. Presentations to livings by popish recusants, or by others as they direct. 8. Sending youth beyond sea under tutors, to be educated in the popish religion. 9. The few *Exchequer processses* that have been issued forth, though many have been certified thither. 10. The great insolence of papists in Ireland, where archbishops and bishops of the pope's creation appear publicly, mass being said openly in Dublin, and other parts of the kingdom.

The remedies which the house proposed against these growing mischiefs were,

1. That a proclamation be issued out to banish all popish priests and jesuits out of the realm, except such as attend the queen and foreign ambassadors. 2. That the king's subjects be forbid going to hear mass and other exercises of the *romish* religion. 3. That no office or employment of public authority be put into the hands of popish recusants. 4. That all fraternities, convents, and popish schools, be abolished, and the jesuits, priests, friars, and school-masters, punished. 5. That his majesty require all the officers of the Exchequer, to issue out *processses* against popish recusants convict, certified thither. 6. That *Plunket* the pretended primate of Ireland, and *Talbot* archbishop of Dublin, be sent for into England, to answer such matters as should be objected against them.

The king promised to consider the address, but hoped they would allow him to distinguish between new *converts*, and those who had been bred up in the popish religion, and served him and his father in the late wars. After some time a proclamation was issued, in which his majesty declares, that *he had always adhered to the true religion established in this kingdom against all temptations whatsoever*; and that he would employ his utmost care and zeal in its defence. But the magistrates, knowing his majesty's inclinations, took no care of the execution of it. Nay, the duke of York the king's brother, having lately lost his duchess, lord *Clarendon's* daughter,

daughter, who died a papist,* made a formal abjuration of the protestant religion at this time before father *Simon*, an English jesuit, publicly declaring himself a Roman catholic; the reason of which was, that the present queen having no children, the papists gave the duke to understand, that they were capable to effect his majesty's divorce, and to set aside his succession, by providing him with another queen, which they would certainly attempt, unless he would make an open profession of the Roman catholic religion, which he did accordingly.

The house of commons was very lavish of the nation's money this session, for though there was no danger of an invasion from abroad, they voted the king two millions and a half, with which his majesty maintained a standing army, and called the parliament no more together for almost two years. After the houses were up, the *CABAL* began to prosecute their scheme of making the king absolute; in order to which, besides the two millions and a half granted by parliament, they received from France the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds in two years, which not being sufficient to embark in a war with the Dutch, the king declared in council, by the advice of *Clifford*, that he was resolved to *shut up the Exchequer*, wherein the bankers of London, (who had furnished the king with money on all occasions at great interest) had lodged vast sums of other people's cash deposited in their hands. By this means the bankers were obliged to make a stop, which interrupted the course of trade, and raised a great clamour over the whole kingdom. The king endeavoured to soften the *bankers*, by telling them

* This Dr. Grey is unwilling to admit, though he owns that Monsieur *Maimbourg* published, in French, her declaration for renouncing the Protestant religion, and he quotes largely from Dr. *Richard Watson*, a celebrated English divine, who published an answer to it. The amount of his defence of the duchess, as it appears in this quotation, is, that, when on account of her illness the worship of her oratory had been deserted, it was renewed again by her order, and the doors of her chamber, which was adjoining to it, were opened that she might hear the prayers; and that the bishop of Oxford was sent for to administer the sacrament to her. In opposition to this, which rises to presumptive evidence only, and in support of Mr. *Neal*, it may be added; that Sir *John Reresby* says, that she died "with her last breath declaring herself a Papist." *Memoirs*, p. 19. Ed. it

it should be only for a year, and that he would payt he arrears out of the next subsidies of parliament; but he was worse than his word; so that great numbers of families and orphans were reduced to beggary, while the king gained about one million four hundred thousand pounds.

A second advance of the *CABAL* towards arbitrary power, was *to destroy the Dutch commonwealth*; for this purpose the triple alliance was to be broken, and pretences to be found out for quarrelling with that trading people. The earl of *Shafesbury* used this expression in his speech to the parliament for justifying the war, *Delenda est Carthago*, that is, *the Dutch commonwealth must be destroyed*; but an occasion was wanting to justify it to the world. There had been a few scurrilous prints and medals struck in *Holland*, reflecting on the king's amours, below the notice of the English court, which the Dutch however had caused to be destroyed. Complaints were also revived of the insolence of the Dutch in the East-Indies, and of the neglect of striking the flag in the narrow seas to the king's yacht, passing by the Dutch fleet. The *cabal* managed these complaints like men who were afraid of receiving satisfaction, or of giving the adversary any umbrage to prepare for the storm. The Dutch therefore, relying on the faith of treaties, pursued their traffic without fear; but when their rich Smyrna fleet of merchantmen, consisting of seventy-two sail, under convoy of six men of war, passed by the Isle of Wight, the English fleet fell upon them and took several of their ships, without any previous declaration of war; a breach of faith (says *Burnet*) which Mahometans and pirates would have been ashamed of.*

Two days after the attempt upon the Smyrna fleet, the *cabal* made the third advance towards popery and absolute power, by advising the king to suspend the penal laws against all sorts of non-conformists. It was now resolved to set the dissenters against the church, and to offer them the protection of the crown to make way for a general toleration. Lord *Shafesbury* first proposed it in council, which the majority readily complied with, provided the Roman catholicks might be included; but when the declaration was prepared, the lord keeper *Bridgman* refused to put the seal to it, as

* Vol. ii. p. 16. 12mo.

judging it contrary to law, for which he was dismissed, and the seals given to the earl of *Shaftesbury*, who maintained, that the indulgence was for the service of the church of England.* “As for the church (says his lordship), I conceive the *declaration* is extremely for their interest; for the narrow bottom they have placed themselves upon, and the measures they have proceeded by, so contrary to the properties and liberties of the nation, must needs in a short time prove fatal to them; whereas this leads them into another way, to live peaceably with the dissenting and dissenting protestants, both at home and abroad;” which was true if both had not been undermined by the papists.† Archbishop *Sheldon*, *Morley*, and the rest of their party, exclaimed loudly against the *indulgence*, and alarmed the whole nation, in so much that many sober and good men, who had long feared the growth of popery, began to think their eyes were open, and that they were in good earnest; but it appeared afterwards that their chief concern was for the *spiritual power*; for though they murmured against the *dispensing power*, they fell in with all their other proceedings; which, if Providence had not miraculously interposed, must have been fatal to the protestant religion and the liberties of Europe.

At length the *declaration* having been communicated to the French king, and received his approbation, was published, bearing date March 15, 1671-2, to the following effect:‡

“CHARLES REX,

“OUR care and endeavours for the preservation of the rights and interests of the church, have been sufficiently

* History of the Stuarts, p. 566. † Des Maiz. Col. p. 677, &c.

‡ The bishops took the alarm at this declaration: and charged their clergy to preach against popery. The pulpits were full of a new strain: it was every where preached against, and the authority of the laws were magnified. The king complained to *Sheldon*, that controversy was preached, as if on purpose to inflame the people, and alienate them from him and his government; and *Sheldon*, apprehensive that the king might again press him on this subject, convened some of the clergy, to consult with them what answer to make to his majesty. Dr. *Tillotson* suggested this reply: “That since the king himself professed the protestant religion, it would be a thing without a precedent, that he should forbid his clergy to preach in defence of a religion which they believed, while he himself said he was of it.” Burnet’s History, vol. ii. p. 17. 12mo. ed. and Birch’s Life of Tillotson, p. 41. Ed.

“manifested

“ manifested to the world, by the whole course of our go-
 “ vernment since our happy restoration, and by the many
 “ and frequent ways of *coercion* that we have used for re-
 “ ducing all erring or dissenting persons, and for composing
 “ the unhappy differences in matters of religion, which we
 “ found among our subjects upon our return; but it being
 “ evident by the sad experience of twelve years, that there is
 “ very little fruit of all these forcible courses, *we think our-*
 “ *selves obliged to make use of that supream power in ecclesiastical*
 “ *matters, which is not only inherent in us, but hath been de-*
 “ *clared and recognised to be so, by several statutes and acts*
 “ *of parliament*; and therefore we do now accordingly issue
 “ this our declaration, as well for the quieting of our good
 “ subjects in these points, as for inviting strangers in this
 “ conjuncture to come and live under us; and for the better
 “ encouragement of all to a chearful following of their trades
 “ and callings, from whence we hope, by the blessing of
 “ God, to have many good and happy advantages to our
 “ government; as also for preventing for the future the dan-
 “ ger that might otherwise arise from private meetings and
 “ seditious conventicles.

“ And in the first place, we declare our exprefs resolution,
 “ meaning and intention to be, that the church of England
 “ be preserved, and remain entire in its doctrine, discipline
 “ and government, as now it stands established by law; and
 “ that this be taken to be, as it is, the basis, rule, and stand-
 “ ard of the general and publick worship of God, and that the
 “ orthodox conformable clergy do receive and enjoy the re-
 “ venues belonging thereunto, and that no person, though
 “ of a different opinion and persuasion, shall be exempt from
 “ paying his tithes, or other dues whatsoever. And farther
 “ we declare, that no person shall be capable of holding any
 “ benefice, living, or ecclesiastical dignity or preferment, of
 “ any kind, in this our kingdom of England, who is not ex-
 “ actly conformable.

“ We do in the next place declare our will and pleasure to
 “ be, that *the execution of all, and all manner of penal laws in*
 “ *matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of non-confor-*
 “ *mists or recusants, be immediately suspended, and they are*
 “ *hereby suspended*; and all judges, judges of assize and gaol
 “ delivery,

delivery, sheriffs, justices of peace, mayors, bailiffs, and other officers whatsoever, whether ecclesiastical or civil, are to take notice of it, and pay due obedience thereto.

“ And that there may be no pretence for any of our subjects to continue their illegal meetings and conventicles, we do declare, that we shall from time to time allow a sufficient number of places, as they shall be desired, in all parts of this our kingdom, for the use of such as do not conform to the church of England, to meet and assemble in order to their publick worship and devotion, which places shall be open and free to all persons.

“ But to prevent such disorders and inconveniencies as may happen by this our indulgence, if not duly regulated; and that they may be the better protected by the civil magistrate; *our express will and pleasure is, that none of our subjects do presume to meet in any place, until such places be allowed, and the teacher of that congregation be approved by us.*

“ And lest any should apprehend that this restriction should make our said allowance and approbation difficult to be obtained, we do farther declare, that this our indulgence, as to the allowance of the publick places of worship, and approbation of the preachers, shall extend to all sorts of *non-conformists and recusants, except the recusants of the Roman catholick religion*, to whom we shall in no wise allow publick places of worship, but only indulge them their share in the common exemption from the penal laws, and the exercise of their worship in their private houses only.

“ And if after this our clemency and indulgence, any of our subjects shall pretend to abuse this liberty, and shall preach seditiously, or to the derogation of the doctrine, discipline or government, of the established church, or shall meet in places not allowed by us, we do hereby give them warning, and declare we will proceed against them with all imaginable severity. And we will let them see, we can be as severe to punish such offenders when so justly provoked, as we are indulgent to truly tender consciences.”

Given at our court at Whitehall this 15th day of March, in the four and twentieth year of our reign.

The

The protestant non-conformists had no opinion of *the dispensing power*, and were not forward to accept of liberty in this way; they were sensible the indulgence was not granted out of love to them, nor would continue any longer, than it would serve the interest of popery. “The beginning of the Dutch war (says one of their writers) made the court think it necessary to grant them an indulgence, that there might be peace at home while there was war abroad, though much to the dissatisfaction of those who had a hand in framing all the severe laws against them.”* Many pamphlets were written for and against the dissenters accepting it, because it was grafted on the *dispensing power*. Some maintained, that it was setting up altar against altar, and that they should accept of nothing but a *comprehension*. Others endeavoured to prove, that it was the duty of the presbyterians to make use of the liberty granted them by the king, because it was their natural right, which no legislative power upon earth had a right to deprive them of, as long as they remained dutiful subjects; that meeting in separate congregations distinct from the parochial assemblies, in the present circumstances, was neither schismatical nor sinful.† Accordingly most of the ministers, both in London and in the country, took out licences, a copy of which I have transcribed from under the king’s own hand and seal in the margin.‡ Great numbers of people attended the meetings, and

* Baxter, part iii. p. 99. Welwood’s Mem. p. 190.

† Welwood’s Memoirs, p. 102.*

‡ CHARLES REX.

CHARLES by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all mayors, bailiffs, constables, and others our officers and ministers civil and military, whom it may concern, greeting. In pursuance of our declaration of the 15th of March 1671-2. We do hereby permit and license G. S. ——— of the congregational persuasion, to be a teacher of the congregation allowed by us, in a room or rooms of his house in ——— for the use of such as do not conform to the church of England, who are of that persuasion commonly called *congregational*, with further licence and permission to him the said G. S. ——— to teach in any place licensed and allowed by us, according to our said declaration.

Given at our court at Whitehall the second day of May, in the 24th year of our reign 1672. By his majesty’s command,

Arlington.

* The editor cannot meet with these passages in Welwood’s Memoirs, 6th edition.

a cau-

a cautious and moderate address of thanks was presented to the king for their liberty, but all were afraid of the consequences.

It was reported further, that the court encouraged the non-conformists, by some small pensions of fifty and one hundred pounds to the chief of their party; that Mr. *Baxter* returned the money, but that Mr. *Pool* acknowledged he had received fifty pounds for two years, and that the rest accepted it.* This was reported to the disadvantage of the dissenters by Dr. *Stillingfleet* and others, with an insinuation that it was *to bribe them to be silent, and join interest with the papists*; but Dr. *Owen*, in answer to this part of the charge, in his preface to a book entitled *An Enquiry, &c.* against Dr. *Stillingfleet*, declares, that “it is such a frontless malicious lye, as impudence itself would blush at; that, however the dissenters may be traduced, they are ready to give the highest security that can be of their stability in the protestant cause; and for myself (says he) never any person in authority, dignity, or power in the nation, nor any from them, papist or protestant, did ever speak or advise with me about any indulgence or toleration to be granted to papists, and I challenge the whole world to prove the contrary.” From this indulgence Dr. *Stillingfleet* dates the beginning of the presbyterian separation.

This year died Dr. *Edmund Staunton*, the ejected minister of Kingston-upon-Thames, one of the assembly of divines, and some time president of Corpus-Christi College in Oxford. He was son of Sir *Francis Staunton*, born at Woburne in Bedfordshire 1601, and educated in Wadham college, of which he was a fellow.† Upon his taking orders, he became minister of Bushy in Hertfordshire, but changed it afterwards for Kingston-upon-Thames. In 1634 he took the degrees in divinity, and in 1648 was made president of Corpus-Christi college, which he kept till he was silenced for non-conformity. He then retired to Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire, and afterwards to a village in that county called

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 16, 17.

† Dr. *Staunton*, in 1615, became a commoner of Wadham college; on the 4th of October, in the same year, was admitted scholar of Corpus Christi college: and afterwards Fellow, and M. A. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 352, and Dr. Grey. Ed.

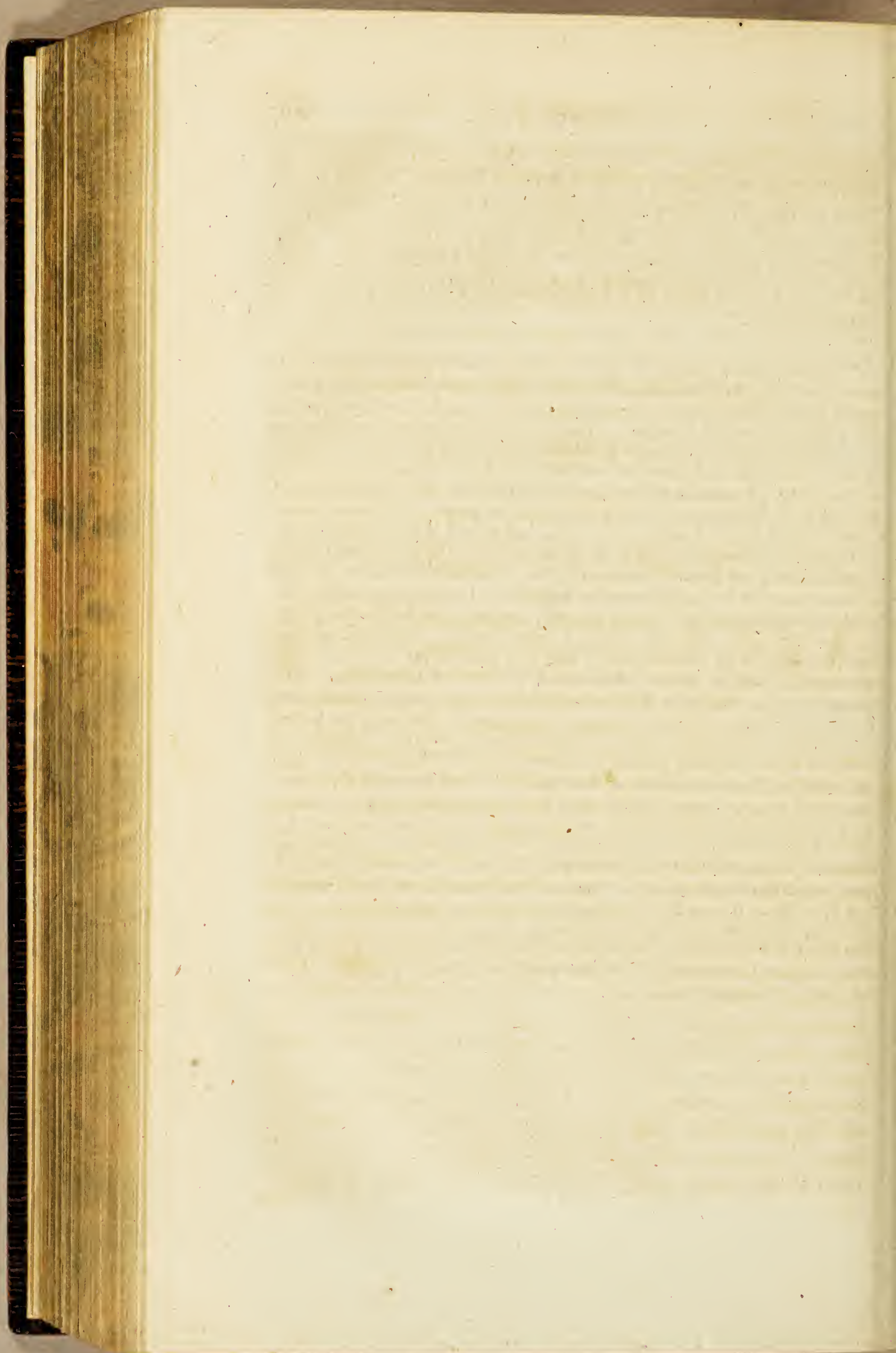
Bovingden, where he preached as often as he had opportunity. He was a learned, pious, and peaceable divine. In his last sickness he said he neither feared death nor desired life, but was willing to be at God's disposal. He died July 14, 1671, and was buried in the church belonging to the parish.*

Mr. *Vavasor Powel* was born in Radnorshire, and educated in Jesus college, Oxon. When he left the university he preached up and down in Wales, till being driven from thence for want of presbyterial ordination, which he scrupled, he came to London, and soon after settled at Dartford in Kent. In the year 1646 he obtained a testimonial of his religious and blameless conversation, and of his abilities for the work of the ministry, signed by Mr. *Herle* and seventeen of the assembly of divines. Furnished with these testimonials he returned to Wales, and became a most indefatigable and active instrument of propagating the gospel in those parts. There were few, if any, of the churches or chapels in Wales, in which he did not preach; yea, very often he preached to the *poor Welch* in the mountains, at fairs, and in market-places; for which he had no more than a stipend of one hundred pounds *per annum*, besides the advantage of some sequestered livings in North Wales, (says my author) which, in those times of confusion, turned but to a very poor account. Mr. *Powel* was a bold man, and of republican principles, preaching against the *protectorship of Cromwell*, and wrote letters to him, for which he was imprisoned, to prevent his spreading disaffection in the state. At the dawn of the restoration, being known to be a fifth monarchy man, he was secured first at Shrewsbury, afterwards in Wales, and at last in the Fleet. In the year 1662 he was shut up in South-Sea castle near Portsmouth, where he continued five years. In 1667 he was released, but venturing to preach again in his own country, he was imprisoned at Cardiff, and in the year 1669 sent up to London, and confined a prisoner in the Fleet, where he died, and was buried in Bunhill-fields, in the presence of an innumerable croud of dissenters, who attended him to his grave. He was of an unconquerable resolution, and of a mind unshaken under all his troubles. The inscription on his tomb calls him, "A successful teacher of the past,

* Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 63. Palmer's Non-con. Mem. vol. i. p. 173.

“ a sincere witness of the present, and an useful example to
 “ the future age; who, in the defection of many, found mercy
 “ to be faithful, for which being called to many prisons, he
 “ was there tried, and would not accept deliverance, ex-
 “ pecting a better resurrection.” He died October 27, 1671,
 in the fifty-third year of his age, and the eleventh year of his
 imprisonment.*

* To Mr. Neal’s account of Mr. *Vavasor Powell* it may be added, that he was born in 1617, and descended from an antient and honourable stock: on his father’s side, from the *Powells* of Knocklas in Radnorshire; and on his mother’s, from the *Vavasors*, a family of great antiquity, that came out of Yorkshire into Wales, and was related to the principal gentry in North Wales. So active and laborious was he in the duties of the ministry, that he frequently preached in two or three places in a day, and was seldom two days in the week, throughout the year, out of the pulpit. He would sometimes ride an hundred miles in the week, and preach in every place where he could gain admittance, either by night or day. He would often alight from his horse, and set on it any aged person whom he met with on the road on foot, and walk by the side for miles together. He was exceedingly hospitable and generous, and would not only entertain and lodge, but clothe the poor and aged. He was a man of great humility, very conscientious and exemplary in all relative duties, and very punctual to his word. He was a scholar, and his general deportment was that of a gentleman. His sentiments were those of a *Sabbatarian Baptist*. In 1642, when he left Wales, there was not then above one or two gathered churches; but before the restoration, there were above twenty distinct societies, consisting of from two to five hundred members, chiefly planted and formed by his care and industry, in the principles of the *Baptists*. They were also for the ordination of elders, singing of psalms and hymns in publick worship; laying on of hands on the newly baptised, and anointing the sick with oil, and did not limit their communion to an agreement with them in their sentiments on baptism. He bore his last illness with great patience, and under the acutest pains would bless God, and say, “ he would not entertain one hard thought “ of God for all the world,” and could scarcely be restrained from acts of devotion, and from expressing his sentiments of zeal and piety.—Dr. Grey, after *Wood*, has vilified Mr. *Powell* by retailing the falsehoods of a piece entitled “ *Strena Vavasorienfis.*” Crosby’s History, vol. i. p. 373, &c. Life and Death of Vavasor Powel. Ed.



A
SUPPLEMENT

TO

CHAPTERS V. VI. VII. *and* VIII.

SECT. I.

The History of the Baptists.

AT this period it is proper to resume the History of the Baptists, which we only slightly touched in our supplemental pages, at the end of the fourth chapter. This people, from the Restoration to the Declaration of indulgence in 1672, were exposed to severe sufferings: though they had no influence in the preceding vicissitudes of government. It was not known that during the contest between *Charles I.* and the parliament, any one of this sect was in the king's army; some of them in that of the parliament; and it was supposed, that a special reason of disbanding one entire regiment in the earl of *Essex's* army was, the colonel having entertained and given countenance to *Separatists* and some *Anabaptists*. Although in and after 1649, their numbers did increase, inso-much that the principal officers in divers regiments of horse and foot became *baptists*, particularly in *Cromwell's* own regiment of horse, and the duke of *Albemarle's* of foot; yet it is said, on good information, that before that year there were not, at any time, twenty of this denomination in any sort of command in the whole army. Until the year 1648, two only of this profession, Mr. *Lawrence* and Mr. *John Fiennes*, a son of lord *Say*, were members of the house of commons; and, in that year, before the death of the king, they with-
drew

drew from the parliament, not approving their proceedings, and lived private for about six years, when Mr. *Lawrence* was called again into publick employment. In 1650, some of this persuasion, viz. Capt. *Mildmay*, Capt. *Pack*, and Sir *John Harman*, were preferred to commands at sea.* Major-general *Harrison*, “a man of excellent natural parts,” says Mr. *Baxter*, “for affection and *oratory*, but not well seen in the principles of his religion,”† was the only *baptist* among the king’s judges.‡

Whatever concern, however, they may be supposed to have had in national affairs, it soon ceased after *Cromwell* assumed the reins of government, who, when he thought himself well settled, and perceived that it would please the dominant party, began to undermine the *sectarians*, and in particular to suppress the *baptists*. Mr. *Baxter* charges them with growing insolent both in England and Ireland, after *Cromwell*’s death, and the succession of his son *Richard* was set aside: and that, joining their brethren in the army, they were every where put in power. He complains of some personal insults and ungenerous treatment, which he received from some who resided near to him, irritated by their remembrance of the opposition he had made to their sentiments, and who, though not many more than twenty, “talked,” as he expresses it, “as if they had been lords of the world.”§ This spirit of resentment and triumph was soon humbled by the disappointment of hope, and a subsequent series of sufferings.

This appears, in the first instance, from a petition presented to king *Charles II.* signed by thirty-five, on behalf of many others in *Lincolnshire*. It stated, that not only their meetings for religious worship were interrupted by the magistrates; and bonds for good behaviour were imposed upon them, for the violation of which, on account of renewing their assemblies, they were prosecuted as peace-breakers; but that they were abused in the streets, and their own houses could not afford them protection; for, if they were heard praying to God in their families, they were insulted by sounding of horns, beating against their doors, and threats

* Crosby’s History of the Baptists, vol. ii. p. 2—5. † Baxter’s Life, part i. p. 57. ‡ Crosby, vol. ii. p. 9. § His own Life, part ii. p. 206.

that they should be hanged. If they appealed to the magistrates, the rage of their adversaries received a sanction from the odious terms with which those who sat on the bench of justice reviled them. Many of them were indicted at the sessions for not attending on the preaching of the episcopal clergy, and alarmed with a design of levying from every one a penalty of 20*l.* per month.

The petition was graciously received by the king, who promised that he would take particular care that none should trouble them on account of their conscience, in things pertaining to religion; and immediately directed a member of parliament to go to the lord chancellor and secretary, that the proper measures for this end might be taken.

In the same year, another petition and representation of their sufferings was presented by some *baptists*, inhabitants of Kent, and prisoners in the gaol at Maidstone. In this paper they appealed to their "Confession of Faith," as truly representing their principles concerning magistracy and government; and deplored the danger which threatened their lives, and the ruin which hung over their wives and little ones, by the violence exercised against them. For, besides being made prisoners, the houses of some had, without any authority from the executive power, been broken open in the dead of night; and from others their goods and cattle had been taken away and detained.

Great also were the sufferings of those who resided in Gloucestershire. The most eminent Cavaliers rode about armed with swords and pistols, ransacking their houses, and abusing their families in a violent manner. At the house of Mr. *Helme*, at Winchcombe, the bed whereon his children laid was not spared; and their outrageous conduct so frightened his wife as to throw her into an illness which threatened her life. Mr. *Warren*, who possessed the parsonage of Rencome, was with his wife and family penned up into an upper room of his house, and so harassed night and day by the violence of the assailants and the noise of hautboys, that he died in the place. Mr. *Fletcher*, who had been put into a vacant place by authority, was so beat and inhumanly treated by a cavalier of his parish, that he and his family fled for their lives. One pious minister was assaulted as he was entering

tering his pulpit. Another was violently pulled out of his house; his wife, children, and goods, werethrown into the street, none of the parish were allowed to give them entertainment and he himself was haled to gaol.*

It is less surprising, that these people were insulted by the ignorant populace, and were abused by the petty officers of power, when even the legislature marked them as the objects of suspicion, hatred, and severity. For the parliament assembled upon the restoration, when it passed an act for confirming all ministers in the possession of their benefices, how *heterodox* soever they had been, provided they would conform for the future, excepting such as had been of the *baptist* persuasion.†

So far from being encouraged to conform, or being permitted in peace and security to dissent, they were pursued with cruelty. Divers of them were cast into Reading prison, for conscientiously scrupling to take some oaths administered to them. At Newport in Wales, at the end of sermon, two were set upon by soldiers with swords and staves.‡ At London, Dr. *John Griffith* was committed to Newgate, where he lay seventeen months, for no other crime but preaching to a congregation of protestants. In Lincolnshire, Mr. *Thomas Grantham* and some others were taken from their meeting at Boston by some soldiers, and after having been lodged all night in a publick inn, had their rest disturbed, and their minds grieved, by the incessant curses and oaths of their guards; they were, on the next morning, conveyed to the common gaol, and detained there, without so much as the least pretence of any crime laid to their charge, till the assizes, when they were dismissed. At Dover, the magistrates were severe against them, taking them from their meeting-houses, and committing them to prison. After four-and-twenty days they were admitted to bail, and appearing at the assizes were forbidden to assemble any more in their own place of worship, but were allowed the use of one of the churches. This privilege, which they enjoyed about the space of five months, was afterwards denied to them. Upon meeting again in their own place, their worship was disturbed, and twenty-four of them, under different commitments, sent

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 1—30. † Wall's History of Infant Baptism, vol. ii. p. 215. ‡ Crosby, vol. ii. p. 94, 97.

to prison; at the quarter-sessions, a bill of indictment was found against them; some traversed it, others submitted to the court, and the rest were remitted to the prison again.*

A circumstance which much aggravated the proceedings against these people was, that they were not apprehended by the peace-officers only, but by rude, youthful, and mercenary soldiers; who seized them, to the terror of women and children, with musquets and drawn swords, did violence to their persons, and broke their goods.†

In June 1661, one of these military banditties went to a meeting-house in Whitechapel, and laid hands on more than twenty; one of whom refusing to go with them, unless they produced their warrant, they not only pulled him along by force, and beat him about the head with their hangers, but lifting him up between three or four several times, let him fall with violence, and drove his breast and stomach against the rails with such force, that his health was greatly injured by the blows and falls. When a suit was commenced against the actors of this tragedy, the persons, at whose complaint the soldiers were arrested, were themselves arrested, and were sent to Newgate, where they lay about ten or twelve days before they could be bailed, and were held bound from sessions to sessions, for a long time, before they could be discharged.

The persons assembling in the same meeting-house were assaulted by a like body of soldiers, October the 20th, 1661, and one of them, the minister objecting to the authority under which they pretended to act, was by a mittimus, pretending and inserting great matters, cast into Newgate, where he lay *thirty weeks*, without any thing laid to his charge, and then they released him.

On the 3d of November, in the same year, a similar outrage was committed, in the same place, with as little shew or face of law. The preacher and three more were seized, and thrown into New Prison, from which, in time of *sessions*, one was removed to Newgate, under pretence of being brought to his trial; which, however, he could never procure, though he called for it in the face of the *court*, nor was his name returned in the calendar. Yet he was kept in gaol *twelve weeks*, till fetched out by a person in authority.

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 149, 150, 154, 5. † Crosby, vol. ii. p. 161.

He suffered in all eighteen, and the other persons twenty-eight weeks imprisonment.*

In the following year, their religious assemblies, in different parts of the town, met with the like violent interruptions from the soldiery, breaking in with their swords and muskets, and acting under the authority of *John Robinson* the lieutenant of the Tower, as in the former cases. In one instance a child in the cradle was awaked out of its sleep by their violence, and so terrified, that it fell sick, and died in three days. In other instances, the forms and furniture of their places of worship were broken and destroyed. *Robinson*, being told by them that they had broken the pulpit in Brick-lane, replied, "it was well done;" and gave them a piece of gold, as a reward for their good service. In all these, the persons of those assembled were exposed to their indiscriminating rage; neither sex, nor childhood, nor old age, nor women with child, were spared. At one place the mob was let in to act with soldiers, at the direction of *Robinson*. Many of the conscientious sufferers, by illegal commitments, were cast into prison.

Even the walls of the prison did not afford them a secure retreat. In the prison itself they were exposed to outrage and fury. When they have been engaged together in religious conversation and acts of devotion, the felons of the gaol, the thieves and housebreakers, the pickpockets and highwaymen, have been let into their room, have threatened them, violently assaulted, and beaten them.†

But in the country, were usually the greatest injustice and cruelty practised. The gentlemen in the commission of the peace, near Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, distinguished themselves by their virulence in prosecuting the *non-conformists*, and particularly the *baptists*. They filled not the county gaol only with prisoners of this description, but hired large houses in Aylesbury, and converted them into prisons; and not contented with the severities in daily exercise, such as confiscation of goods and imprisonment, they attempted to revive the old practice of punishing *heretics* with banishment and death. They grounded their proceedings on the oppressive act of

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 162—5. † Crosby, vol. ii. p. 172—179.

the 35th of *Elizabeth*, for the punishment of persons obstinately refusing to come to church;* which went to banish them, if, after three months imprisonment, they refused conformity; and if they did not leave the kingdom within a limited time, or should return, to inflict DEATH without benefit of clergy. In 1664, some of these justices proceeded on this act against ten men and two women, all *baptists*, who had been apprehended at their meeting in or near Aylesbury: on these persons, because they refused to conform, and to abjure the realm, sentence of death was passed, and immediately their goods also were seized. The other dissenters, who constituted the majority of inhabitants in the town, alarmed at these proceedings, and anticipating their own doom, shut up their shops: this stop to commerce struck the whole town with horror and surprize. A son of one of the condemned persons immediately took horse for London, and was introduced, by Mr. *William Kiffin*, a gentleman of note amongst the *baptists*, and of interest at court, to chancellor *Hyde*, who was easily engaged to lay the case before the king. His Majesty expressed great surprize, that any of his subjects should be put to death for their religion, and enquired whether any law in force justified such proceedings? Being satisfied on this point, he promised his pardon. But lest any precipitancy in executing the sentence should supersede the benefit of his grace, while the pardon was passing through the usual form, the king, on a renewed application, granted an immediate reprieve. The condemned persons, however, were continued close prisoners till the next assizes, and then the judge brought down his majesty's pardon, and they were all set at liberty.† This would, undoubtedly, check the disposition of the justices to a similar process. But the virtuous sufferers, besides their other calamities, owed their safety to favour instead of law; and appeared under the ignominious character of *pardoned criminals*, when they ought to have enjoyed the security and reputation of peaceable and innocent subjects.

The rage of the people, sanctioned by the conduct of the magistrates and the clergy towards the *baptists*, rose to such a height as to deny them the benefit of the common burying

* See Neal, vol. i. p. 465, of this edition. † Crosby, vol. ii, p. 180-185. places.

places. Nay, there wanted not instances of their being taken out of their graves. The inhabitants of Croft in Lincolnshire treated in this manner the corpse of Mr. *Robert Shalder*, in the year 1666. He had suffered much by imprisonment, and died soon after his release. He was buried amongst his ancestors; and on the same day his grave was opened, and his body taken out, dragged on a sledge to his own gate, and left there.

In the year 1670, the *baptists* of Lewes, and other places in the county of Suffex, suffered in their property by the proceedings of Sir *Thomas Nutt* and other justices, on the conventicle act. They were convicted without being admitted to plead in their own defence. They were fined in an arbitrary manner; and those fines were recovered in a way exceedingly oppressive and injurious, by distress and sale of goods. Where the fines amounted, as levied on various persons, to 5l. there were enacted, by distrains, 29l. 17s. In some instances, four cheefes were seized to recover 10s. five pair of shoes for 5s. a cow for 2l. 15s. and a horse for 5s. Cattle worth 27l. was sold for 14l. 5s. as a distress for 11l. 10s. One person, for a meeting held in his house, was fined 20l. for which were taken from him six cows, two young bullocks, and a horse, his whole stock. On entering an appeal, they were returned to him; but, being cast at the sessions, he was fined 60l. which was at last remitted to 23l. For non-payment of this sum he was committed to the jailor's hands, though the vicar of the parish, touched with remorse for his share in the prosecution, offered his bond to pay the whole fine within a quarter of a year.*

It was remarked by one who had been bound over to several assizes and sessions, for having religious assemblies held at his house, that the justices, who in *criminal* matters were often silent, and generally cool and disposed to lenity; when any person or accusation came before them concerning *dissenters*, were very forward speakers, and zealously aggravated the charge.

But nothing more strongly marked the malignant temper of the times against the *baptists*, than the publication of a pamphlet, in the year 1673, avowedly designed to raise an

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 244—258.

abhorrence of the sect, and to stand “as an eternal memorial of their cruelty and hatred to all orthodox ministers.” It was entitled, “Mr. *Baxter* baptized in blood.” The story it exhibited was, that Mr. *Josiah Baxter*, a godly minister of New-England, for no other reason than because he had worsted the *baptists* in a disputation, had been murdered in his own house, amidst “the howlings, groans, and screechings of his dear relations, lying bound by him;” and it represented this murder as committed with circumstances of peculiar atrocity and cruelty: he being first stripped and severely whipt, and then unbowelled and dead alive. To give it the air of authenticity, the pamphlet was pretended to be published by the mournful brother of the said minister, an inhabitant of Fenchurch-street, London; and it was actually licensed by Dr. *Samuel Parker*. This vile tale had its origin in invention and malice only. For the king’s privy council examined the case, and detected the forgery. It appeared on the oaths of the officers in Fenchurch-street, that no such person as *Benjamin Baxter*, the pretended publisher, had, in their memory, lived there: and on the affidavits of a master of a vessel, and of a merchant who sailed from Boston about twenty days after this murder was said to be committed, it also appeared, that no such fact had taken place, nor had there been such a person as Mr. *Josiah Baxter*. The whole story was pronounced by an order of council “altogether false and fictitious;” and Dr. *Parker* confessed his mistake and credulity in licensing the pamphlet, and acknowledged, by a testimonial under his hand, his conviction that the whole was “both false and groundless. Mr. *Andrew Marvel* not without intimating a suspicion that Dr. *Parker* was concerned in the fabrication, says, that “from beginning to end there never was a completer falsehood invented.”* It grieves and shocks a good mind to think that, in any age or party, men can be found to invent and countenance such groundless and malevolent forgeries.

Besides this general survey of the persecutions to which the *baptists* were exposed throughout the kingdom, it may be proper, briefly, to notice two or three particular cases.—One is that of Mr. *John James*, the minister of a congre-

* Crosby, vol. ii, p. 278—294.

gation of *baptists*, who observed the *seventh* day as a *sabbath*, and assembled in Bullstake-alley. Towards the end of the year 1661, they were interrupted in their worship by a justice and headborough, as Mr. *James* was preaching, whom they commanded in the king's name to be silent and come down, having spoken treason against the king. As Mr. *James* proceeded in his discourse, without noticing this summons, it was repeated, with a threat of pulling him down. On this the disturbance grew so great, that Mr. *James* was obliged to stop; but still refusing to leave the pulpit, he was pulled down, and halled away; and the hearers were carried, by sevens, before the justices sitting at the Half-moon tavern, and those who refused the oath of allegiance were committed to prison. Mr. *James* was examined in the meeting-house; insult and threats accompanied the interrogatories, and he was committed on the charge of speaking *treasonable words* against his majesty. On this charge he was tried, condemned, and executed. Previously to the execution, his wife delivered to the king a petition, stating his innocence, and the character of the witnesses against him, signifying who she was, which the king received with a taunt: "Oh! Mr. *James*! he is a sweet gentleman;" and when she attempted to follow for some further answer, the door was shut against her. On the next morning, she renewed her attendance and suit: and his majesty replied, "that he was a rogue, and should be hanged." A lord in waiting, asking who was meant, the king answered, "Oh, *John James*, that rogue; he shall be hanged; yea, he shall be hanged."*

The celebrated Mr. *Benjamin Keach* had, also, no small share in the sufferings of the times. He was seized, when preaching, and committed to gaol; sometimes bound, sometimes released upon bail, and sometimes his life was threatened. Troopers, who were sent down into Buckinghamshire to suppress the meetings of *dissenters*, entered into an assembly where he was conducting the worship, with great violence, and swearing that they would kill the *preacher*. He was accordingly seized, and four of them declared their resolution to trample him to death with their horses. They

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 165—171.

bound him, laid him on the ground, and were going to spur all their horses at once upon him, when their officer, seeing their design, rode up towards them and prevented its execution. Mr. *Keach* was taken up, tied behind one of the troopers, across his horse, and carried to gaol; where he suffered, some time, great hardships, before he was released.

In the year 1644, Mr. *Keach* printed, at the request of friends, without his name, and with a recommendatory preface by another hand, a little piece entitled “*The Child’s Instructor; or, a new and easy Primmer.*” In this book were advanced several principles contrary to the doctrines and ceremonies of the church of England; viz. That *infants* ought not to be baptized: that *laymen* having abilities may preach the gospel: that *Christ* should reign personally upon the earth in the latter day, &c. Soon after this tract was printed, and Mr. *Keach* had received some copies of it, his house was searched for it, all the copies of it they found, were seized, and he was bound over to the *assizes* in a recognizance of one hundred pounds, and two sureties with him in fifty pounds each. On Oct. 8, Mr. *Keach* was brought to the bar at Aylesbury, where the assizes were held, before lord chief justice *Hide*. The judge not only interrogated him, whether he were the author of the *Primmer*, but, by unjust reflections and angry insults, endeavoured to incense the jury against him, and to render him odious. Mr. *Keach* was refused a copy of his indictment till he had pleaded to it. In the course of the trial, abuse and contempt were cast upon him from the bench. The jury were intimidated, when they hesitated on their verdict. Mr. *Keach* was convicted: and the sentence passed was, that he should be committed to gaol for a fortnight, stand in the pillory for two hours on the following Saturday at Aylesbury, with a paper on his head with this inscription: “for writing, printing, and publishing a schismatical “book, intituled *The Child’s Instructor; or, a new and easie “Primmer:*” that the same punishment, under like circumstances, should be inflicted on him on the next Thursday at Winslow: that there his book should be openly burnt before his face, in disgrace of him and his doctrine: that he should be fined twenty pounds; and that he should remain in *gaol* until he found sureties for his good behaviour

viour and appearance at the next *assizes*; then to renounce his doctrines, and make such publick submission as should be enjoined him. No pardon could be obtained, nor the least relaxation of the sentence, which the sheriff took care should be punctually executed.*

Mr. *Vavasor Powell* might be added to the list of those whose zeal and labours particularly exposed them to persecution. But his sufferings have been already noticed.†

The spirit of persecution thus raged against this people: but not without a mixture of events, which were adapted seriously to affect the minds of their persecutors, and to alarm them to reflection. On the day of the king's proclamation, at Waltham, near Theobalds, there was a man, who at the bonfire, in the evening, expressed a rage against the *dissenters*, and the *baptists* in particular, by violence of language and oaths; and as he threw faggots into the fire, cried, "here is a round-head; here is an anabaptist!" he was struck with death that night, and never saw the morning. A minister at one place, inveighing, in his sermon against this sect, fell into a swoon, and was speechless for two hours, so that it was apprehended that he would never recover out of the fit. At Brockington in Gloucestershire, a young woman, who had bitterly reviled them, giving a sudden shriek, as the preacher was discoursing on *Jude* 14, 15, dropt down in the religious assembly, and never recovered. The sufferings and character of the *dissenters* were made a jest upon the stage at Oxford. In a play acted there, by the *scholars*, one personated the *Old Puritan*; who broke a vein and vomited so much blood, that his immediate death was apprehended, and he lay sometime dangerously ill. Two of the actors, and a woman that joined them in this dramatick exhibition, were cut off by death.‡ Some remarkable calamities befel those who were instruments in the prosecution of Mr. *John James*.§ One of the actors in the rude and unnatural treatment of Mr. *Shalder's* corpse, after it was interred, died suddenly; and another languished for some time, terrified with the remembrance of the insults he had offered to the dead.|| A woman named *Anne Clemens*,

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 185—209. † At the end of chap. viii.

‡ Crosby, vol. ii. p. 30—34. § Ibid. p. 172. || Ibid. p. 241.

at Chipping-Norton, distinguished by her rage and malice against the *dissenters*, fell into such circumstances of poverty, as to be obliged to sell her land, and mortgage her house for near it's worth. Not one of her children, who resided in the neighbourhood, was in a comfortable condition; and she herself was so reduced as to beg alms of those she had hated and persecuted. Her affliction was heightened by a diseased appetite, which called for as much as would satisfy two or three persons; and by a disposition to breed vermin, so that though her clothes were not only washed, but ovened, she could not be kept clean. *Richard Allein*, an active informer, and violent in his conduct towards the *dissenters*, fell into afflictions that shortened his days. His eldest son was killed at London; and about the same time, another was accused and convicted for robbing on the highway, and by great friends and fees escaped with his life. An officer in the county troops of Oxford, with an income of seventy pounds per annum, before he could accomplish his design of suppressing the *dissenters*, sunk in his own estate, died greatly in debt, and his son's children became common beggars. One *Werg*, a forward and active constable, did not long survive the expiration of his office, and imputed his death to watching one cold night to take the dissenters at their meeting. Five persons, who received pensions as spies and informers, were observed not to prosper afterwards, and every one of them shortly died. An *Irish peer*, and three Irish justices of title and rank, bitter persecutors, it was remarked, while they were directing their whole power to the ruin of the *dissenters*, were themselves ruined, their estates were sold, and their families became extinct. Whereas Sir *Littleton Obaldiston*, a justice of peace, who had been heard to rail at the *dissenters*, and acted with others in committing them to prison, afterwards laid aside his enmity, was instrumental in releasing several, and conducted himself in a friendly manner; and it was noticed, that his estate continued to his posterity. And it was remarked, that ——— *Howard*, esq; a justice and officer in the county troops in Oxfordshire, who had from an enemy become a friend to the *dissenters*, though he adhered to the established worship, was the only one of those who had molested and harraressed them that was living on the 30th of December,

ber, 1707, being then an old man, full of days, wealth, and honour.*

It becomes us, I am sensible, to be very cautious, how we construe the events, which are common to all men. "There is usually" (says an excellent writer) "much rashness and presumption in pronouncing, that the calamities of sinners are particular judgments of God; yet if, from sacred and prophane, from antient and modern historians, a collection were made of all the persecuting tyrants, who delighted in tormenting their fellow-creatures, and who died not the common death of all men, nor were visited after the visitation of all men, but whose plagues were horrible and strange, even a sceptic would be moved at the evidence, and would be apt to suspect that it was ΘΕΙΟΝ ΤΙ, that the hand of God was in it."†

But the history, which we are detailing, presents objects to our consideration more pleasing than the sufferings of the persecuted, or calamities that befall persecutors. It records the virtues which the persecuted displayed, and the consolations in which, under their heavy trials, they rejoiced. We see the power of faith and piety, when we hear the *Baptists* confined in Reading gaol declaring, "Our Lord and King, whom we serve, hath brought us under his own pavilion: and his banner over us hath been and still is love, and hath been teaching of us these lessons following. 1st. In the loss of all outward things, having Christ, we enjoy all things, and are satisfied in the Lord: we shall take the spoiling of our goods with far more comfort, than the enemy will do in the spending of them, for that word [Job xx. 22, 23] is very much on our hearts concerning him. 2dly. We hope we have learned, in whatsoever condition we are, to be therewith contented; and are persuaded in our hearts, this is given us in an answer of many prayers breathed forth unto the Lord on our behalfs. 3dly. That whereas formerly we could hardly part with any thing for the Lord, we are now made willing by him, to part with all things for him, and to say with good old *Ely*, "It is the Lord, let him do what he pleaseth;" and that in *Job*, is set

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 259—263.

† Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii. p. 247. 1754.

"before

“ before us for our example, upon whom the ends of the
 “ world are come: *The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh*
 “ *away; blessed be the name of the Lord. In all this Job*
 “ *sinned not, &c.* 4thly. We have since our confinement
 “ tasted a greater sweetness in the promises of the Lord than
 “ formerly; and particularly these places following, we have
 “ sweet experience of, and we can truly say by experience,
 “ *That faithful is he that hath thus promised, for he hath*
 “ *also done it: it is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in*
 “ *our eyes.* Phil. iv. 19. 1 Pet. v. 7. Deut. xxxiii. 25. We
 “ are also brought by the power of his grace to a more
 “ watchful frame over our hearts, thoughts and actions,
 “ by these trials than formerly. One thing had almost
 “ slipped our memory, the knowledge of which will, we
 “ hope, rejoice our hearts; that our relations, that are pre-
 “ cious to the Lord and to us, bear this our suffering with
 “ incomparable patience, rather singing for joy, than weep-
 “ ing for grief. Also our *Societies*, from whence we were
 “ taken, are exceeding cheerful, and a very lively spirit of
 “ faith and prayer is amongst them; and their meetings ra-
 “ ther increase than otherwise. Sure, *That the Lord is*
 “ *near, his wondrous works declare; for the singing of birds*
 “ *is come, and the turtle is heard in our land.* And now,
 “ brethren, forasmuch as the mercies expected and prayed
 “ for by us, are to be enjoyed in the way of righteousness,
 “ it greatly concerns us, that we cry mightily to the Lord,
 “ as did his servant of old. Isai. lxii. 1. Then shall we have
 “ that new name which God will give us, which is expressed
 “ in the last verse of that chapter. Now the God of all
 “ peace fill you with peace and joy in believing; so pray
 “ your brethren through grace.”*

In the spirit of these pious sufferers, one whose property
 was seized, told those who took distress, “ he never sold
 “ any thing to so great advantage, for this would bring him
 “ an hundred-fold.” And another on goods from his shop
 to the value of 50s. being seized for a fine of 30s. assured
 them, “ that he parted as willingly with them as with any
 “ goods he ever sold.”†

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 93, 4, 5.

† Ibid. p. 249.

When Mr. *John James* was brought to the bar to receive sentence, he was asked what he had to say for himself, why sentence of death should not be passed upon him. In a manner very expressive of pious submission and fortitude, he answered: "That he had not much to say, only two or three scriptures he would leave with them." The first scripture was Jer. xxvi. 14, 15. *As for me, do as seemeth good unto you. But know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof.* The second scripture was, Psalm cxvi. 15. *Precious in the sight of the Lord, is the death of his saints.* He also reminded them of that good word of the Lord: *He that toucheth the Lord's people, toucheth the apple of his eye.*

The deportment of Mr. *Keach*, when he stood in the pillory, at Aylesbury, was singularly serious, devout, and undaunted. To his friends, who accompanied him, expressing their sense of his sufferings, he said, with a cheerful countenance, "the cross is the way to the crown." When his head and hands were fixed, he addressed the spectators to this effect: "Good people, I am not ashamed to stand here this day, with this paper on my head. My Lord *Jesus* was not ashamed to suffer on the cross for me, and it is for his cause that I am made a gazing-stock. Take notice, it is not for any wickedness that I stand here; but for writing and publishing his truths, which the Spirit of the Lord hath revealed in the holy scriptures. It is no new thing for the servants of the Lord to suffer and to be made a gazing-stock; and you that are acquainted with the scriptures know, that the way to the crown is by the cross. The apostle saith, *That through many tribulations, we must enter into the kingdom of heaven:* and Christ saith, *He that is ashamed of me and my words, in an adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, before the Father, and before the holy angels.*" After frequent interruptions from the jailor, and standing sometime silent, disengaging one of his hands, he pulled his *bible* out of his pocket, and held it up to the people, saying: "Take notice, that the things which I have written and published, and for which I stand here this day a spectacle to men and angels, are all contained in this book, as I could prove
out

“out of the same, if I had opportunity.” The jailor took it from him, and fastened up his hand again: but it was almost impossible to keep him from speaking; saying, “It seems I cannot be suffered to speak to the cause for which I stand here; neither could I be suffered the other day, (viz. on his trial:) but it will plead its own innocency, when the strongest of its opposers shall be ashamed. I do not speak this out of prejudice to any person, but do sincerely desire, that the Lord would convert them, and convince them of their errors, that their souls may be saved in the day of the lord *Jesus*. Good people, the concernment of souls is very great; so great, that *Christ* died for them. And, truly, a concernment for souls was that which moved me to write and publish those things for which I now suffer, and for which I could suffer far greater things than these. It concerns you, therefore, to be very careful, otherwise it will be very sad with you, at the revelation of the Lord *Jesus* from heaven, for we must all appear before his tribunal.” Here he was interrupted, but, after some time he again ventured to break silence. “I hope, (said he) the Lord’s people will not be discouraged at my sufferings. Oh! did you but experience the great love of God, and the excellencies that are in him, it would make you willing to go through any sufferings for his sake. And I do account this the greatest honour that ever the Lord was pleased to confer upon me.” He was not suffered to speak much more after this, and the officers were commanded to keep the spectators at a greater distance from him. He found an opportunity, however, to say at one time, “This is one *yoke of Christ*, which I can experience *is easy* to me, and a *burthen* which he doth make *light*.” and to utter, also, this sentence, “*Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.*” When the time for his standing was expired, and his head and hands were at liberty, he blessed God, with a loud voice, for his great goodness unto him.*

Such sentiments, such a spirit expressed in the moment of suffering, it may be supposed, would disarm the rage of some, and possess the minds of many in favour of the pious sufferer. But the *baptists* did not leave their principles to the recom-

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 204—208.

recommendation and support, which the conduct and temper of those who, in the profession of them endured cruel trials, might afford. They adopted every method of softening prejudice and conciliating regard, by addresses from the press, and applications to the throne. With this view they published, in 1660, A brief Confession or Declaration, to inform all men of their innocent belief and practice. It was owned and approved by more than twenty thousand. This was presented to his majesty, and met with his approbation. It was reprinted at London, in 1691.* Petitions also, as we have noticed, were, in this year, delivered to the king, representing their pacifick principles, and imploring his protection.† Three persons, of this denomination, about this time, published a declaration of their sentiments concerning opposing magistracy, in which they advanced principles to which the most zealous advocates for passive obedience and non-resistance could not object: professing that in such instances wherein they could not in conscience obey, they ought “not to resist” them, but patiently suffer whatever they should inflict for “non-obedience to their requirements.”‡ The persons who signed this declaration apologize for their paucity, and seemed not pleased with their brethren, because they were not of their judgment on this point. But their difference in opinion from other *baptists* shews, that an uniformity of sentiment concerning the extent of the magistrate’s authority and the right of resistance had no necessary and direct connection with an agreement on the questions concerning baptism. In the year 1661 the hardships, under which many of this profession groaned, again excited to seek mercy from the higher powers. A petition was presented to the king on behalf of themselves and others, from some confined in the prison at Dover, and another to the duke of York; describing their great sufferings, protesting that innocence was found in them, and that against the king and his government they had done no harm, soliciting, with much importunity, to be set at liberty, and that they might not be interrupted in their worship of the God of heaven, as they were taught it in his word, which they prized above all the world; and urging,

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 18; and Appendix, No. iv. † Ibid. p. 19-26.

‡ Crosby, vol. ii. p. 19. Appendix, No. v. p. 93.

that it might be considered, “how disagreeable it is with
 “christianity, to bring tribulation upon any for conscience
 “sake, seeing all things in worship must be done in faith
 “and love.”*

But the application for redress of their grievances, which particularly deserves notice, was an address to the king, parliament and people, in a treatise entitled, “Sion’s groans
 “for her distressed; or, Sober endeavours to prevent innocent blood, &c.” This was not a petition only for *toleration* for themselves, but an able and spirited defence of the rights of conscience. Its design was to prove how contrary to the gospel “of the Lord *Jesus*, and to good reason, it is for
 “any magistrate, by outward force, to impose any thing in the
 “worship of God on the consciences of those whom they govern; but that liberty ought to be given to all such as disturb
 “not the civil peace, though of different persuasions in religious matters.” The question is handled on liberal principles, so with copiousness and strength. The spirit and the reasoning do honour to the people from whom it came; especially, when it is recollected that the assembly at Westminster, and the ministers of London and other parts, had from the pulpit and the press opposed the principles of toleration.

It is argued, that the power of directing conscience by outward force doth not attach itself to the office of magistracy itself, because then all magistrates in all nations have the same power; the *Mahometan* to enforce the reception of the koran, the *Spaniard* to enjoin popery, and every succeeding magistrate to sanction his own religion, to the overthrow of what his predecessor established: because the apostles who command obedience to magistrates, in matters of religion, refused obedience: because all the scriptures of the New Testament, enjoining obedience to magistrates, being written when the emperors were idolators; such injunctions cannot be understood as applying to religion: because, if the commands of the magistrate in religious matters were obligatory, there could be no persecutions, and the way to heaven so far from being straight and narrow, any might be a disciple of *Christ* without *taking up the cross*. And the conduct of *Gallio*, who declined interfering in a matter re-

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 165—160.

lative to God's law, and restrained the exercise of his authority to civil injuries only, is with great propriety appealed to, as a worthy example for the imitation of magistrates.

That the *christian* magistrate, as such, hath no power over conscience, nor authority to impose any thing in religion by outward force, is argued from the conduct of *Christ Jesus*, who never compelled men by force to receive his doctrine; from the conduct of the apostles, and the elders of the primitive church, who disclaimed any such power, 1 Cor. i. 24. Matt. xx. 25. 1 Pet. v. 2, 3. "Why, therefore," (say the authors of this piece) "the christian religion should be
 " built and supported by violence, when the foundation was
 " laid, and the work carried on during all the apostles' days,
 " and some hundred years after, by a quite contrary means,
 " is a question would be resolved by those whose strongest
 " arguments for the support of their religion is, TAKE HIM,
 " JAILOR. For such is the difference between the way
 " which the apostles and primitive saints took, in carrying
 " on the work of the gospel, and approving themselves to be
 " the ministers of God, and the way now used by the *na-*
 " *tional clergy*, than which nothing is more unlike." In the prosecution of their argument, they reason forcibly from the parable of the *tares* and *wheat*, as forbidding any outward force or violence to be used upon false worshippers and hereticks as such. "Hath the magistrate" (it is asked) "power
 " to remove those out of the world, that God would have
 " permitted to live?" The fallibility of the magistrate furnishes another argument against the exercise of his power in religion; a fallibility, which woeful experience hath taught the world in all ages; the magistrate of one country establishing the principles and practices which that of another country condemns and persecutes; nay, the same magistrate, at different periods, reversing his own decrees; and now rejecting what he had just before defended by his pen, or supported by his laws: as was the case of *Henry VIII.* To this fallibility he is equally liable, whether he confide in his own wisdom, or rely on the authority of popes, synods, or general councils. This point is illustrated by various examples. As to national conventions and synods, so far are they from any shew of infallibility, it is justly observed, "that the same
 " com-

“complexion and temper the nation is of, wherein they are
 “called, you shall be sure to find them of; because they
 “have their dependency on the authority that calls them to-
 “gether.” Among other arguments, it is stated, that for
 the magistrate to inflict temporal punishments upon any for
 not conforming to those decrees which enjoin any spiritual
 worship or service, is a breach of the royal law, *What-*
soever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to
them. This is a rule, which all sorts of men, whilst
 under persecution, are ready to receive and plead. Nor
 would they who are forward to persecute, be very zealous
 in their proceedings, if they were sure that those whom
 they persecute should have power on their sides, to “mete
 “the same measure unto them.” It is well observed, that
 such proceedings may sometimes prove inconsistent with
 the very being of nations. “For, suppose any nation
 “were wholly heathen idolaters, and the word of God
 “coming in amongst them, should convert the chief ma-
 “gistrate, and one-twentieth part of the nation more; must
 “he then with that twentieth part destroy all the other nine-
 “teen, if they will not be converted, but continue in their
 “heathenish idolatry. It cannot possibly be supposed to
 “be warrantable. And the reason holds good, likewise,
 “against the rooting up and destroying *hereticks* out of the
 “world.”

These just sentiments are followed by a full answer to the
 argument in favour of the magistrate's power in religious
 matters, drawn from the example of the kings of *Israel* and
Judah. In reply to this, it is observed, that the power of
 those kings to punish idolaters and blasphemers was given
 them by God, and written in plain precepts in the *Mosaical*
 law; but hath the Lord *Jesus* invested magistrates with such
 power; if he have, where is it written? The *Jews*, all the
 time they kept to the law of God, had a standing oracle
 amongst them, the *urim and thummim*, and the councils of
 extraordinary prophets to assist them to judge righteous judg-
 ments. Besides, the gospel is a dispensation far different from
 the law in all its ordinances and administrations, under which
 the lord *Jesus* is the only lawgiver.

Such

Such is the strain of this piece: the importance of the subject, the force of the argument, and the liberality of the spirit, entitle it to particular notice; and will, it is presumed, make this review of it acceptable.* The authors of it, whose names are subscribed to the prefatory epistle, were *Thomas Monck, Joseph Wright, George Hammon, William Jeffery, Francis Stanley, William Reynolds, and Francis Smith*. While they earnestly recommend their treatise to deliberate and serious perusal, our design, they say, “in what we beg “may be perused, is *general good*, in setting at liberty that “which God made free, even the conscience.”

The only particulars I can find concerning these able advocates for liberty are, that Mr. *Wright*, born in 1623, was a physician: he was educated at the university, and was a man of great learning and piety; a serious and diligent preacher, and greatly promoted the cause of the *baptists*. He was confined twenty years in the gaol at Maidstone; in this town he died, aged eighty, in 1703.† Mr. *George Hammon*, eminent for the ardour and freedom with which he vindicated what he judged to be truth, on all occasions, and very much persecuted on that account, was pastor of a congregation at Biddenden in Kent; and died at Haseldens-wood, in the parish of Cranbrook.‡ Mr. *William Jeffery*, born in 1616, of pious parents, in the parish of Penhurst, lived at Bradbourn, in Sevenoaks, Kent; where he and his brother were the great supporters, if not the founders of a meeting. By his diligence, and that of several others, more than twenty congregations were formed in that county, on the principles laid down in Heb. vi. 1, 2, without entering on speculative and controverted points. As he was vigorous, unwearied, and successful in his labours, so with great patience and pleasure he suffered much for his principles; these he also often defended in publick disputations. He was much valued for his steady piety and universal virtue, and died in a good old age.§ His son succeeded him in his church. Mr. *Francis Stanley* was a man noted for his zeal and piety, and was imprisoned for preaching in the gaol of Northampton. He bore his suf-

* Mr. Crosby has preserved it entire in his History, vol. ii. p. 100—144.

† Crosby, vol. iii. p. 116. ‡ Ibid. p. 103. § Ibid. p. 97, 8.

ferings like a christian, and died about the year 1696. He was a native of Northamptonshire, and was buried at East-Haddon, in that county.* Of the other persons Mr. Crosby gives no particular account.

In the same year, in which appeared the piece on Toleration, there were published a small piece, entitled “A Complaint of the Oppressed against Oppressors; or, the unjust and arbitrary proceedings of some soldiers and justices, against some sober, godly persons, in and near London, who now lie in stinking gaols, for the testimony of a good conscience; with some reasons why they cannot swear allegiance to obtain their liberty:” and a tract, entitled “A Plea for Toleration of Opinions and Persuasions in matters of Religion, differing from the Church of England: humbly presented to the King’s most excellent majesty. By Mr. JOHN STURGEON, a baptist.” The former was written by Dr. John Griffith, a worthy man, who suffered a long imprisonment in Newgate for non-conformity. Each piece was an affecting remonstrance on the unjust proceedings, by which many pious and innocent persons, of unblemished characters, in London, and in almost all the counties of England, were suffering; being taken out of their beds at midnight by soldiers, acting without warrant, and with drawn swords, to the great terror of their wives and children; and being thrust into prisons, in such crowds that the jailors complained they had too many guests; and detained there to the ruin of their families.†

Mr. James Atkins, one of those who were harassed by the magistrates of Dover, on his own behalf, and in the cause of his fellow-sufferers, addressed a letter to the mayor and justices of that town, under the name of “a poor subject;” acknowledging a submission to the civil magistrate, except in what concerned the worship of God, and intreating in the bowels of love a consideration of the evil of restraining their liberty.‡

In the year 1662, there came from the press a small pamphlet, entitled “Behold a Cry; or, a true relation of the

* Crosby, p. 127. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 144—148. and vol. iii. p. 120.

‡ Crosby, vol. ii. p. 151, 152.

“inhuman and violent outrages of divers soldiers, constables
“and others, practised upon many of the Lord’s people,
“commonly, though falsely, called *Anabaptists*, at their se-
“veral meetings in and about London.”

An incident, which took place in Lincolnshire in 1670, called forth a vindication of their principles from this denomination in a different form from the preceding publications. Mr. *Robert Wright*, who had been a preacher amongst them, but was on account of his irregular life and conversation excluded their society, having spent his estate, applied to Dr. *William Fuller*, the bishop of that diocese, for orders and a benefice; promising to renounce his sentiments concerning baptism, and to preach against the *Baptists*. The bishop accepted his offer, he was admitted in the ministry of the church of England, and preached in support of the baptism of infants, in opposition to that of believers, with great ardour and confidence. This excited great attention, the minds of many were much impressed by it, and it was supposed that most, if not all the ministers of the *baptist* churches would be easily confuted. They, in their own vindication, at the assizes, posted up, in different parts of the city of Lincoln, four papers, addressed to the citizens and inhabitants, inviting Mr. *Wright* to a friendly conference, and offering to maintain the doctrine and baptism of repentance to be from heaven, and the sprinkling and crossing of infants to be man’s tradition. They were dated the 11th day of the first month, (vulg.) *March*, 1670. Two of them were taken down in the morning, and were, it was supposed, carried to the bishop and the judge. The other two were permitted to remain till the afternoon, and were read by many, till they were removed by the clergy, who threatened the writers of them should answer for it before the council-table. But though the bishop, it was well known, was not a little moved by these proceedings of the *baptists*, no other step was taken on the occasion, than sending to them an angry paper, drawn up by Mr. *William Silvertown*, the bishop’s chaplain, who called them *erroneous antick baptists*. To this paper Mr. *Grantham* replied, promising Mr. *Silvertown* either to hear and discuss his arguments in a free audience, if he would fix a convenient time and place for the
the

the purpose; or to reply to him, if he would defend his sentiments from the press. Here the matter ended, as Mr. *Silverton* saw fit to be silent.*

The only publication, which remains to be noticed in this period, was, “A narrative of the late proceedings of some justices and others, pretending to put in execution the late act against conventicles; against several peaceable people in and about the town of Lewes in Suffex, only for their being quietly met to worship God: together with a brief account of the like proceedings against some at Brighthelmstone, and others at Chillington, in the same county.” This professed to be a *faithful Narrative*, published with a view to encourage others to suffer the spoiling of their goods by the example of many, who endured it with patience and joyfulness; and with the hope, that by it the harsh proceedings against a *peaceable people*, might come to the knowledge of some in authority, who, out of pity to the distressed, and justice to their righteous cause, would redress their grievances.† Such narratives were, indeed, well adapted to each purpose, and were an affecting appeal to the sense of humanity and equity.

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 241—244. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 245, 6.



SECT. II.

The History of the Quakers.

THE society of those called QUAKERS considered the restoration of *Charles II.* as a signal instance of the interposition of Providence, to restore peace and order to a distracted nation: and soon after he was placed on the throne, Mr. *Richard Huberthorne* obtained access to the king, and stated the excessive sufferings which his friends had sustained, and under which they were still smarting. The king entered into free conversation with him on the principles of the Quakers, and promised them his protection: saying, "Of this you may be assured, that you shall none of you suffer for your opinions or religion, so long as you live peaceably, and you have the word of a king for it; and I have also given forth a declaration to the same purpose, that none shall wrong you or abuse you."*

This assurance raised in their minds the encouraging expectation of not being molested in their religious worship and profession. Better times than they had hitherto experienced appeared to be opening upon them. Their meetings were large and quiet. Numbers, drawn by curiosity, or better motives, flocked to them, and embraced their sentiments: but this calm was of no long duration: and they soon found, that *the word of a king* could be a delusive ground of dependence. *Venner's* insurrection brought on them new and severe persecution; though they were, by the dying testimony of the sufferers at their execution, exculpated from all knowledge of the design. Their meetings were broken up by soldiers. Their persons were abused by the populace. Their houses were ransacked. They were forced from their employments, and cast into gaols among felons, who rifled

* Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 440.

them of their money and clothes. And even the sick were dragged out of their beds to prisons; one of whom, Mr. *Patchen*, a man of considerable estate, being in a fever, died there.*

This persecution was not confined to the city of London, but spread with similar violence over all or most parts of the nation. They were, without conviction, without crimination, without any legal cause, violently haled to prison, and crowded together in close, damp, or unwholesome rooms, by such numbers, as almost to the danger of suffocation. In Bristol, near one hundred and ninety were imprisoned. In Lancaster were two hundred and seventy prisoners: in Westmoreland, one hundred and sixteen: in the West-riding of Yorkshire were not fewer than two hundred and twenty-nine; and the number in the North-riding amounted to an hundred and twenty-six. And the treatment which they received in prison was generally as cruel as the commitment was unjust.†

When the members of this society had cleared themselves from the imputation of being parties in *Venner's* insurrection, they were proceeded against on new grounds; and old laws, made in the reigns of *Henry VIII.* and queen *Elizabeth*, were revived and made rules for proceeding against them; namely, the laws against the subtraction of tythes, and neglecting to resort to the parish church, or some other, on every Sunday or holyday. They were also prosecuted on an act made in the beginning of queen *Elizabeth's* reign, for administering the oath of supremacy, and on one of the third of *James*, enjoining the oath of allegiance. When there remained no shadow of reason to detain those whom they had imprisoned on account of the rising of the fifth-monarchy men, it was an usual method with the magistrates to tender them the oath of allegiance, which they knew they would not take, that their refusal might be a pretext for still holding them in confinement: though their demeanour was peaceable and unresisting, and by the most explicit declarations they solemnly expressed and pledged their allegiance.‡ By

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 441, 445. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 446—451.

‡ Ibid. p. 457—466.

the misapplication of the law of *James*, many of them suffered the loss of personal liberty, and of all their substance, and were exposed to very hard and illicit treatment. The case of *Thomas Goodyear* and *Benjamin Staples*, at the quarter-sessions at Oxford, is a striking instance of this. *Thomas Goodyear*, after receiving the sentence of *præmunire*, was brought into court, like a common malefactor, with bolts on his legs, and on asking, "whether the jailor had orders to fetter him?" he was answered, "The jailor may do as he will with you, for you are out of the king's protection." This man, encouraged by the example of his superior, when he brought them back to the prison, told the other prisoners, "that if they wanted clothes, they might take theirs off their backs, for they can have no law against you." But one of the prisoners humanely answered, *he would rather go naked, than strip honest men of their clothes, who were stripped of all they had beside.**

It is but candid, however, to remark that, though the justices and inferior magistrates, from their bitterness against the non-conformists, were disposed, in some cases, to put the 35th of *Elizabeth* in full force, yet the instances of enforcing this law, through the intervention of higher authority, were not many, nor equally encouraged with other modes of prosecution; as the full enforcing thereof must have terminated in publick executions.†

But notwithstanding this instance of moderation, violent prejudices against the *Quakers* were so universal, that they were left unmolested in few, or no parts of the kingdom. In 1662, Mr. *George Fox* represented to the king, that since his restoration three thousand and sixty-eight of their friends had been imprisoned. A narrative signed by twelve witnesses, attested that four thousand two hundred of those called *Quakers*, both men and women, were in prison. No age or sex found commiseration. Men of seventy, or more years old, were subjected to all the rigours of a goal. In London and its suburbs, five hundred were, at this time, confined; suffering every severity, their trades ruined, and their families exposed to ruin. The treatment of this people, even in this city, resembled the French dragoonings of the

* Gough's History. vol. i. p. 531, 32. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 537.

Hugonots, rather than the condition of those who were entitled to the privileges of a constitution limited to legal rule. They were beaten with cudgels, cut with swords, and dragged into the streets; there they lay in the kennels, senseless and helpless, besmeared with their blood: and the passengers and spectators, moved by the sight of their condition, would sometimes cry out shame upon the perpetrators, that such a resemblance of massacre should be committed in the streets of London. Some, for these expressions of compassion, had their share of the like treatment. The soldiers being asked, why they could be so cruel to their neighbours? one of them answered, "Nay, we are more merciful than we ought to be, for we have orders to kill; and that his musquet was double charged, as most of those of the party were to his knowledge." Through this treatment, some who were haled out of the meeting at Bull-and-Mouth, 31st August, 1662, were so disabled as to keep their beds for some time: one was so wounded in the head that his brains were visible, and one died of the bruises and wounds he received. The coroner's jury, which was impanelled to view the body, broke up without giving a verdict; alledging as their reason, that if they pronounced it wilful murder, and the perpetrator could not be found, the city would be liable to a fine. The king, when an account of these barbarous transactions was presented to him by one of the society, said, "I assure you, it was not by my advice, that any of your friends should be slain; you must tell the magistrates of the city of it, and prosecute the law against them." The mayor was, by letter, duly apprized of these proceedings, but afforded no redress. The letter, accompanied by a narrative, was printed and published; for which the author was committed to Newgate by Sir *Richard Brown*, the mayor, on the charge of dispersing scandalous papers.*

After the murder, we have mentioned, the meetings in the city were generally undisturbed for six weeks; then similar practices of injustice and cruelty were renewed, under the sanction of the magistrates, and continued nearly to the end of the year 1662. By this time no less than twenty persons had

* Gough, vol. 1. p. 538—546.

died prisoners in Newgate, and seven more by sickness contracted there soon after their discharge.*

The king's declaration of indulgence retarded, in 1663, the furious career of the persecuting magistrates; and few instances of sufferings in the metropolis occur in this year, compared with the preceding. Yet the quakers did not remain quite unmolested; for Sir *John Robinson*, who preceded Sir *R. Brown* in the mayoralty, ordered a guard to be placed at the entrance of the Bull-and-Mouth meeting-house, to prevent any persons from entering into it. The meetings on this were held in the streets; but those who preached or prayed were generally haled away to prison, and blows were unmercifully dealt on the heads both of men and women, who did not disperse at the command of the mayor and his officers. In this year there was also a severe persecution of this people at Colchester in Essex. Their meetings were interrupted by acts of violence: and many were disabled and bruised, and the lives of others were brought into great danger by blows with clubs, carbines and swords. One of them, when a trooper was beating him with a sword, and the blade fell out of the hilt, took it and gave it to him, saying, "I will give it thee up again; I desire the Lord may not lay this day's work to thy charge."†

The operation of the conventicle act, passed in 1664, though levelled at every body of dissenters, fell with peculiar weight on the *quakers*; numbers of them, and of them only, were condemned to transportation upon this act; and the proceedings against them were conducted with peculiar and hostile precipitancy. For, "as the penalty for the first offence was imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, and for the second not exceeding six, at the arbitrary discretion of two justices;" it was usual for these justices to commit them for a few days for the first and second offences, not out of tenderness, but in order to subject them more speedily to the penalty of transportation for the third offence. For, from their long approved constancy, they promised themselves an assurance of finding them again at their religious assemblies, as soon as at liberty.‡ The privileges

* Gough's History, vol. ii. p. 1, 2. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 21—24,

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 112, 116.

of the subject were held, at this time, by so precarious a tenure, that the history of this society furnishes instances of the judges refusing to accept the verdict of the grand jury, when they have returned the bill *ignoramus*; and of his sending them out again with menaces and fresh instructions.* The evidence produced against them, on their trial, was sometimes so insufficient, that the jury remonstrated against it, and intreated not to be troubled any more with such evidence. When neither persuasions nor menaces could induce a jury to alter their verdict to the dictates of the court, some of them were bound in 100l. each to appear at the king's-bench-bar the first day of the following term.†

The awful visitation of Providence, by a destructive pestilence, in 1665, had no effect in softening the enmity of their persecutors. Persecution continued, and the meetings were disturbed as before. Many who were cast into the filthy holes of Newgate were released by this disease, which had infected the jails, from a life worse than death. "But," says my author, "what must fix an indelible stamp of utter insensibility to every motive of humanity, of civility, or common decency, on the characters of the magistrates, to the disgrace of the government, and of that church with which they were so zealous to enforce conformity, was, that during the very height of the contagion, they continued to crowd the infected prisons with fresh prisoners."‡

In 1668 the *quakers* were not, in comparison with former years, much disturbed by the civil power; their sufferings were mostly by excommunications, imprisonments, and discontents, for their conscientious scruples against paying ecclesiastical demands, several of which, however, were unreasonably severe.

The third act against conventicles, which was carried into a law in 1670, opened new scenes of persecution, in which the *quakers* had their peculiar share. Many were cruelly spoiled of their property; people of considerable substance were reduced to extreme poverty; and the sick had their beds taken from under them, and were reduced to lie on the floor. When the sufferers, according to the privilege al-

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 117, 118. † Ibid. p. 128, 129. ‡ Ibid. p. 139, 140.

lowed by the act, appealed against the heavy fines and the exorbitant distrains, they generally obtained little by the appeal but additional loss. The influence of the convicting justice, the partiality of the bench, corrupt juries, or a neglect in putting into due execution the decrees of the quarter-sessions, to which they appealed, left them unredressed. A misconstruction of the word *conventicles*, which the act limited to meetings for religious worship, contrary to the liturgy of the church of England, often exposed them to illegal fines; for, if they met merely to provide for their poor, or visited a sick friend, or attended the funerals of the deceased, there were not wanting informers hardy enough to swear such meetings conventicles, nor justices prejudiced against them to issue their warrants to levy the fines accordingly; of which Mr. *Gough* gives various instances.* The penalty on the preacher being 20*l.* for the first offence, and 40*l.* for the second, the desire of gain often tempted the unprincipled informer to swear against a preacher, when there was not a word spoken in the meeting. At other times, a word spoken, though not on subjects of religion, was termed preaching; and an answer to an impertinent question, extorted from some one or other present, bore the same construction. The magistrates were as ready to fine as the informer to swear; and, by this iniquitous combination, the innocent were robbed under the cover of an act of parliament.† It is a pleasure to find, and truth requires one to add, that some justices, apprized of the villainy of the informers, had too much honour to encourage their vicious disposition to plunder without mercy, and to swear without scruple. The lord-mayor of London, in particular, sitting in a court of aldermen, in the year 1670, when an informer made his appearance with such a number of informations as would have wronged the accused of 1500*l.* with abhorrence broke up the court.‡ This year affords another peculiar instance of the illegal proceedings, by which this society were harassed; which, notwithstanding the king's repeated professions of favour towards them, originated with the court. On the 29th of July an order was issued, by the king and council, for demolishing the meeting-house at Horshly-down, Southwark.

* History, vol. ii. p. 305—316. † Ibid. p. 316—318. ‡ Ibid.

It was grounded on a pretence that the persons who assembled in it behaved in a riotous and tumultuous manner, than which charge nothing could be more repugnant to their avowed principles and uniform manners. The pulling down of the building was, by exprefs command, committed to *Christopher Wren*, esq; the surveyor-general of his majesty's works. After this order was affixed to the meeting-house, the members of the society continued their assemblies in it, till it was demolished; they then met upon the rubbish. By this they exposed themselves to repeated outrages and cruel abuses from the military, into whose hands was put the despotick treatment of this assembly, and who, at one assault, sorely bruised and wounded twenty, at a second thirty, and at a third more than fifty persons. When the soldiers were reprehended for their cruelty; some of them answered, "If you knew what orders we have, you would say we dealt mercifully with you." Others, being asked how can you deal thus with a people that have love and good-will to all men, and make no resistance or opposition, replied; "We had rather, and it would be better for us, if they did resist and oppose." This was looked upon by the sufferers, as if they sought occasion to embrue their hands more deeply in blood, and take the lives and estates of honest people for their prey. At length these military violations of the peace of the city roused the civil officers to interpose their authority; but it was too weak to protect this unarmed body against the number of armed men let loose upon them. These proceedings of the soldiers having been represented to the king and council, a temporary cessation of these cruelties was procured, but they were not wholly discontinued. A building at Ratcliffe, belonging to this society, was subjected to the like violence with that at Horshy-down, and on the 2d of September, without any legal process, was demolished. On that day and the night following, twelve cart-loads of doors, windows, and floors, with other materials, were carried away. Some of the materials were sold on the spot for money and strong drink. Thus grievous sufferings, exorbitant spoil, and illegal depredation, were the lot of an inoffensive and peaceable class of subjects. These evils were

were inflicted by those whose duty it was to protect the rights and property of the subject, even by officers under government.*

While these calamities awaited the general body of this people, on account of their conscientious profession; it is to be supposed, that the more active and distinguished members of the society were peculiar marks for prejudice and malignity. Of this the history of the *quakers* furnishes many examples, which we must not pass over unnoticed, though our limits will not allow us to go into a minute detail of each case.

George Fox, eminent for his activity and zeal in disseminating his principles, was among the first, who, after the restoration of *Charles II.* and for some years, felt the rage of bigotry. In 1660 he was apprehended by a warrant from Mr. *Henry Porter*, the mayor of Lancaster, at the house of *Margaret Fell*, at Swaithmore, and carried to Ulverston, where he was guarded for the night by fifteen or sixteen men, some of whom kept sentry at the chimney, for fear he should escape by that passage; "so darkened," observes the historian, "were they by superstitious imaginations." Next morning he was escorted, with abusive and contumelious treatment, to Lancaster, and brought before the mayor, who committed him to prison; refused bail; and denied him a copy of the mittimus. Two friends having, however, been permitted to read it, he published an immediate reply to the charges, which they reported to him it contained. Application was made to the king for an *habeas corpus* to remove him to London, and was obtained. In consequence of this writ, though his persecutors, for two months, obstructed the operation of it, he presented himself in the court of king's-bench; the justices, being dispassionate and favourable, caused the sheriff's return of the *habeas corpus* to be laid before the king, who, when *Fox* had suffered for more than twenty weeks an unjust and severe imprisonment, gave directions for his release. His enemies, on his obtaining his liberty, were filled with vexation and fear, as they were conscious of the illegality of their proceedings; and he was advised, by some in authority, to make the mayor and the rest examples; but he meekly replied, "I shall leave them to the

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 341—352.

" Lord;

“ Lord; if he forgive them, I shall trouble myself no farther about them.”*

On occasion of rumours of a conspiracy set on foot in the North among the Republicans and Separatists, warrants were again issued out, in 1663, to apprehend *George Fox*; as he was on his tour through the Northern counties, he was not met with; but at length, finding that they continued their pursuit, he resolved to stand his ground, and was apprehended; when no evidence could be produced to justify committing him on the pretended plot, the justices contented themselves with his engaging to appear at the sessions: he appeared at it, but finding no grounds to effect their purpose, either upon the plot, or the act against meetings, they committed him (for refusing the oath of allegiance) to a very incommodious room in Lancaster castle, where he was kept close prisoner till after the spring assizes 1665; after that he was removed to Scarborough castle, where he was detained upwards of a year longer; when finding means to have his case laid before the king, he soon after obtained his release, having suffered an arbitrary and very rigorous imprisonment of more than three years.† At Lancaster, he was locked up in a smoaky tower, sometimes so filled with smoak that a burning candle was scarcely visible,‡ and so open as to admit the rain in upon his bed. The room allotted to him in Scarborough Castle was little better, if not worse; and when, at his own expence, he had made it tolerable, he was removed into another room, without chimney or fire-place, and so open to the sea-side, that the rain, violently driven by the wind, poured into the room. A sentinel was placed at his door; few or none of his friends were permitted to visit him, or even to bring him food; but numbers of others were admitted in to gaze upon him, or dispute with him.§ His removal from one prison to another, when he was in a very weak condition, was attended with a treatment in many respects uncivil and rude. To the rigour and hardships of his imprisonment were added, to terrify him, the frequent menaces of his keepers. The deputy governor once told

* Gough's History, vol. i. p. 432—439.

† Gough, vol. ii. p. 25—29. ‡ Ibid. p. 29. § Ibid. p. 152, 3.
him,

him, "That the king, knowing he had a great interest in
 "the people, had sent him thither, that if there should be
 "any stirring in the nation, they should hang him over the
 "wall." He replied to this menace, "If that was what
 "they desired, and it was permitted them, he was ready,
 "for he never feared death or sufferings in his life; but was
 "known to be an innocent, peaceable man, free from stir-
 "rings and plottings, and one that sought the good of all
 "men." His patience surmounted the hardships to which
 he was exposed; and his innocence pleading in his favour,
 his keepers at length relaxed their severity, and treated him
 with favour and respect. When, on obtaining his release,
 Mr. *Fox* offered an acknowledgment for his late civility and
 kindness to the governor of Scarborough castle, he refused
 it; adding, "whatever good he could do him or his friends,
 "he would do it, and never do them any hurt." His con-
 sequent conduct made good this promise, for it was ever fa-
 vourable to the quakers.*

Mrs. *Margaret Fell*, who had been a widow about two
 years, in 1660 was, in a degree, involved in the severe pro-
 ceedings against *Fox*; for, that they might lay hold of him,
 they forcibly entered and searched her house; of this she
 complained in an appeal to the public, as an injury offered
 to herself, and a violation of the liberty of the subject.† In
 the year 1663 this lady, the widow of a judge and a woman
 of estate, was cited before the justices, and questioned about
 keeping meetings at her house, and the oath of allegiance
 was tendered to her; on which she expostulated with them,
 that as "they knew she could not swear, why should they
 "send for her from her own house and her lawful affairs to
 "ensnare her?" Adding, "what have I done?" This
 remonstrance, for the instant, impressed their minds, and
 they declared they would not urge the oath, if she would
 not keep meetings at her house.‡ To this proposal she mag-
 nanimously replied, "she would not deny her faith and prin-
 "ciples for any thing they could do against her, and while

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 150—156. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 435, 6.

‡ Mr. Gough properly remarks on this proposal, that it was a plain
 confession, that the tender of the oath was a mere pretext to be vexatious to
 the subject, an arbitrary measure assumed for the mere purpose of persecution.
 "it

“ it should please the Lord to let her have a house, she would endeavour to worship him in it.” On this the oath was tendered, and on her refusal, she was committed to Lancaster castle, a prison then crowded with numbers of the same profession, and the state of which heightened the evil of confinement. Here she was detained till next year.*

When, in the month of August, she was, at the assizes, brought to her trial on the same account, she persevered in refusing the oath, and answered the judge with good sense and pious intrepidity. Her counsel was admitted to plead an arrest of judgment, after the jury gave a verdict against her, and found several errors in the indictment, but they were not admitted by the judge, and sentence of præmunire was passed upon her. She remained in prison twenty months, before she could obtain liberty to go to her own house, which she procured for a little time, and returned to prison again, where she continued about four years, till released by an order of the king and council.†

Another of the society of quakers, whose sufferings are recorded in a distinct narrative, was their noted preacher, Mr. *Francis Howgill*. This respectable man, as he was in the market-place at Kendal, on his lawful business, was summoned before the magistrates then sitting in a tavern; who tendered him the oath of allegiance, and, on his conscientious refusal of it, committed him to prison till the next month. At the spring assizes of 1663, the oath was again administered unto him, and on his refusal, an indictment was drawn up against him, which he traversed. A bond for his good behaviour till his trial came on, being required of him, he suffered himself to be recommitted to prison, rather than give it, as he apprehended it would be a tacit acknowledgement of past ill-behaviour, and his attendance at meetings in the mean time, which a sense of duty would not suffer him to neglect, would be interpreted as a breach of his engagement.‡ As he was going to the prison he turned to the people, and uttered this devout wish, “ the fear of God be among you all.” And the people generally appeared very affectionate to him, and pitied his hard circumstance;§ while

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 29. &c. † Ibid. p. 92—96. ‡ Ibid. p. 31, 32.

§ Ibid. p. 100.

the justices of Westmoreland endeavoured to prepossess the judge and court against him by invidious reflections on him and the society, and by the weight of their united influence and enmity.

At the summer assizes he was again brought to the bar. Modesty, equanimity, good sense, sober reasoning, and deep impressions of religion, marked his conduct at both assizes, and appear to have softened the sternness of his judges. The sentence which confiscated his lands to the king during his life, and his goods and chattels for ever, and consigned him to prison for the rest of his days, was, however, passed upon him; the judge, it was observed, pronounced it with a faint and low voice, as if he was sensible that this man was greatly wronged, and that himself did not entirely approve of the sentence he was passing.* “In mistaken zeal for religion,” our historian remarks, “the plainest rules of morality are violated, and in forcing uniformity in essential points, the substantial parts, mercy, justice, and truth, are obliterated.”

The case of *Hannah Trigg*, on account of the singular severity of it, deserves particular mention. She was one of twelve quakers who received sentence of transportation, being tried and convicted on a bill of indictment preferred against them for the third offence. The circumstance, which particularly marked the tyranny and illegality of the treatment of this young woman, was, that she was not sixteen years of age, and the certificate of her birth was arbitrarily rejected by the justices. After sentence she sickened in Newgate, and died there. The unfeeling inhumanity, which was insatiate with her life, was extended to her corps. Her relations were deprived of the consolation of interring her as they desired, but she was carried to the burying-place of the felons; and when the bearers came to the ground, finding no grave made, they left the corps unburied, saying they would make a grave next morning. The girl's mother attending the funeral, had the grief and anguish to behold this treatment of her daughter's remains in silent sorrow, without the power of remedy.†

* Gough, p. 108.

† Ibid. p. 127.

The sufferings also of *Joseph Fuce*, a man of patient and meek spirit, and very laborious as a preacher, who died in the White-Lyon prison in Southwark in 1665, should not pass unnoticed. In 1660, being at a meeting at Deal, he, with twenty-three others, was seized by several armed men, and being committed to Sandown Castle, they were kept there several nights and days, their friends not being allowed to bring them either food to eat or straw to lie on. He and another were afterwards removed to Dover castle, and with five others of their friends were locked up in one room, from which they were permitted no egress, not even for the necessities of nature, nor were their friends allowed any access to them; and the servant of the marshal, for shewing them some little favour, was dismissed from his place. *Joseph Fuce* remonstrating, when an opportunity offered, on the cruel usage they received, was answered with a volley of oaths and execrations. His pious ears being wounded with this profaneness, he bore his testimony against it by a serious reproof. The marshal at this, exasperated to rage, caused him to be dragged headlong down several stone-steps into a dungeon, overrun with filth and with vermin, into which no light or air could enter, but by some holes cut in the door. He was kept there two days and two nights, without fire, candle, straw, or any thing to lie on but an old blanket. When he had obtained some straw, for want of air, through the damp and stench of his dismal lodging, he fell sick; and after nine days confinement, as he seemed at the point of death, the fear of being questioned for murdering him, moved the marshal to remove him, and to permit him to return to his fellow-prisoners, with whom he continued several months till released by the king's proclamation.*

Neither the calamities to which the society of quakers were exposed, nor the sufferings which with peculiar severity were felt by some of its most eminent and worthy members, could damp the ardour of their zeal in defending their cause and disseminating their principles, but served to call forth their vigorous exertions. *Margaret Fell*, on the apprehension of *George Fox*, published a brief narrative of that

* Gough, p. 143—145.

violent

violent proceeding, and took a journey to London to lay the case before the king, requesting his favourable interposition, "to cause him to be removed to London, and hear his cause himself:" in which suit she was heard.* When, in consequence of the insurrection of the fifth-monarchy men, many of the QUAKERS, without crimination, without conviction, were violently haled to prison, in addition to the endeavours used for their relief, by publishing and presenting to the king, a declaration from that people against all sedition, plotters, fighters, &c. the same lady several times waited personally upon the king to solicit his indulgence and protection for them: at her first admission she signified to him, "they were an innocent, peaceable people, who did no injury, and administered no occasion of offence, except in keeping up their religious meetings, for no other purpose than worshipping God in that way, they were persuaded was most acceptable to him, and edifying one another in his fear; which being to them a conscientious matter of duty to God, they could not violate it, in compliance with the ordinances or laws of man, whatever they suffered." In consequence of her applications and the declaration above-mentioned, the king sent out a proclamation, "forbidding soldiers to search any house without a constable." At length he was prevailed upon to issue out a declaration, ordering "the quakers to be set at liberty without paying the fees."† *Burrough*, *Hubberthorn*, and *Whitehead*, among others, were active advocates for their suffering brethren. They attended parliament to solicit against the bill, brought in in 1661, passing into an act. *Burrough* presented to the king and council in the same year a paper, entitled, "A just and righteous Plea," representing their sentiments respecting oaths, and their established religious principle, "to enter into no plots, combinations or rebellion, against government; nor to seek deliverance from injustice or oppression by any such means." In this he was seconded by *Hubberthorn* and *Whitehead*, who with ability and spirit entered into a vindication of the religious meetings of their society.‡ Two letters, about this time, were addressed to the king, remonstrating on the counte-

* Gough, vol. i. p. 435—37. † Ibid. p. 455, 56. ‡ Ibid. p. 500—505.
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nance given to profane shows and sports, and the encouragement afforded to persecutors, and boldly reproving his majesty for his personal conduct. The one was written by *George Fox* the elder, so called for distinction, as the elder brother of the society, the other was drawn up by *George Fox* the younger. They afford a specimen, as the historian observes, “of the honest plain-dealing of men, who, with *Elibu*, knew not to flatter, lest in so doing their Maker should take them away.” When the last of the two letters was delivered to the king, he seemed considerably affected with the contents. His brother, the duke of *York*, whose temper was more gloomy, reserved, and vindictive, being greatly exasperated with the writer, advised the king to punish him; but, with much propriety, he replied, “It were better for us to *mend our lives*.”* These epistles of the *Fox*’s, however, left no permanent impression on the royal mind. In the year 1662, the universal rage against the peaceable society of the *Quakers* left them unmolested in few or no parts of the nation. On this *George Fox* again addressed the king on behalf of the suffering friends, and stated, that since his restoration three thousand and sixty-eight had been imprisoned, and a narrative signed by twelve witnesses was printed, which represented that the number of men and women then in prison amounted to upwards of four thousand and two hundred. Humanity revolts at the circumstances of cruelty with which the members of this society were treated at this time; when their meetings were broken up by men with clubs, they themselves were thrown into the water, and trampled under foot till the blood gushed out.† Among other endeavours that *George Fox* used to remove suspicion and soften enmity, was a paper, which he wrote in 1663, as a testimony against all plots and conspiracies whatever; to admonish his friends to circumspection in their words and actions, and not to meddle in any civil commotions: copies of which he dispersed through the Northern counties, and sent one to the king and council.‡

Others of this society, besides *George Fox*, took up their pens in the cause of their innocent and oppressed brethren. When the conventicle act was passed in 1664, *George*

* Gough, p. 510, 313. † Ibid. p. 538. ‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 25.

Whitehead published a piece to expose the severity of the persecutors, to exculpate his friends from the charge of obstinacy, to strengthen their steadfastness, and to remonstrate on the unequal and arbitrary manner in which the judges enforced the act. Another remonstrance was also published about the same time, by *Josiah Coale*, against persecution, addressed to the king and both houses of parliament.*

In the year 1666 the cause of the *quakers* began to derive great support and credit from the abilities and virtues of the celebrated *William Penn*, who in that year joined their society, and became one of its most eminent advocates and ornaments. His pen was soon employed in its defence. His first piece was entitled "The Sandy Foundation shaken." This gave great offence to some powerful ecclesiasticks, and it was answered by an accustomed mode of reply, namely, an order for imprisoning him. He was closely confined seven months in the Tower, and denied the visits of his friends. This precluded him from his ministerial labours: but several treatises were the fruits of his solitude, particularly one of great note, entitled "No Cross, no Crown;" in which, Dr. *Henry More* observed, "Mr. *Penn* has treated the subject of a future life and the immortality of the soul, with a force and spirit equal to most writers."†

The first of the above pieces was occasioned by a particular circumstance which called on the *quakers* to vindicate themselves in a publick disputation. Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, a presbyterian minister of eminent piety, and who distinguished himself by his ministerial labours in the time of the plague, but whose zeal in this instance misled him, had, on two of his hearers going to the *quaker's* meetings, indulged himself in invectives from the pulpit against that people, and in a licence of expression beyond the bounds of christian moderation and common decency. This reaching the ears of some of those at whom they were cast, they demanded of him a publick meeting to vindicate themselves from his severe reflections, or to give him an opportunity to support them by proof, to which, after some demur, Mr. *Vincent* agreed. Before the hour appointed the house was filled with his own hearers and partisans; and he was accompanied by three other

* Gough, p. 115.

† British Biography, vol. vii. p. 138.

presby.

presbyterian ministers, as his assistants; Mr. *Thomas Dawson*, Mr. *Tho. Doolittle*, and Mr. *William Maddocks*. *George Whitehead* and *William Penn*, on the side of their friends, attended to his charges against the *quakers*. Instead of bringing them forward, Mr. *Vincent* opened the conference with this question, “*Whether they owned one Godhead in three distinct and separate persons?*” He framed on this, according to the mode of argumentation then in use, a syllogism. *George Whitehead* rejected his terms as unscriptural, and not deducible from the text he quoted, and desired him to explain them so that they might be understood; observing, “that God “did not use to wrap his truths in heathenish metaphysics, but deliver them in plain language.” But Mr. *Vincent* and his co-adjutors would neither keep to scripture terms, nor allow them in their antagonists. After many insults offered to the *quakers*, and opprobrious names cast upon them, the meeting was broken up by a prayer from Mr. *Vincent*, in which these people were accused as blasphemers. Some people staying, after he and his brethren withdrew, the *quakers* found an opportunity of exculpating themselves from the invectives of their adversaries. Another debate was desired, but evaded. On this *Penn* appealed to the publick.*

It falls within the period of which we are writing, to notice the remarks on the third conventicle act, which *George Fox*, being in London at the time, published in 1670, in order, if possible, to move the government to moderation. Apprehending an impending storm, he wrote also, at the same time, an epistle to his friends, to exhort them to faithfulness and steadfastness in their testimony to the truth, and to christian patience, in bearing the sufferings which might be permitted to try their faith.†

Under a successive train of severe trials, this people maintained patience, resignation, and a blameless demeanour: and, with the powers of the world against them, their numbers were continually increasing. In the year 1666 they were become a large body. This gave them courage and resolution to erect in that year a new meeting-house in White-hart court, Grace-church-street, which, from its

* Gough, p. 226—228. † Ibid. p. 318.

central situation, became afterwards the place for their yearly meetings.*

The affairs of this society began now to range into a regular and systematick form. *George Fox*, as soon as he was released from his long confinement, proceeded as usual in his labours; and when he was so weak and stiff, and benumbed in his joints, by a cruel imprisonment for the greatest part of three years, that it was with difficulty he could mount his horse or alight, he went from Yorkshire to London. He saw it necessary to increase the number of meetings of discipline, as the exigencies and the numbers of the society were increased. In 1660, a general meeting for church affairs had been held at Skipton in Yorkshire. The business of it was confined to the taking an account of their sufferings, and to collections for the relief of the poor. *Quarterly* meetings were afterwards established in London, which, in addition to the former subjects of attention, had the charge of the reputation of the society, to watch over the members, and admonish and exhort such as might appear disorderly and uncircumspect in their conversation, not agreeable to the strictness of their religious profession; besides the women's meetings, which had chiefly the care of poor widows and orphans. During *George Fox's* stay in London there were established, at his recommendation, five *monthly* meetings of men and women in that city, to transact the business which had before employed the *quarterly* meetings, and a general meeting once in three months, as hitherto, for mutual counsel, advice and deliberation, in relation to the common affairs and care of the whole body in the city. He afterwards procured his plan of *monthly* meetings to be adopted through all the counties, in Scotland, Ireland, Holland, and the continent of America. The business of the *monthly* meetings was, at his advice and admonition, after this, extended to the taking cognizance of the orderly proceedings towards marriage, to see "that the parties, who proposed marriage, were clear from other engagements, that their relations were satisfied, that widows had made provision for their first husband's children before they married again, and to institute whatever other enquiries were necessary

* Gough, p. 157.

“for keeping all things clean and pure, in good order and
“righteousness, to the glory of God.”

Some time after *monthly* and *quarterly* meetings were established, (viz. in the year 1669) it was found expedient, and agreed upon, to hold a *general* meeting in London, representative of the whole body in England, and all other parts where any of the society were settled; which has, from that time, been held annually, and is called “The Yearly Meeting in London.” It is formed of deputies from each *quarterly* meeting in England, and from the *half year’s* meetings in Ireland, without restraining from an attendance any member in unity with the society. Such places in Europe and America, as are too remote conveniently to send representatives, keep up a correspondence with this meeting by epistles. A committee of correspondence in London and several counties and other places, to be consulted in the intervals between the yearly meetings, upon any emergency, was also established. The members appointed correspondents in London, to meet the sixth day in every week, to consult upon such matters as may be laid before them, particularly any suffering cases of friends, from whence it is called “*The Meeting for Sufferings*,” and is a meeting of record.

From the meetings of discipline no members of the society are excluded. A regular record of all their proceedings is kept by a clerk, who, at the desire of the meeting, voluntarily undertakes the office. The business of these meetings is preceded by a solemn meeting of worship. An enquiry, whether meetings for discipline and worship are duly attended, the preservation of love and unity, the religious education of youth, are some of the leading objects of these associations. Enquiries are also made, Whether a faithful and christian testimony is borne against the receiving or paying tithes, priests’ demands, or those called church-rates? Whether friends are careful to avoid all vain sports, places of diversion, gaming, and all unnecessary frequenting of ale-houses or taverns, excess in drinking, and intemperance of every kind? Whether friends are just in their dealings, and punctual in fulfilling their engagements, and are advised carefully to inspect the state of their affairs once in the year? Whether early care be taken to advise and deal with such as

appear inclinable to marry contrary to the rules of the society; and whether any remove from or into monthly or two-weekly meetings without certificates? And whether two or more faithful friends are deputed in each particular meeting to have the oversight thereof; and care be taken, when any thing appears amiss, that the rules of their discipline be put in practice?

This sketch of the discipline and ecclesiastical government of this society cannot fail to give us a favourable idea of the spirit and principles which actuate it. It is recommended by the method and regularity which mark it: and it is a great excellence of it, that it is directed to the encouragement and promotion of good morals, of a peaceable, upright, and blameless conduct in social life. For a more full and accurate view of its nature and design, the reader may be referred to a long and judicious disquisition on it in Mr. *Gough's* History:* which, when he has perused, he will determine for himself, whether it may not be justly extolled, as “bearing
“ marks of a peculiar wisdom in the contrivance, and good-
“ nefs of heart in the ends in view, realized in the beneficial
“ effects it then had, and hath since continued to produce.”

The *quakers*, besides supporting a series of sufferings with patience and fortitude, disseminating their principles, through England, Wales, and Scotland, with unabating zeal, and forming their society upon a regular plan of government, traversed the Atlantick ocean, carried their sentiments into America, and established themselves in the Western continent. The undertaking was arduous; new calamities and persecutions awaited them in new countries.† Their pious efforts, however, were eventually successful in the *transatlantick* regions. The brevity we must observe, does not allow us to go here into particulars. But two instances of their zeal, at this period, to propagate their doctrine in the foreign parts of Europe, were of so singular a nature as to call for particular notice.

About the year 1661 two women, *Catharine Evans* and *Sarah Cheevers*, moved with a religious concern to diffuse their principles, took their passage in a ship bound from London to Leghorn; after various trials and storms they ar-

* *Gough*, vol. ii. p. 161—198. † *Ibid.* chap. ix.

rived at that city; and, during their stay in it, they dispersed books, explaining the doctrines of the society, and discoursed with people of all ranks, numbers of whom curiosity daily drew after them: and here they met with no molestation. They sailed from hence in a Dutch ship bound to Alexandria, the master of which put into Malta. Going on shore, the day after their arrival, they were met by the English consul, who invited them to his house, where they continued about three months. They were visited by many, whom they found it their concern to call to repentance, and were repeatedly summoned before the inquisitors, whose interrogatories they answered in such a manner, as not to give them the advantage they sought, nor to resign their own principles by the least compliance with the superstitious and showy religion of the country. The consul, at last, overcome by flattery, menaces and bribery, gave up his guests to the inquisitors, who would not venture to take them without his consent or acquiescence. Having undergone an examination, which they supported with simplicity and firmness, they were imprisoned in a close, dark room, with only two little holes for light and air, and so extremely hot in that warm climate, that it seemed as if the intention of the inquisitors was to stifle them to death. This imprisonment lasted three or four years. They were continually beset and perplexed with the impertinences of monks and friars, to cajole or terrify them into their superstitions. But neither flattery nor menaces could pervert these innocent women from their profession. Upon this they were put into a room so exceedingly hot, close, and suffocating, that they were often forced to rise out of their bed, to lie down at the chink of the door for air to draw breath; their faces were excessively stung by gnats; and, such was the effect of the heat of the room and the climate, their skin was parched, their hair fell off, and they frequently fainted away. They were tempted, at times, to wish for death; to end their sorrows. *Catharine Evans* fell into a fit of sickness, and the physician said "they must have air, or else they would die." On this the door was ordered to be set open six hours in the day. Soon after they were separated, in hope that an impression might be made on their minds, if they were separately attacked; but

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each

each was immoveable. They not only resisted every attempt to draw them off from their religious profession to the superstitions of popery; but, as the house of inquisition was rebuilding, or repairing in some parts, for the space of a year and half, they embraced the opportunities which offered to incite the people to repentance, both the workmen who were obliging to them, and the citizens of better quality who came to view the building. The apartment of *Catharine* being near the street, she frequently accosted with admonitions those that passed by, many of whom would stay to hear as long as they durst, and were much affected. After enduring the severities of an imprisonment in the inquisition upwards of three years, and several unsuccessful attempts to procure their release, *George Fox* engaged the friendly and humane interposition of lord *D'Aubigny* with the magistrates, whose mediation was effectual: and being liberated they returned to England. On their passage home, a passenger, who was a knight of Malta and the inquisitor's brother, interested himself with the captain, to secure them every accommodation the ship could afford. The merchants at Leghorn, where the vessel stopt, treated them with great kindness, and supplied them with wine and other articles for their refreshment. At Tangier, the governor courteously received them, and would have given them money, which they declined accepting, though they gratefully acknowledged his kindness. They freely addressed their admonitions to him, and exhortations to amendment of life to the people who flocked to the house where they lodged. Previously to their discharge from Alexandria, their tried integrity and blameless manners had made impressions in their favour both on the magistrates and the inquisitor, the latter of whom relaxed in his severity, and granted them the use of pen, ink, and paper, to write to their friends.*

The sufferings of these women, in the singular enterprize to which their apprehensions of duty animated them, fell short of those which befel two men in a similar undertaking: namely, *John Philly* and *William Moore*. These persons, being in Germany with other friends, in the beginning of 1662, felt a concern to proceed into Hungary, and to visit the

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 51—63.

Hortescbe brethren, who were a kind of *baptists*, that lived in a community, hundreds of them together in a family, having their goods and possessions in common; they also refused to swear or fight. This was a design attended with peculiar difficulties and perils: as it would lead them, on a long journey, through a tract of country unknown to them, and amongst people differing from them in language, in sentiments, and in manners. But, such were their views of the obligations lying upon them, they were not intimidated by the prospect of difficulties, and actually made a prosperous journey to the nearest body of that people, residing at Cushart, near Presburg, where they were pretty hospitably entertained, and dispersed some religious books, which they had taken for that purpose. From hence they set off for Pattock, a city three hundred miles farther on in Upper Hungary, and accompanied each other to Comora in Schut, an island in the Danube: encompassed with dangers on all hands; on the one side of being killed by the Turks, or of being put to death at Newhausel, according to the practice of that garrison towards those who were found there, it being tributary to the Turks, without permission. At Comora, first, *Moore* was apprehended, searched and stripped, and carried to the guard with his hands and feet shackled; and an insinuation was thrown out, that he should be roasted on a spit. *Philly* was, afterwards, apprehended at his lodgings. They were committed to separate prisons; *Moore* to the stockhouse, and *Philly* to a room appropriated to the inhuman purpose of putting prisoners to the rack. On the next day they were brought before the inquisitor to be examined; by whom, among other questions, they were asked, if they did not know that *Catholicks* had laws to burn and torment hereticks, and such as carried such books as they had with them? To which *Moore* warily replied, “I should not have expected such dealings among good christians.” They were for eight days, repeatedly, brought to examination, and ensnaring questions put to them, as, what they thought of the sacrament; to which *Moore* replied, *the flesh profiteth little, it is the spirit that quickeneth*. This inquisitor was so strangely unacquainted with the scriptures, that in a surprize he applied to a priest present, “Sir, father, how is that?”
Who,

Who, recollecting himself, said, “ he did remember such an “ expression.” The inquisitor next asked him if he would turn catholick? To which he made this rational reply; “ If “ I should do so for fear or favour of you, the Lord not re- “ quiring it of me, I should not have peace in my conscience, “ and the displeasure of the Lord would be more intolerable “ than yours;” adding, “ that compulsion might make hy- “ pocrites, but not christians, as it did not change the “ heart.”

After this they were put to the torture: first, their thumbs were screwed to extort the confession of some crime, and then they were racked, with such violence in the case of *Moore*, that his chin was close to his breast, and his mouth so closed, that he was almost choaked. They were then threatened with death. *Philly*, by calling out to the governor, as he was passing in his coach, obtained some redress of their calamities; and they were allowed to earn a trifle, to buy bread, by working at the wheel-barrow, though often their wages were kept back. After sixteen weeks they were conveyed in chains, by a waggon, under a guard, to general *Nadasb*, the Emperor's lord chamberlain. They were examined before him and several lords of the kingdom, some of whom seemed affected with their answers, and none objected thereto. They were sentenced, however, to be burned, if they would not embrace the popish religion; but the sentence was not executed; and a priest was sent to convert them. These endeavours proving ineffectual, they were removed to a place within about five German miles of Vienna, where falling into the hands of priests, their perils became aggravated: they were again searched, their books and papers taken away, ensnaring questions were put to them, and they were threatened with the execution of various tortures and of the sentence of death. But the frauds and menaces of their persecutors were frustrated by the steadfastness of these confessors. Manacles were then put on their wrists, so small, as when locked by main force, put them to extreme pain. They were thrust into a narrow hole with some Turks, that were prisoners, where they had scarcely room to sit down. At length they found a friend in the person who was invested with the chief civil authority

rity in the place, whose dispositions to protect them and afford them relief, were much strengthened by the influence of one *Adam Bien*, his barber, a religious man who had been educated among the *Hortefche* brethren. The priests were restrained from keeping them any longer in their hole of a prison, and using them with the cruelty they had done before. Those who had distinguished themselves by promoting malicious insults, endeavoured to ingratiate themselves; and after the prospects of obtaining their liberty, had been repeatedly clouded over by the sickness of the governor, or by the attention he had been induced to give to insinuations against them, and by some renewed sufferings from the priests and soldiers, by *Adam Bien*'s steadfast friendship, and persevering solicitations in their favour, they were released, September 1663.*

Whatever opinion may be entertained of the prudence of these and other pious persons belonging to the society of *quakers*, in exposing themselves to such perils, without possessing ordinary or supernatural means of succeeding in their well-meant efforts; the patience, firmness, and fortitude, which they displayed under the most trying circumstances, must be allowed singular merit and praise. Patience and meekness, indeed, were general characteristics of this people. They met and supported the exertions of malicious violence and wanton despotism with resigned acquiescence, and in humble dependance upon divine protection and support, without fainting in their minds.

They were also distinguished, from the beginning, by their charitable regard towards each other. There were some among them, who were not only examples of steadfastness, but by their exhortations, in word and writing, encouraged their brethren to perseverance. In the time of the plague they were exemplary for the care and tenderness, with which they relieved the affliction of the widows and orphans of their friends, whom that calamity carried off. They held occasional meetings in the city to provide for the necessities of the poor; and when the number of objects proved too many for the men to assist by these meetings, they called upon the most grave and tender-hearted of their

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 63—83.

female friends, to aid them in the offices of humanity, who for this purpose met once a week. Not the resident inhabitants only were exercised in this care; but several, as *George Whitehead*, *Alexander Parker*, *Josiah Coale*, and others, came out of the country to London, as with their lives in their hands, supported by the sentiments of faith and resignation, to suffer with their friends there, whatever might be permitted to befall them, to strengthen and encourage them to keep up their meetings, to edify them with their gifts, and to visit and comfort the sick and imprisoned. And through all they were mercifully preserved from the infection, and from imprisonment in this season of danger.*

The benevolence of their minds was not confined to the acts of fraternal regards to one another, in the season of calamity and persecution, but took a wider scope. Their attention to their poor, that there should be no beggar amongst them, nor any sent to the parish for relief; and to afford their children instruction, and put them out apprentices to suitable trades, hath deservedly attracted notice, and commanded general approbation. They have, moreover, cheerfully paid their quota to the poor of their respective parishes, and proper objects of any denomination have been relieved by their private donations.† It frequently happened that justices and military officers, on coming to break up their general meeting at Skipton, when they saw their accounts of their collections and disbursements, and the care taken that one county should help another, as circumstances might require, have been obliged to commend their care, and have left them undisturbed in the exercise of the laudable object of their meeting. The poor of other societies frequently gathering in crowds, upon these occasions, partook of their liberality; for it was their custom, after the meeting was over, to send to the bakers for bread, and distribute a loaf to each, how many soever they were.‡

Our sketch of the history of this society will not be complete, if we do not notice some who were eminent ministers in it, and died at this period.

The first to be mentioned is *Richard Hubberthorn*, the son of a reputable yeoman, in the north of Lancashire, who,

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 149, 150. † Ibid. p. 189. ‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 432. after

after two months imprisonment, through the effect of the throng of prisoners, and the vitiated air on his tender constitution, died in Newgate on the 17th June, 1662. He was from his youth inclined to piety, sobriety, and virtue. When he arrived to years of maturity, he obtained a post in the parliament's army; and preached occasionally to the soldiers. When he joined the society of the *quakers*, he quitted, agreeably to their principle of peace, his military employment. He was one of the first ministers of this society. His stature was low, his constitution infirm, and his voice weak; but he was powerful, able, and successful as a minister. In the exercise of this office he travelled, in different parts of the nation, for the space of nine years. He knew his season, when to speak and when to be silent; when he spoke, he delivered himself with plainness and pertinency to the subject before him. He was a man of much meekness, humility, patience, and brotherly kindness; and of distinguished equanimity, neither easily depressed in adversity, nor elated in prosperity. His life was spent in acts of righteousness and the pursuit of peace, of which his latter end exhibited the happy effects, the peaceful tenour of his conscience stripping death of all its terrors, and in the full assurance of faith, he looked forward to the near approach of future happiness.

About the same time, and in the same prison, died, in the 28th year of his age, having been ten years a zealous and powerful preacher, Mr. *Edward Burrough*. He was born in or near Underbarrow, a village in the barony of Kendal in Westmoreland, of parents in repute for their honest and virtuous conduct, and of competent substance. His puerile years exhibited proofs of manly sense and religious thoughtfulness. He was fond of the conversation of such as were in esteem for piety, and placed his satisfaction in perusing the scriptures, in which he was well versed. He was educated in the episcopal way of worship; but, about the age of twelve years, began to frequent the meetings of the presbyterians, till he was seventeen. He then became possessed with serious apprehensions of great deficiency in the knowledge of God and internal purity of heart, and felt considerable uneasiness and fear; and, dissatisfied with the doctrine

trine he heard, as resulting, in his view, from mere speculation and the experience of others, and not the fruit of their own experience, he withdrew from the teachers of it. On *George Fox's* coming into the parts where he resided, he went to hear him preach, and afterwards entered into reasoning with him upon religious subjects. The consequence was, that he joined the society of the *quakers*, in which he became a most serviceable member and eminent minister. On forming this connection, his relations discarded him, his father expelled him from his house, and he felt himself exposed to many hardships, all which evils he bore with exemplary patience. His laborious exertions, both by word and writing, were indefatigable, and his religious exercises as a preacher were the whole business of his life; he allowed himself few hours of repose, and did not appropriate one week at a time, for many years, to himself or his private concerns. He travelled through England, Scotland, Ireland, and Flanders; but the principal field of his ministerial labours was London. As he was preaching at the meeting at Bull-and-Mouth, he was violently taken down by the soldiers, and carried before alderman *Brown*, who committed him to Newgate. Some weeks after he was brought to trial at the Old-Bailey, fined by the court twenty marks, and condemned to lie in prison till he paid the fine, which amounted to perpetual imprisonment, as the principles of the *quakers* led them to consider a voluntary and active compliance with the penalty as a tacit confession of guilt. A special order from the king was sent to the sheriffs for his release, and that of some other prisoners, but the magistrates of the city found means to prevent the execution of it. He met his dissolution, brought on by disease and imprisonment, with the consolatory review of a life spent in the service of his Creator. "I have had the testimony of the Lord's love unto me," said he, "from my youth; and my heart, O Lord, hath been given up to do thy will. I have preached the gospel freely in this city, and have often given up my life for the gospel sake; and now, O Lord, rip open my heart, and see if it be not right before thee." As his dissolution drew nigh, he said, "Though this body of clay must turn to dust, yet I have a testimony that I have served
" God

“ God faithfully in my generation; and that spirit that hath
 “ lived, and acted, and ruled in me, shall yet break forth
 “ in thousands.”

Another zealous preacher among this people was *William Ames*, who travelled in the work of the ministry not in England only, but much in Holland and Germany, where several were convinced by him, especially in the Palatinate. These Palatines, removing soon after to Pennsylvania, escaped the general devastation of their country by the French, which happened soon after. *Ames* was, at first, after his mind took a serious turn, a teacher among the *baptists*; he was also a military officer in *Cromwell's* army in Ireland, in which post, being strict and regular in his own conduct, he exerted himself to introduce and preserve the like regularity among the soldiers under his command by a strict discipline. *Francis Howgill* and *Edward Burrough*, coming into Ireland, he went to hear them and embraced their doctrine. He and several others were afterwards taken, by two musqueteers, out of a private house in London, forced to Paul's Churchyard, where they were derided and abused by the soldiers, and afterwards taken before alderman *Brown*, who committed them to hard labour in Bridewell. Here they were so severely treated, that *Ames* grew dangerously ill; and being an inhabitant of Amsterdam, he was discharged for fear of his dying in prison. He returned, upon his release, to this city, and supported himself by wool-combing, but so injured in his health, that he never recovered, but died within the current year 1662.*

Near the close of the year 1663, *John Audland*, a native of Camsgill in Westmoreland, was taken off by a consumption, in an early stage of life. When a child, he discovered a quick understanding and retentive memory. As he approached a state of maturity, he applied the attention of his mind to religious thought and to reading the scriptures, and became an eminent teacher amongst the *Independents*, of whom he had a very numerous auditory. He was one of the principal preachers at Firbank chapel, at the time when *George Fox* had a memorable meeting there, and became a convert to his doctrine, which he afterwards zealously and

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 2—15.

ably exerted himself to disseminate, travelling through sundry parts of the nation with this view; foregoing the comforts of domestick life, and separating himself, with her consent, from his wife, who entered into his views, a virtuous and well-accomplished young woman, of a good family, to whom he was married about the twentieth year of his age. He was one of the earliest preachers of this persuasion, who visited the city of Bristol and the Western counties. The number of his hearers increased to such a degree in that place, that, for want of a house large enough, the meetings were frequently held in an orchard. He was a partaker with his brethren in repeated imprisonments and abuses of his person. His sufferings and exertions were beyond his strength, and brought on a cough, which appeared consumptive, and finally terminated in a slow fever, that put a period to his life at the age of thirty-four years. He was not only preserved in peaceful serenity of mind at this solemn season, but at times filled even with joy at the prospect of his approaching felicity; under the impression whereof his soul, under extreme bodily weakness, was raised up in praise to the Almighty, and in prayer for the prosperity of his friends in righteousness.*

In 1667, after about fifteen years spent in acting and suffering for those doctrines he had received for truth, died *Richard Farnsworth*, exhorting his friends were affecting energy and strength of spirit, as if he were in full health, and giving evidence of his full assurance of faith. He was one of the first who embraced the principles of *George Fox*, soon after his release from his imprisonment at Derby, while the name *quaker* was but just known. He joined him in society and ministerial labours, and many were converted by him. For not pulling off his hat to a justice of peace in the streets of Banbury, in 1656, he was, after the justice had struck it off in passion, sent for and committed to prison. Next day, when passion subsided, his release was offered him on paying the jailor's fees, and promising to leave the town that night. He would promise nothing, knowing that he had been illegally committed. The oath of abjuration was then tendered to him, and on his refusing it, he was recommitted to prison, where he lay about six months.†

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 83—88. † Ibid. p. 222, 23.

In the latter part of the year 1668 and the beginning of the next, this society was deprived of three eminent and serviceable members; *Thomas Loe*, *Josiah Coale*, and *Francis Howgill*.

Thomas Loe was a man of fine natural temper, easy, affable and pleasing in conversation, benevolent and sympathising in his disposition. He travelled on foot through the greatest part of the nation, and visited Ireland several times. His gifts were attractive, and he had generally crowded audiences. He was several times imprisoned for his testimony, and his natural strength was impaired by his travels and labours. His convert, *William Penn*, visited him in his last sickness, whom he addressed thus: "Bear thy cross and stand faithful to God, then he will give thee an everlasting crown of glory that shall not be taken from thee. There is no other way which shall prosper than that which the holy men of old walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt. His love overcomes my heart. Glory be to his name for evermore." He accosted others with similar sentiments; and his parting breath expressed a song of praise to that Almighty Being, whose goodness preserved him through life, and deserted him not in his end.†

Josiah Coale was born at Winterborne, Gloucestershire, near Bristol, and received his impressions in favour of the *quakers'* doctrine under the preaching of *John Audland*, about the year 1655. He proved an able and zealous minister: his testimony was sharp and piercing against the workers of iniquity, while it flowed in a stream of life and encouraging consolation to the pious and virtuous. In 1656, after having been first grievously abused by the populace, and dragged bare-headed under the spouts in a time of rain, he was imprisoned in Newgate, at Bristol. In the same year, he was, with three other friends, severely abused and beaten by the mob, and then committed to prison by the mayor, at Melcomb-Regis. In 1658, a sense of duty determined him to pay a religious visit to the English colonies in America. As no master of a ship would take him to New-England, for fear of the penalties enacted in that state against such as should bring in any *quakers*, he got a passage, in company

† Gough, p. 229—231. and vol. i. p. 318, 19.

with

with *Thomas Thirston*, to Virginia; from whence they made their way on foot through a wilderness of several hundred miles, till then deemed impassable for any but the Indians. By these people, of the Susquehannah tribe, they were treated with remarkable attention and hospitality, entertained with lodging and provisions, and furnished with guides to the Dutch plantations. Their journey was, however, attended with great hardships and dangers. They met with very different treatment from the lofty professors of New-England, whose tempers were embittered, whose natural tenderness and compassion were eradicated by false principles of religion. Here *Coale* was violently haled out and sent to prison, and sometime after banished to Maryland. He travelled through this state and Barbadoes; and, in Europe, through most parts of England, in Holland, and the Low Countries; going through many perils, imprisonments, and persecutions, valiant in what he regarded as the cause of truth, undaunted in danger, and borne above the fear of man by the supports of a peaceful conscience. He not only in his travels bore his own charges abroad, but was an exemplary pattern of liberality at home, and freely spent his estate in the service to which he devoted himself. His natural temper was chearful, religion tempered it with seriousness; his unaffected affability was mixed with a circumspect and exemplary deportment; his whole conversation illustrated the purity of his religion, and was an ornament to his profession. After ministerial services of twelve years, he fell into a decline, and departed in the arms of his friends, as one falling into a deep sleep, full of consolation, exhorting others to "be faithful to God, and have a single eye to his glory," expressing his own confidence that "the majesty of God was with him, and his crown of life upon him," at the age of thirty-five years and two months.*

The last person to be noticed is *Francis Howgill*, a principal as well as early promulgator of the doctrine of the *quakers*, and a valuable member of their community. He was a native of Westmoreland, and received his education, for the priests' office in the church, at the university; but, being scrupulous of complying with the ceremonies, he withdrew from the national church, and joined the *Independents*,

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 231—236.

and was an eminent preacher amongst them, laborious and zealous as a minister, and esteemed for his virtue and exemplary conversation. In 1652, he became a profelyte to the doctrines of *George Fox*, on hearing him at Firbank chapel. He was, soon after this, sent, with *James Naylor*, to the gaol at Appleby. In 1654, he and *Edward Burrough*, in company with *Anthony Pearson*, travelled to London, and were the first of this society who held meetings in that city, and by whose preaching many there were brought over to the same profession. While he was there, he went to court to intercede with *Oliver Cromwell*, that a stop might be put to the persecution of the members of his society, and he wrote also to the protector, on the same subject, in a plain and bold strain, but without any good effects. It does not appear, that they met with any personal molestations in the metropolis; and when they had gathered and settled meetings there, they went to Bristol. Multitudes flocked to hear them, and many embraced their doctrine. The clergy were alarmed, and they were summoned before the magistrates, and were commanded to leave the city immediately. To this order they answered: "We came not in the will of man, nor stand in the will of man, but when he shall move us to depart who moved us to come hither, we shall obey; we are free-born Englishmen, and have served the commonwealth faithfully, being free in the sight of God from the transgression of any law: to your commandments we cannot be obedient; but if by violence you put us out of the city, and have power to do it, we cannot resist." Having said this, they went out of the court, but tarried in the city, preaching as before, for some time.* In 1663, *Francis Howgill* was summoned before the justices, as he was in the market-place at Kendal on his business; and, for refusing the oath of allegiance, was committed to prison till the summer assizes, at which the oath was again tendered to him, and upon refusal an indictment was drawn up against him, which he traversed. But as he would not enter into bond for his good behaviour, which he considered as a tacit acquiescence in the charge of ill-behaviour, and a bar to attendance on meetings, he was recommitted to prison. At the spring assizes he was brought to his trial; when, under a

* Gough, vol. i. p. 112, 126, 144, &c.

rigorous

rigorous sentence of *præmunire*, he was sent back to the prison, where he remained, till released by death, for nearly five years, deprived of every comfort and convenience his persecutors could take from him. He died, after a sickness of nine days, the 20th of January, 1688-9. During his confinement he evidenced the peaceful and even tenour of his soul by his patience; and preserved to the last an amiable equanimity, which had characterized him through life, the serenity of his conscience bearing him superior to his sufferings and to the fear of death. He wrote a copious treatise against oaths, wherein he maintained the unlawfulness of swearing under the gospel. His virtues, innocence, and integrity of life, were conspicuous. He was generally respected by those who knew him; his sufferings were commiserated; and the unmerited enmity and cruelty of his persecutors condemned. Several of the principal inhabitants of Appleby, and particularly the mayor, visited him in his sickness; and some of them praying that God might speak peace to his soul, he answered, "He hath done it." He also expressed himself thus: "That he was content, and ready to die; praising the
 "Almighty for the many sweet enjoyments and refreshing
 "seasons he had been favoured with on that his prison bed,
 "whereon he lay, freely forgiving all who had an hand in
 "his restraint." A few hours before he departed, he said,
 "I have sought the way of the Lord from a child, and lived
 "innocently as among men; and if any enquire concerning
 "my latter end, let them know, that I die in the faith in
 "which I lived and suffered for." After these words, he uttered some others in prayer to God, and so finished his life in perfect peace, in the 50th year of his age.

Mr. *Gough* has preserved a letter of useful instructions, addressed to his daughter, which he left behind him. His will, made some time before his decease, bequeathed out of his real estate, his personal having been forfeited to the king, a legacy to his poor friends in those parts where he lived, and a token of his affectionate remembrance to several of his brethren and fellow-labourers in the ministry.*

* *Gough*, vol. ii. p. 31, 96—108, and 236—241.

CHAP. IX.

*From the King's Declaration of Indulgence to the
Popish Plot in the Year 1678.*

—1672.—

THE French king having prevailed with the English court to break the triple alliance, and make war with the Dutch, published a declaration at Paris, signifying that he could not, without diminution of his glory, any longer dissemble the indignation raised in him, by the unhandsome carriage of the states-general of the United Provinces, and therefore proclaimed war against them both by sea and land. In the beginning of May, he drew together an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, with which he took the principal places in Flanders, and with a rapid fury overran the greatest part of the Netherlands. In the beginning of July he took possession of Utrecht, a city in the heart of the United Provinces, where he held his court, and threatened to besiege Amsterdam itself. In this extremity the Dutch opened their sluices, and laid a great part of their country under water; the populace rose, and having obliged the States to elect the young prince of *Orange* stadtholder, they fell upon the two brothers *Cornelius* and *John de Wit*, their late pensionary, and tore them to pieces in a barbarous manner. The young prince, who was then but twenty-two years old, used all imaginable vigilance and activity to save the remainder of his country; and like a true patriot declared, he would die in the last dyke, rather than become tributary to any foreign power. At length their allies came to their assistance, when the young *prince*, like another *Scipio*, abandoning his own country, besieged, and took the important town of *Bonne*, which opened a passage for the Germans into Flanders, and struck such a surprize into the French, whose enemies were now behind them, that they abandoned all their

conquests in Holland, except Maestricht and Grave, with as much precipitance as they had made them.

These rapid conquests of the French opened people's mouths against the court, and raised such discontents in England, that his majesty was obliged to issue out his proclamation, to suppress all unlawful and undutiful conversation, threatening a severe prosecution of such who should spread false news, or intermeddle with affairs of state, or promote scandal against his majesty's counsellors, by their common discourse in coffee-houses, or places of publick resort. He was obliged also to continue the Exchequer shut up, contrary to his royal promise, and to prorogue his parliament till next year, which he foresaw would be in a flame at their meeting.

During this interval of parliament, the *declaration of indulgence* continued in force, and the dissenters had rest; when the presbyterians and independents, to shew their agreement among themselves, as well as to support the doctrines of the reformation against the prevailing errors of popery, socinianism, and infidelity, set up a weekly lecture at Pinner's-hall, in Broad-street, on Tuesday mornings, under the encouragement of the principal merchants and tradesmen of their persuasion in the city. Four presbyterians were joined by two independents to preach by turns, and, to give it the greater reputation, the principal ministers for learning and popularity were chosen as lecturers; as Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Collins*, *Jenkins*, *Mead*, and afterwards Mr. *Alsop*, *Howe*, *Cole*, and others; and though there were some little misunderstandings at their first setting out, about some high points of *Calvinism*, occasioned by one of Mr. *Baxter's* first sermons, yet the lecture continued in this form till the year 1695, when it split upon the same rock, occasioned by the reprinting Dr. *Crisp's* works. The four presbyterians removed to Salter's-hall, and set up a lecture on the same day and hour. The two independents remained at Pinner's-hall, and when there was no prospect of an accommodation, each party filled up their numbers out of their respective denominations, and they are both subsisting to this day.

Among the puritan divines who died this year, bishop *Wilkins* deserves the first place; he was born at Fawley in Northamp-

Northamptonshire, in the house of his mother's father, Mr. *J. Dod* the decalogist, in the year 1614, and educated in Magdalen-hall under Mr. *Tombes*.^{*} He was some time warden of Wadham college, Oxford, and afterwards master of Trinity college, Cambridge, of which he was deprived at the restoration, though he conformed. He married a sister of the protector's *Oliver Cromwell*, and complied with all the changes of the late times, being, as *Wood* observes, always puritanically affected; but for his admirable abilities, and extraordinary genius, he had scarce his equal. He was made bishop of Chester 1668; and surely, says Mr. *Eachard*, the court could not have found out a man of greater ingenuity and capacity, or of more universal knowledge and understanding in all parts of polite learning. Archbishop *Tillotson*, and bishop *Burnet*, who were his intimates, give him the highest encomium; as, that he was a pious christian, an admirable preacher, a rare mathematician, and mechanical philosopher; and a man of as great a mind, as true judgment, as eminent virtues, and of as great a soul, as any they ever knew. He was a person of universal charity, and moderation of spirit; and was concerned in all attempts for a comprehension with the dissenters. He died of the stone in Dr. *Tillotson*'s house in Chancery-lane, Nov. 19, 1672, in the 59th year of his age.

Mr. *Joseph Caryl*, M. A. the ejected minister of St. Magnus, London-bridge, was born of genteel parents in London, 1602, educated in Exeter college, and afterwards preacher of Lincoln's-inn; he was a member of the assembly of divines, and afterwards one of the *tryers* for approbation of ministers; in all which stations he appeared a man of great learning, piety and modesty. He was sent by the parliament to attend the king at Holmby-house, and was one of their commissioners in the treaty of the Isle of Wight. After his ejection in 1662, he lived privately in London, and preached to his congregation as the times would permit; he was a moderate independent, and distinguished himself by his learned exposition upon the book of *Job*.† He died universally lamented

^{*} Athen. Oxon. p. 505.

† This work was printed in two volumes folio, consisting of upwards of 600 sheets: and there was also an edition in twelve volumes 4to. "One
M M 2 just

mented by all his acquaintance February 7, 1672-3, and in the seventy-first year of his age.*

Mr. *Philip Nye*, M. A. was a divine of a warmer spirit: he was born of a genteel family 1596, and was educated in Magdalen college,† Oxford, where he took the degrees. In 1630 he was curate of St. Michael's Cornhill, and three years after fled from bishop *Laud's* persecution into Holland, but returned about the beginning of the long parliament, and became minister of Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire. He was one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly, one of the *tryers* in the protector's time, and a principal manager of the meeting of the congregational messengers at the Savoy. He was a great politician, infomuch that it was debated in council, after the restoration, whether he should not be excepted for life; and it was concluded, that if he should accept or exercise any office ecclesiastical or civil, he should, to all intents and purposes in law, stand as if he had been totally excepted. He was ejected from St. Bartholomew behind the Exchange, and preached privately, as opportunity offered, to a congregation of dissenters till the present year, when he died in the month of September, about seventy-six years old, and lies buried in the church of St. Michael's Cornhill, leaving behind him the character of a man of uncommon depth, and of one who was seldom if ever out-reached.‡

When the king met his parliament Feb. 4, 1673, after a recess of a year and nine months, he acquainted them with the reasonableness and necessity of the war with the Dutch, and having asked a supply, told them, "he had found the "good effect of his *indulgence to dissenters*, but that it was

"just remark," says Mr. *Granger*, "has been made on its utility, that it is "a very sufficient exercise for the virtue of patience, which it was chiefly "intended to inculcate and improve." *Granger's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 313. 8vo. note. Ed.

* *Calamy*, vol. ii. p. 7. *Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 121.

† Mr. *Nye* was entered a commoner of Brazen-Nose, July 1615, aged about nineteen years; but making no long stay there, he removed to Magdalen hall, not Magdalen college. *Dr. Grey*; and *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 368. Ed.

‡ *Calamy*, vol. ii. p. 29, *Palmer*, vol. i. p. 86.

"a mistake

“ a mistake in those who said, more liberty was given to
“ papists than others, because they had only freedom in
“ their own houses, and no publick assemblies; he should
“ therefore take it ill to receive contradiction in what he had
“ done; and to deal plainly with you, (said his majesty) *I*
“ *am resolved to stick to my declaration.*” Lord chancellor
Shaftesbury seconded the king’s speech, and having vindicated the *indulgence*, magnified the king’s zeal for the church of England and the protestant religion. But the house of commons declared against the *dispensing power*, and argued, that though the king had a power to pardon offenders, he had not a right to authorize men to break the laws, for this would infer a power to alter the government; and if the king could secure offenders by indemnifying them beforehand, it was in vain to make any laws at all, because, according to this maxim, they had no force but at the king’s discretion.—But it was objected on the other side, that a difference was to be made between penal laws in spiritual matters and others; that the king’s supremacy gave him a peculiar authority over these, as was evident by his tolerating the Jews, and the churches of foreign protestants.—To which it was replied, that the intent of the law in asserting the supremacy was only to exclude all foreign jurisdiction, and to lodge the whole *authority* with the king; but *that* was still bounded and regulated by law; the Jews were still at mercy, and only connived at, but the foreign churches were excepted by a particular clause in the act of uniformity; and therefore, upon the whole, they came to this resolution Feb. 10, “ that
“ penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended
“ but by act of parliament; that no such power had ever
“ been claimed by any of his majesty’s predecessors, and
“ therefore his majesty’s *indulgence* was contrary to law, and
“ tended to subvert the legislative power, which had always been acknowledged to reside in the king and his two
“ houses of parliament.” Pursuant to this resolution, they addressed the king Feb. 19, to recal his *declaration*. The king answered, that he was sorry they should question his power in ecclesiasticks, which had not been done in the reigns of his ancestors; that he did not pretend to suspend laws, wherein the properties, rights, or liberties of his subjects
were

were concerned, nor to alter any thing in the established religion, but only to take off the penalties inflicted on *dissenters*, which he believed they themselves would not wish executed according to the rigor of the law.* The commons, perceiving his majesty was not inclined to desist from his declaration, stopt the *money-bill*,† and presented a second address, insisting upon a full and satisfactory assurance, that his majesty's conduct in this affair might not be drawn into example for the future, which at length they obtained.

The parliament was now first disposed to distinguish between *protestant dissenters* and *popish recusants*, and to give ease to the former without including the latter, especially when the dissenters in the house disavowed the *dispensing power*, though it had been exercised in their favour. Alderman *Love*, member for the city of London, stood up, and in a handsome speech declared, that *he had rather go without his own desired liberty than have it in a way so destructive of the liberties of his country, and the protestant interest; and that this was the sense of the main body of dissenters*. Which surprized the whole house, and gave a turn to those very men, who for ten years together had been loading the non-conformists with one penal law after another: but things were now at a crisis; popery and slavery were at the door; the triple alliance broken; the protestant powers

* Eachard, p. 889. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 72, 73.

† The remarks of Mr. *Gough*, here, are just and weighty; “The conduct of the commons in this case hath procured the general voice of our historians in their favour, and it must be acknowledged that they acted consistently with their duty in opposing the infringement of the constitution.—Yet as the king's apparent inclination to have the dissenters exempted from penal laws would have merited praise, if it had been sincere, and attempted in a legal way, so the opposition of the parliament would have been entitled to the claim of greater merit, if it had not originated, with many of them, in an aversion to the principles of the declaration (impunity to the nonconformists) as much as the grounds upon which it was published; and if they had not laid the foundations for this contest in the various penal laws, which, under the influence of party pique, they had universally enacted and received; and on all occasions manifested a determined enmity to all dissenters from the established religion; for if they had not an aversion to the principles of the declaration, they had now a fair opportunity of legalizing it, by converting it into an act of parliament.” *History of the Quakers*, vol. ii. p. 374.

ravaging one another; the Exchequer shut up; the heir apparent of the crown an open papist; and an army encamped near London under popish officers ready to be transported into Holland to compleat their ruin. When the dissenters, at such a time, laid aside their resentments against their persecutors, and renounced their own liberty for the safety of the protestant religion, and the liberties of their country; all sober men began to think, it was high time to put a mark of distinction between them and the Roman catholicks.

But the king was of another mind; yet being in want of money, he was easily persuaded by his mistresses to give up his *indulgence*, contrary to the advice of the *CABAL*, who told him, if he would make a bold stand for his *prerogative*, all would be well. But he came to the house March 8, and having pressed the commons to dispatch the *money-bill*, he added,—“if there be any scruple yet remaining with you, touching the suspension of the penal laws, I here faithfully promise you, that what has been done in that particular shall not for the future be drawn into example and consequence: and as I daily expect from you a bill for my supply, so I assure you I shall as willingly receive and pass any other you shall offer me, that may tend to the giving you satisfaction in all your just grievances.” Accordingly he called for the *declaration*, and broke the seal with his own hands, by which means all the licences for meeting-houses were called in. Our historians * observe, that this proceeding of the king made a surprizing alteration in lord *Shaftesbury*, who had been the soul of the *Cabal*, and the master-builder of the scheme for *making the king absolute*; but that when his majesty was so unsteady as to desert him in the project of an *indulgence* after he had promised to stand by him, he concluded the king was not to be trusted, and appeared afterwards at the head of the country party.

The non-conformists were now in some hopes of a *legal toleration* by parliament, for the commons resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that a bill be brought in for the ease of his majesty's protestant subjects, who are dissenters in matters of religion from the church of England. The substance of the bill was,

* Eachard, p. 891. † Burnet, vol. ii. p. 75.

“ 1. That

“ 1. That ease be given to his majesty’s protestant sub-
 “ jects dissenting in matters of religion, who shall subscribe
 “ the articles of the doctrine of the church of England, and
 “ shall take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.* 2.
 “ That the said protestant subjects be eased from all pains
 “ and penalties for not coming to church. 3. That the
 “ clause in the late act of uniformity, for declaring the assent
 “ and consent, be taken away by this bill. 4. That the
 “ said protestant subjects be eased from all pains and penal-
 “ ties, for meeting together for performance of any religious
 “ exercises. 5. That every teacher shall give notice of the
 “ place where he intends to hold such his meetings to the
 “ quarter-sessions, where in open court he shall first make
 “ such subscription, and take such oaths as aforesaid, and
 “ receive from thence a certificate thereof, where all such
 “ proceedings shall remain upon record. 6. That any such
 “ teacher may exercise as aforesaid, until the next respective
 “ quarter-sessions, and no longer, in case he shall not first
 “ take the oaths, and make such subscription before two of
 “ the neighbouring justices of peace, and shall first give them
 “ notice of the place of his intended meeting, and take a
 “ certificate thereof under the said justices’ hands, a dupli-
 “ cate whereof they are to return into the next quarter-
 “ sessions. 7. The doors and passages of all houses and
 “ places where the said dissenters do meet, shall be always
 “ open and free during the time of such exercise. 8. If any
 “ dissenter refuses to take *the churchwardens oaths*, he shall
 “ then find another fit person, who is not a dissenter, to ex-
 “ ecute that office, and shall pay him for it.” But though
 all agreed in bringing in a bill, there was neither time nor
 unanimity enough in the house this sessions, to agree upon
 particulars; for according to bishop *Burnet*, it went no farther
 than a second reading. Mr. *Eachard* says, it was dropt in the
 house of lords on account of some amendments, till the par-
 liament was prorogued; but Mr. *Coke* says, more truly, that
 it was because the *dead weight* of bishops joined with the
 king and the caballing party against it.†

While this was depending, the commons addressed the
 king against papists and jesuits, expressing their great con-

* *Eachard*, p. 889. † *Detect.* p. 490.

cern to see such persons admitted into employments and places of great trust and profit, and especially into military commands, and therefore pray, that the laws against them may be put in execution. Upon which a proclamation was issued, though to very little purpose, enjoining all popish priests and jesuits to depart the realm, and the laws to be put in execution against all popish recusants.

But his majesty making no mention of removing them *from places of profit and trust*, the commons, knowing where their strength lay, suspended their *money bill*, and ordered a bill to be brought in, to confine all places of profit and trust to those only who are of the communion of the church of England: this is commonly called the *test act*, and was levelled against the *duke of York* and the present ministry, who were chiefly of his persuasion. When it was brought into the house, the court opposed it with all their might, and endeavoured to divide the church party, by proposing, that some regard might be had to *protestant dissenters*, hoping by this means to clog the bill, and throw it out of the house; upon which alderman *Love*, a dissenter, and representative for the city, stood up again and said, he hoped the clause in favour of protestant dissenters would occasion no intemperate heats; and moved, that since it was likely to prove so considerable a barrier against popery, the bill might pass without any alteration, and that nothing might interpose till it was finished; and then (says the alderman), we [dissenters] will try if the parliament will not distinguish us from *popish recusants*, by some marks of their favour; but we are willing to lie under the severity of the laws for a time, rather than clog a more necessary work with our concerns. These being the sentiments of the leading dissenters both in the house and without doors, the bill passed the commons with little opposition; but when it came to be debated in the house of peers, in the king's presence, March 15, the whole court was against it, except the earl of *Bristol*; and maintained that it was his majesty's prerogative to employ whom he pleased in his service. Some were for having the king stand his ground against the parliament. The duke of *Buckingham* and lord *Berkley* * proposed bringing the army to town, and taking

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 75, 6.

out of both houses the members who made opposition. *Lauderdale* offered to bring an army from Scotland; and lord *Clifford* told the king, that the people now saw through his designs, and therefore he must resolve to make himself master at once, or be for ever subject to much jealousy and contempt. But the earl of *Shaftesbury*, having changed sides, pressed the king to give the parliament full content, and then they would undertake to procure him the supply he wanted. This suited the king's easy temper, who, not being willing to risk a second civil war, went into these measures, and out of meer necessity for money, gave up the papists, in hopes that he might afterwards recover what in the present extremity he was forced to resign. This effectually broke the *CABAL*, and put the Roman catholics upon pursuing other measures to introduce their religion, which was the making way for a popish successor of more resolute principles; and from hence we may date the beginning of the popish plot, which did not break out till 1678, as appears by Mr. *Coleman's* letters. The bill received the royal assent March 25, together with a money-bill of one million two hundred thousand pounds; and then the parliament was prorogued to October 20, after a short session of seven weeks.

The *Test Act* is entitled, *an act to prevent dangers which happen from popish recusants*. It requires, “ that all persons
“ bearing any office of trust or profit, shall take the oaths of
“ supremacy and allegiance in publick and open court, and
“ shall also receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the church of England, in some parish church, on some Lord's day, immediately after divine service and sermon, and deliver a certificate of having so received the sacrament, under the hands of the respective ministers and churchwardens, proved by two credible witnesses upon oath, and upon record in court. And that all persons taking the said oaths of supremacy and allegiance shall likewise make and subscribe this following declaration, *I A. B. do declare, that I believe there is no transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, or in the elements of bread and wine, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever*. The penalty of breaking through this act, is a disability of suing in any court of law, or
“ equity,

“ equity, being guardian of any child, executor or administrator to any person, or of taking any legacy, or deed of gift, or of bearing any publick office; besides a fine of five hundred pounds.”

Mr. *Eachard* observes well, that this act was principally, if not solely, levelled at the Roman catholicks, as appears from the title; and this is further evident from the disposition of the house of commons at this time, to ease the protestant dissenters of some of their burdens. If the dissenters had fallen in with the court measures, they might have prevented the bill's passing. But they left their own liberties in a state of uncertainty, to secure those of the nation. However, though the intention was good, the act itself is, in my opinion, very unjustifiable, because *it founds dominion in grace*. A man cannot be an exciseman, a custom-house officer, a lieutenant in the army or navy, no not so much as a tide-waiter, without putting on the most distinguishing badge of christianity, according to the usage of the church of England. Is not this a strong temptation to prophanation and hypocrisy? Does it not pervert one of the most solemn institutions of religion, to purposes for which it was never intended? And is it not easy to find securities of a civil nature, sufficient for the preservation both of church and state? When the act took place the *duke of York*, lord high admiral of England; lord *Clifford*, lord high treasurer; and a great many other popish officers, resigned their preferments; but not one protestant dissenter, there not being one such in the administration: however, as the church party shewed a noble zeal for their religion, bishop *Burnet* observes, that the dissenters got great reputation by their silent deportment; though the king and the court bishops resolved to stick in their skirts.*

This being the last penal law made against the *non-conformists* in this reign, it may not be improper to put them altogether. that the reader may have a full view of their distressed circumstances: for besides the penal laws of queen *Elizabeth*, which were confirmed by this parliament; one of which was no less than *banishment*; and another a *mulct* on every one for not coming to church.

* Vol. ii. p. 80.
There

There were in force,

1st. *An act for well governing and regulating corporations*, 13 Car II. ch. 1. Whereby all who bear office in any city, corporation, town, or borough, are required to take the oaths and subscribe the declaration therein mentioned, and to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the rites of the church of England. This effectually turned the dissenters out of the government of all corporations.

2d. *The act of uniformity*, 14 Car. II. ch. 4. Whereby all parsons, vicars, and ministers, who enjoyed any preferment in the church, were obliged to declare their unfeigned assent and consent to every thing contained in the book of common-prayer, &c. or be *ipso facto* deprived: and all school-masters and tutors are prohibited from teaching youth without licence from the archbishop or bishop, under pain of three months imprisonment.

3d. *An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles*, 16 Car. II. ch. 4. Whereby it is declared unlawful to be present at any meeting for religious worship, except according to the usage of the church of England, where five besides the family should be assembled; in which case the first and second offences are made subject to a certain fine or three months imprisonment, on conviction before a justice of peace on the oath of a single witness; and the third offence, on conviction at the sessions, or before the justices of assize, is punishable by transportation for seven years.

4th. *An act for restraining non-conformists from inhabiting in corporations*, 17 Car. II. ch. 2. Whereby all dissenting ministers, who would not take an oath therein specified against the lawfulness of taking up arms against the king on any pretence whatsoever, and that they would never attempt any alteration of government in church and state; are banished five miles from all corporation towns, and subject to a fine of forty pounds, in case they should preach in any conventicle.

5th. *Another act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles*, 22 Car. II. ch. 5. Whereby any persons who teach in such conventicles, are subject to a penalty of twenty pounds for the first, and forty pounds for every subsequent offence; and any person who permits such a conventicle to be held in their

their house, is liable to a fine of twenty pounds; and justices of peace are empowered to break open doors where they are informed such conventicles are held, and take the offenders into custody.

6th. *An act for preventing dangers which may happen from popish recusants*, commonly called the *test act*, whereby (as afore-mentioned) every person is incapacitated from holding a place of trust under the government, without taking the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England.

By the rigorous execution of these laws, the non-conformist ministers were separated from their congregations, from their maintenance, from their houses and families, and their people reduced to distress and misery, or obliged to worship God in a manner contrary to the dictates of their consciences, on penalty of heavy fines, or of being shut up in a prison among thieves and robbers. Great numbers retired to the plantations; but Dr. *Owen*, who was shipping off his effects for New-England, was forbid to leave the kingdom by express orders from king *Charles* himself. If there had been treason or rebellion in the case, it had been justifiable; but when it was purely for non-conformity to certain rites and ceremonies, and a form of church government, it can deserve no better name than that of *persecution*.

The house of commons, from their apprehensions of the growth of popery and of a popish successor to the crown, petitioned the king against the duke's second marriage with the princess of Modena, an Italian papist, but his majesty told them they were too late. Upon which the Commons stopt their *money-bill*, voted the standing army a grievance, and were proceeding to other vigorous resolutions, when the king sent for them to the house of peers, and with a short speech prorogued them to January 7, after they had sat only nine days. In the mean time the *duke's marriage* was consummated, with the consent of the French king, which raised the expectation of the Roman catholicks higher than ever.

This induced the more zealous protestants to think of a firmer union with the dissenters; accordingly Mr. *Baxter*, at the request of the earl of *Orrery*, drew up some proposals for a comprehension, agreeably to those already mentioned.*

* Baxter, part iii. p. 110.

“ He proposed that the *meeting-houses* of dissenters should be
 “ allowed as *chapels*, till there were vacancies for them in the
 “ churches—and that those who had no meeting-houses
 “ should be school-masters or lecturers till such time—that
 “ none should be obliged to read the *apocrypha*—that pa-
 “ rents might have liberty to dedicate their own children in
 “ baptism—that ministers might preach where somebody
 “ else who had the room might read the common-prayer
 “ —that ministers be not obliged to give the sacrament to
 “ such as are guilty of scandalous immoralities, nor to re-
 “ fuse it to those who scruple kneeling—that persons excom-
 “ municated may not be imprisoned and ruined—and that
 “ toleration be given to all conscientious dissenters—.”

These proposals, being communicated to the earl of *Orrery*, were put into the hands of bishop *Morley*,* who returned them without yielding to any thing of importance. The motion was also revived in the house of commons; but the shortness of the sessions put a stop to its progress. Besides, the court bishops seemed altogether indisposed to any concessions.†

This year put an end to the lives of two considerable non-conformist divines; Mr. *William Whitaker*, the ejected minister of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, son of Mr. *Jer. Whitaker*, a divine of great learning in the oriental languages. He was an elegant preacher, and a good man from his youth. While he was at Emanuel college, he was universally beloved; and when he came to London, generally esteemed for his sweet disposition. He was first preacher at Hornchurch, and then at the place from whence he was ejected. He afterwards preached to a separate congregation as the times would permit, and died in the year 1673.§

Mr. *James Janeway*, M. A. was born in Hertfordshire, and student of Christ church, Oxford. He was afterwards tutor in the house of Mr. *Stringer* at Windsor; but not being satisfied with conformity, he opened a separate meeting in Rotherhithe, where he preached to a numerous congregation with great success.|| He was a zealous preacher, and fervent in prayer, but being weakly, his indefatigable labours broke

* Page 109. † Baxter, part iii. p. 140. § Calamy, vol. ii. p. 25. Palmer, vol. i. p. 127. || Calamy, vol. ii. p. 838. and Palmer, vol. p. 634.

his constitution, so that he died of a consumption March 16 1673-4, in the 38th year of his age.

The revocation of the *indulgence*, and the displeasure of the court against the dissenters, for deserting them in their designs to prevent the passing the *test act*, let loose the whole tribe of *informers*. The papists being excluded from places of trust, the court had no tendernefs for protestant non-conformists; the judges therefore had orders to quicken the execution of the laws against them. The estates of those of the best quality in each county were ordered to be seized. The mouths of the high church *pulpiteers* were encouraged to open as loud as possible: one in his sermon before the house of commons told them, that the non-conformists ought not to be tolerated, but to be *cured by vengeance*. He urged them to set fire to the faggot, and to teach them by scourges or scorpions, and open their eyes with gall. The king himself issued out a proclamation for putting the penal laws in full execution; which had its effect.*

Mr. *Baxter* was one of the first upon whom the storm fell, being apprehended as he was preaching his Thursday lecture at Mr. *Turner's*. He went with a constable and *Keting* the informer to Sir *William Pulteney's*, who, demanding the warrant, found it signed by *Henry Montague*, esq; bailiff of Westminster. Sir *William* told the constable, that none but a city justice could give a warrant to apprehend a man for preaching in the city, whereupon he was dismissed.† Endeavours were used to surprize Dr. *Manton*, and send him to prison upon the *Oxford* or *five-mile act*, but Mr. *Bedford* preaching for him was accidentally apprehended in his stead; and though he had taken the oath in the *five-mile act*, was fined twenty pounds, and the place forty pounds, which was paid by the hearers.

The like ravages were made in most parts of England; Mr. *Joseph Swaffield*, of Salisbury, was seized preaching in his own house, and bound over to the assizes, and imprisoned in the county gaol almost a year. Twenty-five persons, men and women, were indicted for a riot, that is, for a *conven-*

* State Tracts, vol. iii. p. 42. Baxter, part iii. p. 153. † Ibid. part iii, p. 155. § Conf. Plea, part iv. p. 75.

ticle, and suffered the penalty of the law. § The informers were Roman catholicks, one of whom was executed for treason in the popish plot.—At East-Salcomb, in Devonshire, lived one *Joan Boston*, an old blind widow, who, for a supposed conventicle held at her house, was fined twelve pounds, and for non-payment of it threatened with a gaol. After some weeks the officers broke open her doors, and carried away her goods to above the value of the fine. They sold as many goods as were worth thirteen pounds for fifty shillings; six hogheads valued at forty shillings for nine shillings; and pewter, feather-beds, &c. for twenty shillings; besides the rent which they demanded of her tenants.—Mr. *John Thompson*, minister in Bristol, was apprehended, and refusing to take the Oxford oath was committed to prison, where he was seized with a fever through the noisomeness of the place: A physician being sent for, advised his removal; and a bond of five hundred pounds was offered the sheriff for his security: Application was also made to the bishop without success; so he died in prison March 4, declaring, that *if he had known when he came to prison, that he should die there, he would have done no otherwise than he did*. Numberless examples of the like kind might be produced during the recess of the parliament. But the king's want of money, and the discontents of his people, obliged him to put an end to the war with the Dutch, with no other advantage than a sum of two or three hundred thousand pounds for his expences.

His majesty was unwilling to meet his parliament, who were now full of zeal against popery, and began to consider the non-conformists as auxiliaries to the protestant cause; but necessity obliged him to convene them; and as soon as they met Jan. 7, 1674, they addressed his majesty to banish all papists, who were not house-keepers nor menial servants to peers, ten miles from London; and to appoint a fast for the calamities of the nation. They attacked the remaining members of the *cabal*, and voted an address for removing them from his majesty's council; upon which the king prorogued them for above a year, after they had sat six weeks, without giving any money, or passing one single act; which was an

indication of ill blood between the king and parliament, and a certain forerunner of vengeance upon the *dissenters*. But to stifle the clamours of the people, his majesty republished his proclamation,* forbidding their meddling in state affairs; or talking seditiously in coffee-houses; and then commanded an order to be made publick, “that effectual care be taken
“for the *suppressing of conventicles*: and whereas divers
“pretend *old licences* from his majesty, and would support
“themselves by that pretence, his majesty declares, that all
“his licences were long since recalled, and that no *conven-*
“*ticle* has any authority, allowance, or encouragement from
“him.”†

This year put an end to the life of that great man *John Milton*, born in London, and educated in Christ college, Cambridge, where he discovered an uncommon genius, which was very much improved by his travels. He was Latin secretary to the long parliament, and wrote in defence of the murder of king *Charles I.* against *Salmatius* and others, with great spirit, and in a pure and elegant Latin stile. He was afterwards secretary to the protector *Cromwell*, and lost the sight of both his eyes by hard study. At the Restoration some of his books were burnt, and himself in danger, but he was happily included in the act of indemnity, and spent the remainder of his life in retirement. He was a man of an unequalled genius, and acquired immortal fame by his incomparable poem of *Paradise Lost*; in which he manifested such a sublimity of thought, and such elegance of diction, as perhaps were never exceeded in any age or nation of the world. His daughters read to him, after he was blind, the Greek poets, though they understood not the language. He died in mean circumstances at Bunhill near London, in the 67th year of his age.‡

* Gazette, No. 883.

† Ibid. No. 962, 965.

‡ It is but a piece of justice to the memory and virtues of some of the most distinguished characters of the *conformists* and *non-conformists* of this period, to record here their pious exertions for the religious instruction of the Welch. A subscription was opened, and an association was formed, for the distribution of bibles, testaments, and practical treatises, and for opening schools, in the principality of Wales. At the head of this institution was Dr. *Tillotson*, then dean of Canterbury. The gentlemen who were the chief contributors to this design were *Whichcott, Ford, Bates, Outram,*
Vol. IV. N N Patrick,

Though the protestant religion stood in need of the united strength of all its professors against the advances of popery, and the parliament had moved for a toleration of *protestant dissenters*, yet the bishops continued to prosecute them in common with the papists. Archbishop *Sheldon* directed circular letters to the bishops of his province, enjoining them to give directions to their archdeacons and commissaries, to procure particular information from the churchwardens of their several parishes on the following enquiries, and transmit them to him after the next visitation: 1. What number of persons are there, by common estimation, inhabiting within each parish subject to your jurisdiction? 2. What number of popish recusants, or persons suspected of recusancy, are resident among the inhabitants aforesaid? 3. What number of other dissenters are there in each parish of what sect soever, which either obstinately refuse, or wholly absent themselves from the communion of the church of England, at such times as by law they are required?—Some of the clergy were grieved at these proceedings, and Dr. *Tillotson* and *Stillingfleet* met privately with Dr. *Manton*, *Bates*, *Pool*, and *Baxter*, to consider of terms of accommodation, which, when they had agreed upon and communicated to the bishops, they were disallowed; so that when *Tillotson* saw how things were going, he cautiously withdrew from the odium, and wrote the following letter to Mr. *Baxter*, April 11, 1675: “ That he was unwilling his name should be made publick “ in the affair, since it was come to nothing: not but that I “ do heartily desire an accommodation, (says he) and shall

Patrick, *Durham*, *Stillingfleet*, *Meriton*, *Burton*, *Baxter*, *Gouge*, *Poole*, *Fowler*, *Newman*, *Reading*, *Griffith*, *Short*, *Gape*, and the beneficent *Firmin*. From Midsummer 1674 to Lady-day 1675, they had distributed thirty-two Welsh bibles, which were all that could be procured in Wales or London; 240 new testaments, and 500 Whole Duty of Man, in Welch. In the preceding year 812 poor children had, by the charity of others, been put to school in 51 of the chief towns in Wales. The distribution of these books provoked others to that charitable work, so that the children placed at schools by these gentlemen, and others, from their own purse, amounted to 1850. It appears as if this undertaking gave birth to an edition of the bible and liturgy in the Welch tongue, in which Mr. *Gouge* had a principal concern, and to which Dr. *Tillotson* gave 50l. The impression extended to 8000 copies. Life of Mr. James Owen, p. 10, 11, 12, and Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, p. 50. Ed.

“ always

“always endeavour it; but I am sure it will be a prejudice
 “to me, and signify nothing to the effecting the thing, which,
 “as circumstances are, cannot pass in either house *without*
 “*the concurrence of a considerable part of the bishops, and the*
 “*countenance of his majesty, which at present I see little reason*
 “*to expect.*”†

But the bishops' conduct made them unpopular; and drew on them many mortifications. People's compassion began to move towards their dissenting brethren, whom they frequently saw carried in great numbers to prison, and spoiled of their goods, for no other crime but a tender conscience. The very name of an *informer* became as odious as their behaviour was infamous. The aldermen of London often went out of the way when they heard of their coming; and some denied them their warrants, though by the act they forfeited one hundred pounds. Alderman *Forth* bound over an informer to his good behaviour, for breaking into his chamber without leave.* When twelve or thirteen bishops came into the city to dine with Sir *Nathaniel Herne* one of the sheriff of London, and exhorted him to put the laws in execution against the non-conformists, he told them plainly, they could not trade with their fellow-citizens one day, and put them in prison the next.

The moderate churchmen shewing a disposition to unite with the non-conformists against popery, the court resolved to take in the old ranting cavaliers, to strengthen the opposition; for this purpose *Morley* and some other bishops were sent for to court, and told, it was a great misfortune that the church party and dissenters were so disposed to unite, and run into one; the court was therefore willing to make the church easy, and to secure to the king the allegiance of all his subjects at the same time; for this purpose a bill was brought into the house of lords, entitled, *an act to prevent the dangers that may arise from persons disaffected to the government*; by which all such as enjoyed any beneficial office or employment, ecclesiastical, civil, or military; all who voted in elections of parliament men; all privy counsellors, and members of parliament themselves, were under a penalty to take the following oath, being the same as was required by the *five-*

† Baxter, part iii. p. 157, 158. * Compl. History, p. 338.

mile act: I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the king: and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him in pursuance of such commission. And I do swear, that I will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the government either in church or state. So help me God. The design of the bill was to enable the ministry to prosecute their destructive schemes against the constitution and the protestant religion, without fear of opposition even from the parliament itself.* The chief speakers for the bill were, the lord treasurer and the lord keeper, lord *Danby* and *Finch*, with bishop *Morley* and *Ward*; but the earl of *Shaftesbury*, duke of *Buckingham*, lord *Hollis*, and *Halifax*, laid open the mischievous designs and consequences of it: it was considered as disinheriting men of their birthright, to shut them out of from the right of election by an ensnaring oath, as well as destructive of the privilege of parliament, which was to vote freely in all cases without any previous obligation; that the peace of the nation would be best secured by making good laws; and that oaths and tests without these, would be no real security; scrupulous men might be fettered by them, but that the bulk of mankind would boldly take any test, and as easily break through it, as had appeared in the late times. The bill was committed, and debated paragraph by paragraph, but the heats occasioned by it were so violent, that the king came unexpectedly to the house June 9, and prorogued the parliament;† so the bill was dropt; but the debates of the lords upon the intended oath being made pub-

* Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 167. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 130—134.

† The immediate occasion of the king's breaking up the sessions, was a dispute concerning privilege between the two houses, to which another question gave birth, while the bill for the new test was pending. Of this bill it was justly said, "No conveyancer could have drawn up a disquietment of the whole birthright of England in more compendious terms." The debate on it lasted five several days, in the House of Lords, before the bill was committed to a committee of the whole house, and eleven or twelve days afterwards: and the house sat many days till eight or nine at night, and sometimes till midnight. But, through the interruption given to it, by the matter just mentioned, the bill was never reported from the committee to the house; a most happy escape! Burnet's History, vol. ii. p. 133, and Dr. Calamy's Historical Account of his own Life, MS. p. 63. Ed.

lick, were ordered to be burnt. Two proclamations were re-published on this occasion; one to prevent seditious discourses in coffee-houses, the other to put a stop to the publishing seditious libels.

The court had reason to desire the passing this bill, because the oath had been already imposed upon the *non-conformists*; and the court clergy had been preaching in their churches, for several years, that *passive obedience* and *non-resistance* were the received doctrines of the church of England; the bishops had possessed the king and his brother with the belief of it, and if it had now passed into a law, the whole nation had been bound in chains, and the court might have done as they pleased. But the parliament saw through the design; and Dr. *Burnet* says,* he opened the reserve to the duke of *York*, by telling him, “that there was no trusting to disputable opinions; that *there were distinctions and reserves in those who had maintained these points*; and that when men saw a visible danger of being first undone, and then burnt, they would be inclined to the shortest way of arguing, and save themselves the best way they could; interest and self-preservation being powerful motives.” This might be wholesome advice to the duke, but implies such a *secret reserve* as may cover the most wicked designs, and is not fit for the lips of a protestant divine, nor even of an honest man.

The daring insolence of the papists, who had their regular clergy in every corner of the town, was so great, that they not only challenged the protestant divines to disputations, but threatened to assassinate such as preached openly against their tenets; which confirmed the lords and commons in their persuasion, of the absolute necessity of entering into more moderate and healing measures with protestant dissenters, notwithstanding the inflexible steadiness of the bishops against it. Upon this occasion the duke of *Buckingham*, lately commenced patriot, made the following speech in the house of lords, which is inserted in the *commons journal*. “My Lords, there is a thing called liberty, which (whatsoever some men may think) is *that* the people of England are fondest of, it is that they will never part with, and is that his majesty in his

* Burnet, p. 91.

“ speech

“ speech has promised to take particular care of. This, my
“ lords, in my opinion, can never be done without giving an
“ *indulgence to all protestant dissenters*. It is certainly a very
“ uneasy kind of life to any man, that has either christian
“ charity, humanity, or good-nature, to see his fellow-subjects
“ daily abused, divested of their liberty and birth-rights, and
“ miserably thrown out of their possessions and freeholds,
“ only because they cannot agree with others in some opi-
“ nions and niceties of religion, which their consciences will
“ not give them leave to consent to, and which, even by the
“ confession of those who would impose them, are no ways
“ necessary to salvation.

“ But, my lords, besides this, and all that may be said
“ upon it, in order to the improvement of our trade and in-
“ crease of the wealth, strength, and greatness of this na-
“ tion, (which, with your leave, I shall presume to discourse
“ of some other time) there is, methinks, in this notion of
“ persecution, a very gross mistake, both as to the point of
“ government and the point of religion: there is so as to the
“ *point of government*, because it makes every man’s safety
“ depend upon the wrong place, not upon the governors,
“ or man’s living well towards the civil government esta-
“ blished by law, but upon his being transported with zeal for
“ every opinion that is held by those that have power in the
“ church that is in fashion; and I conceive it is a mistake in
“ *religion*, because it is positively against the express doctrine
“ and example of *Jesus Christ*. Nay, my lords, as to our
“ protestant religion, there is something in it yet worse, for
“ we protestants maintain that none of those opinions which
“ christians differ about are infallible, and therefore in us it
“ is somewhat an inexcusable conception, that men ought to
“ be deprived of their inheritance, and all the certain con-
“ veniencies and advantages of life, because they will not
“ agree with us in our uncertain opinions of religion.

“ My humble motion therefore to your lordships is, that
“ you will give leave to bring in *a bill of indulgence to all*
“ *protestant dissenters*. I know very well, that every peer
“ in this realm has a right to bring into parliament any bill
“ he conceives to be useful to his nation; but I thought it
“ more respectful to your lordships to ask your leave before;
“ and

“and I cannot think the doing it will be any prejudice to the
“bill, because I am confident the reason, the prudence, and
“the charitableness of it, will be able to justify it to this
“house, and to the whole world.” Accordingly the house
gave *his grace* leave to bring in a bill to this purpose; but
this and some others were lost by the warm debates which
arose in the house upon the impeachment of the earl of
Danby, and which occasioned the sudden prorogation of the
parliament June 9, without having passed one publick bill;
after which his majesty, upon further discontent, prorogued
them for fifteen months, which gave occasion to a question
in the ensuing session, whether they were not legally dissolved.

From this time to the discovery of the popish plot, parliaments were called and adjourned (says Mr. *Coke*) by order from France or French ministers and pensioners, to carry on the design of promoting the *catholick cause* in masquerade.* The king himself was a known pensioner of *Lewis XIV.* who had appropriated a fund of twenty millions of livres for the service of these kingdoms, out of which the duke of *York*, and the prime ministers and leaders of parties, received the wages of their commission, according as the French ambassador represented their merit. The *pensioners* made it their business to raise the cry of the church's danger, and of the return of *forty-one*. This was spread over the whole nation in a variety of pamphlets, and news-papers, &c. written by their own hirelings; and if they met with opposition from the friends of the country, the authors and printers were sure to be fined and imprisoned. A reward of fifty pounds was offered for the printer of a pamphlet, supposed to be written by *Andrew Marvel*, entitled, *An account of the growth of power, and a seasonable argument to all grand juries*; and one hundred pounds for the persons who conveyed it to the press. No man could publish any thing on the side of liberty and the protestant religion, but with the hazard of a prison, and a considerable fine; nor is this to be wondered at, considering that Sir *Roger L'Estrange* was the sole licenser of the press.

This gentleman was a pensioner of the court, and a champion for the prerogative; he was a younger son of Sir *Hammond L'Estrange* of Norfolk, who, having conceived hopes

* Detect. p. 500.

of surprizing the town of Lynn for his majesty in the year 1644, obtained a commission from the king for that purpose, but being apprehended and tried by a court-martial, for coming into the parliament's quarters as a spy, he was condemned, and ordered to be executed in Smithfield Jan. 2, 1744-5, but by the intercession of some powerful friends he was reprieved, and kept in Newgate several years. His sufferings made such an impression on his spirit, that on the king's restoration, he was resolved to make reprisals on the whole party. He was master of a fine English stile, and of a great deal of keen wit, which he employed without any regard to truth or candour, in the service of popery and arbitrary power, and in vilifying the best and most undoubted patriots. Never did man fight so, to force the dissenters into the church, (says *Coke*) and when he had got them there, branded them for *trimmers*, and would turn them out again. He was a most mercenary writer, and had a pen at the service of those who would pay him best. *Forty-one* was his retreat against all who durst contend against him and the prerogative. Sir *Roger* observed no measures with his adversaries in his *Weekly Observators*, *Citt and Bumpkin*, *Foxes and Firebrands*,* and other pamphlets; and when the falseness of his reasoning, and insolence of his sarcasm, were exposed, *like a second Don Quixot*, he called aloud to the civil magistrate to come

* Dr. *Grey* says, that Sir *Roger L'Estrange* was not the author of this work; that the first part was written by Dr. *Nalson*, and the other parts, if he mistook not, by Mr. *Ware*, the son of Sir *James Ware*, the great antiquarian. The most valuable of Sir *Roger L'Estrange's* publications is reckoned to be his Translation of *Josephus*. His stile, which Mr. *Neal* commends, has been severely censured by other writers. Mr. *Gordon* says, that "his productions are not fit to be read by any who have taste and good-breeding: they are full of technical terms, of phrases picked up in the streets, from apprentices and porters, and nothing can be more low and nauseous." Mr. *Granger* observes, that *L'Estrange* was one of the great corrupters of our language, by excluding vowels and other letters commonly pronounced, and introducing "pert and affected phrases." He was licenser of the press to *Charles* and *James II.* and died 11th December, 1704, *Æt.* 88. Queen *Mary*, we are told, made this anagram on his name.

" Roger L'Estrange,
" Lying Strange Roger."

British Biography, vol. vi. p. 317. Granger's History of England, vol. iv. p. 70. Ed.

in

in to his aid. He represented the religion of the dissenters, as a medley of folly and enthusiasm; their principles and tempers as turbulent, seditious, and utterly inconsistent with the peace of the state; their pretences as frivolous, and often hypocritical. He excited the government to use the utmost severities to extirpate them out of the kingdom.* He furnished the clergy with pulpit materials to rail at them, which they improved with equal eagerness and indiscretion; so that popery was forgot, and nothing so common in their mouths as *forty-one*. *L'Estrange* published some of the *incautious* expressions of some of the dissenters in the late times, which he picked out of their writings, to excite the populace against the whole party, as if it had not been easy to make reprisals from the ranting expressions of the tories of this reign: for these exploits he was maintained by the court, and knighted; and yet when the tide turned in the reign of king *James II.* he forgot *his raillery against the principles of the non-conformists*, and wrote as zealously for liberty of conscience, on the foot of the dispensing power, as any man in the kingdom.

But in answer to the invectives of this venal tribe, a pamphlet was published with the approbation of several ministers, entitled, *the Principles and Practices of several Non-conformists, shewing that their religion is no other than what is professed in the church of England*. The authors declare,† “that they
 “heartily own the protestant reformation *in doctrine*, as con-
 “tained in the articles of the church of England——that
 “they are willing to embrace bishop *Usher*’s model of church
 “government, which king *Charles I.* admitted——they
 “hold it unlawful, by the constitution and laws of this
 “kingdom, for subjects to take arms against the king, his
 “office, authority, or person, or those legally commissioned
 “and authorized by him; nor will they endeavour any al-
 “teration in church or state by any other means than by
 “prayer to God, and by petitioning their superiors——

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 252. Rapin.

† To discredit Mr. *Corbet*’s piece, Dr. *Grey* refers to *Anthony Wood*’s character of him, as a preacher of sedition, and a vilifier of the king and his party. But with such writers every sentiment, that does not breathe the spirit of passive obedience, is seditious. Besides, Mr. *Corbet*’s vindication turned on notorious facts. Ed.

“ they

“ they acknowledge the king’s supremacy over all per-
 “ sons, &c. within his dominions—they declare that their
 “ doctrine tends to no unquietness or confusion, any more
 “ than the doctrine of the church of England. And they
 “ think it not fair dealing in their adversaries, to repeat
 “ and aggravate all intemperate passages vented in the late
 “ times, when impetuous actings hurried men into extre-
 “ mities; and *they apprehend it would not tend to the ad-*
 “ *vantage of the conforming clergy, if collections should be pub-*
 “ *lished of all their imprudences and weaknesses, as has been*
 “ *done on the other side*—they abhor seditious conven-
 “ ticles, and affirm, that insurrections were never contrived
 “ in their meetings, nor in any whereof they are conscious.
 “ Experience (say they) hath witnessed our peaceableness,
 “ and that disloyalty or sedition is not to be found among us,
 “ by the most inquisitive of our adversaries.—They desire
 “ the church of England to take notice, that they have no
 “ mind to promote popish designs; that they are aware of
 “ the advantage that papists make of the divisions of pro-
 “ testants—that the invectives thrown out against them, are
 “ made up only of big and swelling words, or of the indis-
 “ cretions of a few, with which they are not chargeable—
 “ they do not pretend to be courtiers or philosophers, but
 “ they teach their people to fear God and honour the king;
 “ to love the brotherhood, to bridle their tongues, to be
 “ meek and lowly, and do their own work with quietness.”*

Though the persecution continued very fierce, the non-
 conformists ventured to assemble in private, and several
 pamphlets were published about this time [1676] in their
 defence; as, *the Peaceable Design; or, an account of the Non-*
conformist meetings; by some London ministers: designed, says
 Dr. Stillingfleet, to be presented to parliament. *Reasons which*

* On the 15th of January, 1675-6, died *Dorothy* the wife of *Richard*
Cromwell, in the 49th year of her age; who, it is thought, never saw her
 husband after he retired into France. She was the daughter of *Richard*
Major, esq; of Hurley in Hampshire, where she was married on the 1st of
 May 1649. The character given of her is, “ that she was a prudent,
 “ godly, practical christian.” So far, it is observed, this lady has been
 happy, that amongst the illiberal things that have been levelled against the
 protectoral house of *Cromwell*, her character is almost the only one, that
 scandal has left untouched. *Biographia Britan.* 2d ed. vol. iv. p. 538.

prevailed

prevailed with the dissenter in Bristol to continue their meetings, however prosecuted or disturbed—Separation no Schism—A Rebuke to Informers; with a plea for the Ministers of the Gospel called Non-conformists, and their meetings; with advice to those to whom the informers apply for assistance in their undertaking.

INFORMERS were now become the terror of the non-conformists, and the reproach of a civilized nation.* They went about in disguise, and, like wandering strollers, lived upon the plunder of industrious families. They are a select company (says the *Conformists' Plea for the Non-conformists*) whom the long-suffering of God permits for a time; they are of no good reputation; they do not so much as know the names or persons in the country whom they molest, but go by report of their under-servants and accomplices. They come from two or three counties off, to set up this new trade; whether they are papists or nominal protestants, who can tell? They never go to their parish churches, nor any other, but lie in wait and ambush for their prey; their estate is invisible, their country unknown to many, and their morals are as bad as the very dregs of the age: these are the men who direct and rule many of the magistrates; who live upon the spoil of better christians and subjects than themselves, and go away with honest men's goods honestly gotten.†—They are generally poor, (says another writer) as are many of the *justices*, so that they shared the booty belonging to the king as well as the poor among themselves; by which means the king and the poor got but little.‡

Their practice was to insinuate themselves into an acquaintance with some under-servants, or lodgers in a *non-conformist family*, under the cloak of religion, in order to discover the place of their *meeting*. They walked the streets on the *Lord's day*, to observe which way any suspected persons went. They frequently sat down in coffee-houses, and places of publick resort, to listen to conversation. They could turn them-

* Conform. Plea, part iii. p. 8, 9, 10. † Sewel, p. 493.

‡ Dr. Grey is angry with Mr. Neal for not quoting the remainder of the paragraph from *Sewel*: in which that writer owns that some honest justices discouraged the practices of the informers, and availed themselves of any defect or failure in their evidence, to clear those against whom they informed. Ed.

selves into any shape, and counterfeit any principles to obtain their ends. When they had discovered a conventicle, they immediately got a warrant from some who were called *confiding justices*, to break open the house. If the minister was in the midst of his sermon or prayer, they commanded him in the king's name, to come down from his pulpit; and if he did not immediately obey, a file of musqueteers was usually sent up to pull him down by force, and to take him into custody; the congregation was broke up, and the people guarded along the street to a magistrate, and from him to a prison, unless they immediately paid their fines: the goods of the house were rifled, and frequently carried off, as a security for the large fine set upon it.

This was a new way of raising contributions, but it seldom or never prospered; that which was ill-gotten was as ill-spent, upon lewd women, or in taverns and ale-houses, in gaming, or some kind of debauchery. An *informers* was but one degree above a beggar; there was a remarkable blast of providence upon their persons and substance: most of them died in poverty and extreme misery; and as they lived in disgrace, they seemed to die by a remarkable hand of God. *Stroud* and *Marshall*, with all their plunder, could not keep out of prison; and when *Keting*, another informer, was confined for debt, he wrote to Mr. *Baxter* to endeavour his deliverance, confessing he believed God had sent that calamity upon him, for giving him so much trouble. Another died in the Compter for debt; and great numbers by their vices came to miserable and untimely ends.

But as some died off, others succeeded, who by the instigation of the court disturbed all the meetings they could find. The king commanded the judges and justices of London to put the penal laws in strict execution; and Sir *Jos. Sheldon*, lord-mayor, and kinsman to the archbishop, did not fail to do his part. Sir *Tho. Davis* issued a warrant to distrain on Mr. *Baxter* for 50l. on account of his lecture in New-street; and when he had built a little chapel in Oxenden-street, the doors were shut up after he had preached in it once. In April this year, [1676] he was disturbed by a company of constables and officers, as he was preaching in Swallow-street, who beat
drums

drums under the windows, to interrupt the service, because they had not a warrant to break open the house.

The court bishops, as has been observed more than once, pushed on the *informers* to do all the mischief they could to the non-conformists; “the prelates will not suffer them to be quiet in their families,* (says a considerable writer of these times) though they have given large and ample testimonies, that they are willing to live quietly by their church neighbours——” The dissenting protestants have been reputed the only enemies of the nation, and therefore only persecuted, (says a noble writer) while the papists remain undisturbed, being by the court thought loyal, and by our great bishops not dangerous. Mr. *Locke*, bishop *Burnet*, and others, have set a mark upon the names of archbishop *Sheldon*, bishop *Morley*, *Gunning*, *Henchman*, *Ward*, &c. which will not be easily erased; but I mention no more, because there were others of a better spirit, who resided in their dioceses, and had no concern with the court.

Among these we may reckon Dr. *Edward Reynolds*, bishop of Norwich, born in Southampton 1599, and educated in Merton college, Oxford; he was preacher to the society of Lincoln's-Inn, and reckoned one of the most eloquent preachers of his age, though he had some hoarseness in his voice.† In the time of the civil wars he took part with the parliament, and was *one of the assembly of divines*. In the year 1646, he was appointed one of the preachers to the university of Oxford, and afterwards a *visitor*. Upon the reform of the university, he was made dean of Christ-church, and vice-chancellor. After the king's death, he lost his deanery for refusing the *engagement*, but complied with all the other changes till the king's restoration, when he appeared with the presbyterians, but was prevailed with to accept a bishoprick on the terms of the king's declaration, which never took place. He was a person of singular affability, meekness, and humility, and a frequent preacher.‡ He was

* State Tracts, vol. ii. p. 54, 55. Vol. iii. p. 42, &c.

† Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 420.

‡ “He was universally allowed,” says Mr. *Granger*, “to be a man of extraordinary parts, and discovers in his writings a richness of fancy as well as a solidity of judgement.” He was buried in the new chapel belonging to his palace, which he built at his own expence. History of England, vol. iii. p. 241.

a constant resident in his diocese, and a good old Puritan, who never concerned himself with the politicks of the court. He died at Norwich Jan. 16, 1676, *ætatis* seventy-six.

[On May the 22d, 1676, died, aged 73, the pious and learned Mr. *John Tombes*, B. D. ejected from the living of Leominster, in Herefordshire. He was born, in 1603, at Bewdley in Worcestershire. At fifteen years of age, having made a good proficiency in grammar learning, he was sent to Magdalen-hall, Oxford; where he studied under the celebrated Mr. *William Pemble*; upon whose decease he was chosen, though but twenty-one years of age, such was the reputation of his parts and learning, to succeed him in the catechetical lecture in that hall. He held this lecture about seven years, and then removed first to Worcester, and then to Leominster; in both places he had the name of a very popular preacher; and of the latter living he was, soon after, possessed; and as the emolument of it was small, lord viscount *Scudamore*, out of respect to Mr. *Tombes*, made an addition to it. In 1641 he was, through the spirit of the church party, obliged to leave this town; and fled to Bristol, where general *Fiennes* gave him the living of All-Saints. The city being taken by the king's party, his wife and children being plundered, and a special warrant being out to apprehend him, he escaped with difficulty, and got to London with his family, Sept. 22, 1643. Here he was sometime minister of Felichurch, till his stipend was taken away for not practising the baptism of infants. He was then chosen preacher to the honourable societies at the Temple, on condition that he would not touch on the controversy about it in the pulpit. Here he continued four years, and was then dismissed for having published a treatise on the subject. He was, after this, chosen minister in the town of his nativity, and had also the parsonage of Ross given him, but he gave up his interest in the latter, to accept the mastership of the hospital at Ledbury. When the affections of the people at Bewdley were alienated from him, on account of his sentiments on baptism, he was restored to his living at Leominster. In 1653, he was appointed a *tryer* for candidates for the ministry. After the Restoration he quitted his places, and laid down the ministry, and went to reside at Salisbury; from whence he had

not

not long before married a rich widow, and conformed to the church as a *lay-communicant*. He was held in great respect by lord chancellor *Hyde*, bishop *Sanderson*, bishop *Barlow*, and Dr. *Ward* bishop of Salisbury, whom, during his residence in that city, he often visited. Mr. *Wood* says, “that there were “few better disputants in his age than he was.” Mr. *Wall* speaks of him as “a man of the best parts in our nation, and “perhaps in any.” Dr. *Calamy* represents him as one, “whom all the world must own to have been a very considerable man and an excellent scholar.” And it perpetuates his memory with honour, that the lords, in their conference with the commons, in 1702, on the bill to prevent *occasional conformity*, supported their argument, that receiving the sacrament in church did not necessarily import an entire *conformity*, by an appeal to his example: “There was a “very learned and famous man,” said they, “that lived at “Salisbury, Mr. *Tombes*, who was a very zealous *conformist* “in all points but in one, infant baptism.” Mr. *Tombes* was one of the first of the clergy of his day, who attempted a reformation in the church, and to remove all human inventions in the worship of God: with this view he preached a sermon, which he was commanded by the house of commons to print. So early as the year 1627, being led in the course of his lectures to discuss the subject of baptism, he was brought into doubts concerning the authority for that of infants, which for some years he continued to practise only on the ground of the apostle’s words, 1 Cor. vii. 14. But the answer he received to that argument from an ingenious *baptist* at Bristol, put him to a stand as to that text. When he was in London, he consulted some of the learned ministers there on the question, and at a particular conference debated the matters with them; but it broke up without obviating his objections. He afterwards laid his reasons for doubting the lawfulness of the common practice in Latin before the Westminster assembly: after waiting many months, though he had been informed that a committee was to be appointed to consider the point, he could obtain no answer, nor hear that it was so much as admitted to a debate; but his papers were tossed up and down from one to another to expose him. On
being

being dismissed from the Temple, he printed his Apology; of which Mr. *Batchiler* says, “having perused this mild Apology, I conceive that the ingenuity, learning and piety, therein contained, deserve the press.” He repeatedly took up his pen in this controversy, of which he was judged to be a perfect master, and he was often drawn into publick disputations on it, particularly with Mr. *Baxter*, at Bewdley. “The victory, as usual,” says Mr. *Nelson*, “was claimed on both sides: but some of the learned, who were far from approving his cause, yielded the advantage both of learning and argument to Mr. *Tombes*.”* He wrote more books on the subject than any one man in England; and, continuing minister of the parish of Bewdley, he gathered a *separate* church of those of his own persuasion; which, though not large, consisted of some members distinguished for their piety and solid judgement; and three, who were afterwards eminent ministers of that persuasion, were trained up in it, viz. Mr. *Richard Adams*, Mr. *John Eccles*, and Captain *Boylston*. It continued till about the time of the king’s restoration. Crosby’s History of the Baptists, vol. i. p. 278—293. Palmer’s Non-conformist Memorial, vol. ii. p. 33—37; and Nelson’s Life of bishop Bull, p. 249—253. ED.

The murmurs of the people against the government, increased rather than diminished. When the parliament met, they addressed the king to enter into an alliance with the Dutch, and other confederates, for preserving the Spanish Netherlands, as the only means to save Great-Britain from popery and slavery.† But his majesty declared, he would not suffer his prerogative of making war and peace to be invaded, nor be prescribed to as to his alliances. However, he consented to a separate peace with the Dutch, and then prorogued the parliament to the middle of July, by which

* Nelson’s Life of bishop Bull, p. 251.

† Notwithstanding this alarm, on a calculation that was made, in the preceding year, the *Non-conformists* of all sorts, and *Papists* included, were found to be in proportion to the members of the church of *Eagland*, as one to twenty; “which was a number,” says bishop *Sherlock*, “too small to hurt the constitution.” His Test Act vindicated, as quoted by Dr. *Calamy*; Own Life, p. 63. MS. ED.

time the French had almost compleated their conquests of the Spanish Flanders. The chief thing the parliament could obtain, was the repeal of the popish act *de hæretico comburendo*.*

But when the campaign was over, his majesty did one of the most popular actions of his reign, which was marrying the princess MARY, eldest daughter of the duke of York, to the PRINCE OF ORANGE. The king imagined he could oblige the Dutch, by this family alliance, to submit to a disadvantageous peace with the French; but when the prince declared roundly, that he would not sacrifice his honour, nor the liberties of Europe, for a wife, his majesty said, he was an honest man, and gave him the *princess* without any conditions, to the great joy of all the true friends of their country, who had now a protestant heir to the crown in view, though at some distance. The nuptials were solemnized Nov. 4, 1677, and the royal pair soon after embarked privately for Holland.

This year died archbishop *Sheldon*, one of the most inveterate enemies of the non-conformists, a man of persecuting principles, and a tool of the prerogative, who made a jest of religion, any farther than it was a political engine of state.*

He

* This writ was taken away, on the principle of the wisdom of prevention, under the apprehension of popery, "to preclude the risk of being burnt themselves, not to exempt others from the possibility of being burnt." The conduct of administration, in this instance, "was the effect of fear, not of general and enlarged principles."

Hobhouse's Treatise on Heresy, p. 29, note.

Another modern writer observes, that "though the *state*, in this instance, shewed some moderation, neither then, nor at any subsequent time, has *any* alteration been made in the constitution of the *Church*." It still assumes exclusively to itself *all truth*, and may persecute some sectaries as Heretics, and punish them by "excommunication, degradation, and other ecclesiastical censures, not extending to death." It is not clear, that ecclesiastical judges may not, even now, *doom* them to the flames, though the civil power will not execute the sentence. High-Church Politics, p. 64. Ed.

* "I scarce believe," says Dr. Grey, "that the *moderate*, the *impartial*, the peaceable Mr. Neal, could write down so many untruths, in one paragraph, without blushing." The Doctor expresses himself in another place, vol. ii. p. 320, displeased with Mr. Neal for saying, that Dr. *Sheldon* "never gave any great specimens of his piety or learning to the world,"

He was succeeded by Dr. *Sancroft*, who was deprived for *jacobitism* at the revolution.* Dr. *Compton* was promoted to the see of London, in the room of Dr. *Henchman*, a man of weak but arbitrary principles, till it came to his turn to be a sufferer.† Many of the bishops waited on the king this summer,

vol. iii. p. 425. In reply to this he quotes bishop *Burnet*, who allows that *Sheldon* “was esteemed a learned man before the wars.” Here the doctor refers to bishop *Kennet*, who says that *Sheldon* “withdrew from all state affairs some years before his death;” and to *Eachard*, who extols his *learning* and *piety*, as well as his munificent benefactions, which we have specified, vol. iii. p. 425, note. Dr. *Samuel Parker*, who had been his chaplain, says, “he was a man of undoubted piety; but though he was very assiduous at prayers, yet he did not set so great a value upon them as others did, nor regarded so much worship as the use of worship, placing the chief point of religion in the practice of a good life.” Mr. *Granger* represents him as “meriting, by his benevolent heart, publick spirit, prudent conduct, and *exemplary piety*, the highest and most conspicuous station in the church.” These characters of his grace appear to contradict Mr. *Neal*. On the other hand, he is supported by the testimony of bishop *Burnet*, who says, “He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all, and spoke of it most commonly as of an engine of government, and a matter of policy:” and the *facts*, adduced above, shew his intolerant spirit. But all agree in describing him as a man whose generous and munificent deeds displayed a benevolent and liberal mind, and whose pleasantness and affability of manner were truly ingratiating. “His conversation,” as Dr. *Parker* draws his character, “was easy; he never sent any man away discontented; among his domesticks he was both pleasant and grave, and governed his family with authority and courtesy.” His advice to young noblemen and gentlemen, who, by the order of their parents, daily resorted to him, deserves to be mentioned. It was always this: “Let it be your principal care to become honest men, and afterwards be as devout and religious as you will. No piety will be of any advantage to yourselves or any body else, unless you are honest and moral men.” *Granger*, vol. iii. p. 230. *British Biography*, vol. v. p. 25, 26, note; and *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 257. Ed.

* “The bare mention of this is sufficient to expose Mr. *Neal*’s sneer upon one of the *greatest*, the best, and most conscientious prelates.” Dr. *Grey*, vol. iii. p. 376. Ed.

† Dr. *Grey* affects to doubt, whether Mr. *Neal* designed this character for bishop *Henchman* or bishop *Compton*; though *Henchman* is the immediate antecedent, whose character more properly follows the mention of his death. The doctor appeals from Mr. *Neal* to Mr. *Eachard*, who commends bishop *Henchman*’s wisdom and prudence, and his admirable management of the king’s escape after the battle of Worcester. Mr. *Neal*, in speaking of his arbitrary principles, till he was pinched, undoubtedly refers to his conduct, when the declaration for liberty of conscience was published. On this occasion he was much alarmed, and strictly enjoined his

summer, for his commands to put the penal laws into execution, which they did with so much diligence, that Mr. *Baxter* says, he was so weary of keeping his doors shut against persons who came to distrain his goods for preaching, that he was forced to leave his house, to sell his goods, and part with his very books.* About twelve years (says he) I have been driven one hundred miles from them, and when I had paid dear for the carriage, after two or three years I was forced to sell them. This was the case of many others, who, being separated from their families and friends, and having no way of subsistence, were forced to sell their books, and household furniture, to keep them from starving.

This year [1677] died the Rev. Dr. *Tho. Manton*, ejected from Covent-garden; he was born in Somersetshire 1620, educated at Tiverton school, and from thence placed at Wadham college, Oxon. He was ordained by Dr. *Hall*, bishop of Exeter, when he was not more than twenty years of age: his first settlement was at Stoke-Newington near London, where he continued seven years, being generally esteemed an excellent preacher, and a learned expositor of scripture. Upon the death or resignation of Mr. *Obadiab Sedgwick*, he was presented to the living of Covent-garden by the duke of *Bedford*, and preached to a numerous congregation. The doctor was appointed one of the protector's chaplains, and one of the *triers* of persons' qualifications for the ministry; which service he constantly attended. In the year 1660, he was very forward, in concert with the presbyterian ministers, to accomplish the king's restoration, and was one of the commissioners at the Savoy conference; he was then created doctor of divinity, and offered the deanery of Rochester, but declined it. After he was turned out of his living in 1662, he held a private meeting in his own house, but was imprisoned, and met with several disturbances in his ministerial work. He was consulted in all the

his clergy to preach against popery, though it offended the king. This relate was lord almoner, and he was the editor of the "Gentleman's Calling," supposed to be written by the author of the "Whole Duty of Man." Granger, vol. iii. p. 233. Bishop *Compton's* character will appear in the succeeding part of this history. Ed.

* *Baxter*, part iii. p. 171, 172.

treaties for a comprehension with the established church, and was high in the esteem of the duke of *Bedford*, earl of *Manchester*, and other noble persons. At length, finding his constitution breaking, he resigned himself to God's wise disposal, and being seized with a kind of lethargy, he died October 18, 1677, in the 57th year of his age, and was buried in the chancel of the church of Stoke-Newington.* Dr. *Bates* in his funeral sermon says, he was a divine of a rich fancy, a strong memory, and happy elocution, improved by diligent study. He was an excellent christian, a fervent preacher, and every way a blessing to the church of God.* His practical works were published in five volumes in folio, at several times after his death, and are in great esteem among the dissenters to this day.†

About the same time died Mr. *John Rowe*, M. A. born in the year 1626, and educated for some time at Cambridge, but translated to Oxford about the time of the visitation in the year 1648. Here he was admitted M. A. and fellow of Corpus-Christi college. He was first lecturer at Witney in Oxfordshire; afterwards preacher at Tiverton in Devonshire, and one of the commissioners for ejecting ignorant and insufficient ministers in that county. Upon the death of Mr. *William Strong*, in the year 1654, he was called to succeed him in the abbey church of Westminster; at which place, as

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 42; and Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 138.

† Dr. *Manton* was also in great estimation for his activity and address in the management of publick affairs, and was generally in the chair in meetings of the dissenting ministers in the city. Dr. *Grey* questions the truth of Mr. *Neal*'s assertion, that he was ordained at the age of twenty years, especially as he gives no authority for it. "Bishop *Hall*," he says, "was too canonical a man to admit any person into *deacon*'s orders at that age." If the fact be mistated, he must be destitute of all candour who can impute this to a wilful falsification. Archbishop *Usher* used to call Dr. *Manton* a voluminous preacher, meaning that he had the art of reducing the substance of volumes of divinity into a narrow compass. But it was true in the literal sense, he was voluminous as an author: for his sermons run into several folios, one of which contains 190 sermons on the 119th psalm. The task of reading these, when he was a youth, to his aunt, had an unhappy effect on the mind of lord *Bolingbroke*. In a letter to Dr. *Swift*, he writes, "My next shall be as long as one of Dr. *Manton*'s sermons, who taught my youth to yawn, and prepared me to be a high churchman, that I might never hear him read, nor read him more." Granger's History, vol. iii. p. 304, note. Ed.

in all others, his sermons were very much attended to by persons of all persuasions.* On the 14th of March 1659, he was appointed one of the approvers of ministers by act of parliament; but on the king's restoration he gave way to the change of the times, and was silenced with his brethren by the act of uniformity. He was a divine of great gravity and piety; his sermons were judicious and well studied, fit for the audience of men of the best quality in those times. After the *Bartholomew act*, he continued with his people, and preached to them in Bartholomew-Close, and elsewhere, as the times would permit, till his death, which happened October 12, 1677, in the fifty-second year of his age. He lies buried in Bunhill-fields under an altar monument of a brick foundation.† The words with which he concluded his last sermon were these: *We should not desire to continue longer in this world than to glorify God, to finish our work, and to be ready to say, Farewell, time; welcome, blessed eternity; even so come Lord Jesus!*

* Mr. *Rowe* was a good scholar, and well read in the Fathers; and had such a knowledge of Greek, that he began very young to keep a diary in that language; which he continued till his death; but he burnt most of it in his last illness. Palmer. Ed.

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 39. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 142.



CHAP. X.

From the Popish Plot to the Death of King CHARLES the Second, in the Year 1684-5.

—1678.—

THE king having concluded a peace with the Dutch, became mediator between the French and the confederates, at the treaty of Nimeguen; where the former managed the English court so dexterously, that the emperor and Spaniards were obliged to buy their peace, at the expence of the best part of Flanders.

From this time to the end of the king's reign, we meet with little else but *domestick quarrels* between the king and his parliament; *sham plots*, and *furious sallies of rage and revenge*, between the court and country parties. The non-conformists were very great sufferers by these contests; the penal laws being in full force, and the execution of them in the hands of their avowed enemies.

No sooner was the nation at peace abroad, but a formidable plot broke out at home, to take away the king's life, to subvert the constitution, to introduce popery, and to extirpate the protestant religion root and branch. It was called the POPISH PLOT, from the nature of the design, and the quality of the *conspirators*, who were no less than pope Innocent XI. cardinal Howard his legat; and the *generals of the jesuits* in Spain and at Rome.* When the king was taken off, the duke of York was to receive the crown as a gift from the pope, and hold it in fee. If there happened any disturbance, the city of London was to be fired, and the infamy of the whole affair to be laid upon the *presbyterians* and *fanaticks*, in hopes that the *churchmen*, in the heat of their fury, would cut them in pieces, which would make way for the more easy subversion of the protestant religion.

* Eachard, p. 934.

Thus

Thus an insurrection, and perhaps a second massacre of the protestants, was intended; for this purpose they had great numbers of popish officers in pay, and some thousands of men secretly listed to appear as occasion required; as was depoted by the oaths of *Bedloe*, *Tongue*, *Dr. Oates*, and others.

The discovery of this plot, spread a prodigious alarm over the nation, and awakened the fears of those who had been lulled into a fatal security. The king's life was the more valuable because of the *popish successor*, who was willing to run all risks for the introducing his religion. The murder of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey** at this juncture, a zealous and

* The death of this gentleman, an able magistrate and of a fair character, was deemed a much stronger evidence of the reality of the plot, than the oath of *Oates*. The foolish circumstance of his name being anagrammatized to "I find murdered by rogues," helped to confirm the opinion of his being murdered by papists. His funeral was celebrated with the most solemn pomp. Seventy-two clergymen preceded the corpse, which was followed by a thousand persons, most of whom were of eminence and rank. *Granger's History of England*, vol. iii. p. 400. 8vo.

This shews the interest which the publick took in this event. So great was the alarm this plot raised, that posts and chains were put up in all parts of the city, and a considerable number of the trained bands drawn out night after night, well armed, and watching with as much care as if a great insurrection were expected before the morning. The general topics of conversation were designed massacres, to be perpetrated by assassins ready for the purpose, and by recruits from abroad. A sudden darkness at eleven o'clock, on the Sunday after the murder of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, so that the ministers could not read their notes in the pulpits without candles, was looked upon as awfully ominous. The minds of people were kept in agitation and terror by dismal stories and frequent executions. Young and old quaked with fear. Not a house was unprovided with arms. No one went to rest at night without the apprehension of some tragical event to happen before the morning. This state of alarm and terror lasted not for a few weeks only, but months. The pageantry of mock-processions, employed on this occasion, heightened the aversion to popery, and inflamed resentment against the conspirators. In one of these, amidst a vast croud of spectators, who filled the air with their acclamations, and expressed great satisfaction in the show, there were carried on men's shoulders, through the principal streets, the effigies of the pope and the representative of the devil behind him, whispering in his ear and caressing him, (though he afterwards deserted him, before he was committed to the flames) together with the likeness of the dead body of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, carried before him by a man on horseback, to remind the people of his execrable murder. A great number of dignitaries in their copes, with crosses, of monks, friars, jesuits, and popish bishops with their mitres, trinkets, and appertenances, formed the rest of the procession.

Dr. Calamy's own Life, MSS. p. 67, 8. Ed.

active

active protestant justice of peace, increased men's suspicions of a plot, and the depositions upon oath of the above-mentioned witnesses, seemed to put it beyond all doubt; for upon their impeachment, Sir *G. Wakeman* the queen's physician, Mr. *Ed. Coleman* the duke of *York*'s secretary, Mr. *Richard Langborne*, and eight other romish priests and jesuits, were apprehended and secured. When the parliament met, they voted that *there was a damnable hellish plot contrived and carried on by popish recusants against the life of the king and the protestant religion*. Five popish lords were ordered into custody, viz. lord *Stafford*, *Powis*, *Arundel*, *Petre*, and *Bellafys*. A proclamation was issued against papists; and the king was addressed to remove the duke of *York* from his person and councils.

Though the king gave himself no credit to the plot, yet finding it impracticable to stem the tide of the people's zeal, he consented to the execution of the law upon several of the condemned criminals: Mr. *Coleman*, and five of the jesuits, were executed at Tyburn, who protested their innocence to the last; and a year or two forward lord *Stafford* was beheaded on Tower-hill. But the court party turned the plot into ridicule; the king told lord *Halifax*, "that it was not probable that the papists should conspire to kill him, for have I not been kind enough to them? (says his majesty.)" "Yes, (says his lordship) you have been too kind indeed to them; but they know you will only trot, and they want a prince that will gallop." The court employed their tool Sir *Roger L'Estrange*,* to write a weekly paper against the plot; and the country party encouraged Mr. *Car* to write a weekly packet of advice from Rome, discovering the frauds and superstitions of that court; for which he was arraigned, convicted, and fined in the court of King's-bench, and his papers forbid to be printed. An admirable order for a protestant court of judicature!

But it was impossible to allay the fears of the parliament, who had a quick sense of the danger of popery, and there-

* This person, of whom we have already spoken, formerly called "Oliver's Fidler," was now the admired "Buffoon of High-church." He called the shows, mentioned in our last note, "Hobby-horsing processions." Calamy's MSS. p. 67. ED.

fore passed a bill, *to disable all persons of that religion from sitting in either house of parliament*, which is still in force, being excepted out of the act of toleration.* The act requires all members of parliament to renounce by oath *the doctrine of transubstantiation, and to declare the worship of the virgin Mary, and of the saints, practised in the church of Rome, to be idolatrous*. Bishop Gunning argued against charging the church of Rome with idolatry; but the house paid him little regard; and when the bill was passed, he took the oath in common with the rest.

The duke of York got himself excepted out of the bill,† but the fears of his accession to the crown were so great, that there was a loud talk of bringing a bill into the house, to exclude him from the succession *as a papist*, upon which the king came to the house November 9, and assured them, that he would consent to any bills for securing the protestant religion, *provided they did not impeach the right of succession, nor the descent of the crown in the true line, nor the just rights of any protestant successor*. But this not giving satisfaction, his majesty towards the end of December, first prorogued, and then dissolved the parliament, after they had been chosen almost eighteen years.

It may be proper to observe concerning the *popish plot*,‡ that though the king's life might not be immediately struck at, yet there was such strong evidence to prove the reality

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 211.

† This point was carried in favour of the duke by no more than two votes. Had it been negatived, he would, in the next place, have been voted away from the king's presence. Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 72. Ed.

‡ It was an happy effect of the discovery of this plot, that while it raised in the whole body of the English *protestants* alarming apprehensions of the dangers to which their civil and religious liberties were exposed, it united them against their common enemy. Mutual prejudices were softened; animosities subsided: the dissenters were regarded as the true friends of their country, and their assemblies began to be more publick and numerous. At this time an evening lecture was set up in a large room of a coffee-house, in Exchange-Alley: it was conducted by Mr. John Shower, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Dorrington, and Mr. Thomas Goodwin; and it was supported and attended by some of the principal merchants, and by several who afterwards filled the most eminent posts in the city of London.

Tong's Life of Shower, p. 17, 18. Ed.

of a plot to *subvert the constitution and introduce poyper*, that no disinterested person can doubt it. Mr. *Rapin*, who had carefully considered the evidence, concludes that *there was a meditated design, supported by the king and the duke of York, to render the king absolute, and introduce the popish religion*; for this is precisely what was meant by the plot: the design of killing the king was only an appendage to it, and an effect of the zeal of some private persons, who thought the plot would be crowned with the surer success, by speedily setting the duke of *York* upon the throne. Bishop *Burnet* adds,* that though the king and he agreed in private conversation, that the greatest part of the evidence was a contrivance, yet he confesses it appeared by *Coleman's* letters, that the design of converting the nation, and of rooting out the northern heresy, was very near being executed.† To which I beg leave to add, that though *the design of killing the king* did not take place at this time, his majesty felt the effects of it, in his violent death, four or five years afterwards.

This year died Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, M. A. the ejected minister of Milk-street, born at Hertford, May 1634, and educated in Christ-Church, Oxford.‡ He was chaplain to *Robert* earl of *Leicester*, and afterwards minister of Milk-street, London, till the act of uniformity took place. He was an humble and zealous preacher, of moderate principles, and an unspotted life. He continued in the city throughout the whole plague, the awfulness of which gave him a peculiar fervency and zeal in his ministerial work. On this occasion he published some very awakening treatises; as, *A spiritual antidote for a dying soul*; and, *God's terrible voice in*

* This corresponds with his declarations to Sir *Jahn Reresby*; whom at one time he told, in the presence of the lord treasurer, at the duchess of *Portsmouth's* lodgings, "He took it to be some artifice, and that he did not believe one word of the whole story." At another time his majesty said to him, "*Bedloe* was a rogue, and that he was satisfied he had given some false evidence concerning the death of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*." *Memoirs*, p. 67, 72.

Dr. *Grey* refers to *Eachard* and bishop *Burnet*, as fully discrediting Mr. *Neal's* account of this plot; and with this view gives a long passage from *Carte's History of the duke of Ormond*, vol. ii. p. 517.

The reader may see the evidence both for and against it fully and fairly stated by Dr. *Harris*, *Life of Charles II.* vol. ii. p. 137—157. Ed.

† Page 198—214.

‡ Cal. cont. p. 30.

*the city.** He not only preached in publick, but visited all the sick who sent for him in their infected houses, being void of all fear of death. He continued in health during the whole of that dreadful calamity, and was afterwards useful, as the times would permit, to a numerous congregation, being generally respected by men of all persuasions; but his excessive labours put an end to his life October 15, 1678, in the forty-fifth year of his age.†

Mr. *Theophilus Gale*, M. A. and fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford, was ejected from Winchester, where he had been stated preacher for some time; after which he travelled abroad as tutor to the sons of *Philip* lord *Wharton*. Upon his return, he settled with Mr. *John Rowe* as an assistant, in which station he died. The Oxford historian allows, that he was a man of great reading, an exact philologist and philosopher, a learned and industrious divine, as appears by his *Court of the Gentiles*, and *the vanity of Pagan Philosophy*. He kept a little academy for the instruction of youth, and was well versed in the fathers, being at the same time a good metaphysician, and school divine.‡ He died of a consumption this year, [1678] in the forty-ninth year of his age.§

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 32. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 125.

† Mr. *Thomas Vincent* had the whole New Testament and Psalms by heart. He took this pains, as he often said, "not knowing but they who took from him his pulpit, might in time demand his bible also." Calamy. Besides his publications enumerated by this writer, Mr. *Vincent*, on occasion of an eruption of Mount *Ætna*, published a book, entitled "Fire and Brimstone: 1. From heaven in the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah formerly. 2. From earth, in the burning of Mount *Ætna* lately. 3. From hell, in burning of the wicked eternally." 1670, 8vo. Granger's History, vol. iii. p. 329, note. Ed.

‡ Mr. *Gale* was a frequent preacher in the university and a considerable tutor: bishop *Hopkins* was one of his pupils. He left all his real and personal estate for the education and benefit of poor students, and his library to the college in New-England, except the philosophical part, which he reserved for the use of students in England. The world had like to have lost his great and learned work, "The Court of the Gentiles," in the fire of London. A friend, to whose care he left his desk while he was travelling, threw it into the cart merely to make the load, when he was removing his own goods. Palmer, p. 190. British Biography, vol. v. p. 182—186. Ed.

§ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 64. Palmer, vol. i. p. 189.

The

The king having summoned a new parliament to meet in March, all parties exerted themselves in the elections; the *non-conformists* appeared generally for those who were for prosecuting the *popish plot*, and *securing a protestant succession*: these being esteemed patriots and friends of liberty, in opposition to those who made a loud cry for the church, and favoured the arbitrary measures of the court, and the personal interest of the duke of York. The elections in many places were the occasion of great heat, but were carried almost every where against the court. Mr. *Rapin* says, that the presbyterians, though long oppressed, were still numerous in corporations. The *semi-conformists*, (as Mr. *Eachard* calls the moderate churchmen) and the *dissenters*, were on one side, and the *high churchmen* and *papists* on the other. Before the parliament assembled, the duke of York was sent out of the way to Flanders, but with this positive assurance, that *his majesty would consent to nothing in prejudice of his right of succession*. And further to ingratiate himself with the people, and make a shew of moderation, a new privy council was chosen out of the low church party; but this not satisfying as long as the duke's succession was in view, the commons, soon after the opening the sessions, ordered in a bill to disable the duke of York from inheriting the imperial crown of England, and carried it through the house with a high hand. Upon which his majesty came to the house, and dissolved them, before they had sat three months. This threw the nation into new convulsions, and produced a great number of pamphlets against the government, the act for restraining the press being lately expired.

The *popish plot* having fixed a brand of infamy and ingratitude on the whole body of Roman catholicks, the courtiers attempted to relieve them, by setting on foot a *sham protestant plot*, and fathering it upon the presbyterians:* for this purpose spies and other *mercenaries* were employed, to bring news from all parts of the town, which was then full of cabals. At length a plot was formed by one *Dangerfield*, a subtle and dangerous papist, but a very villain, who had been lately got out of gaol by the assistance of one Mrs. *Cellier*, a midwife, a lewd woman, who carried him to the

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 272. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 711.

countess of *Powis*, whose husband was in the Tower for the popish plot; with her he formed his scheme, and having got a list of the names of the chief protestant nobility and gentry, he wrote treasonable letters to them, to be left at the houses of the non-conformists and other active protestants in several parts of England, that search being made upon some other pretences, when the letters were found, they might be apprehended for treason. At the same time, he intruded into the company of some of the most zealous enemies of popery about town, and informed the king and the duke of York, that *he had been invited to accept of a commission; that a new form of government was to be set up; and that the king and royal family were to be banished.* The story was received with pleasure, and *Dangerfield* had a present, and a pension of three pounds a week, to carry on his correspondence. Having got some little acquaintance with colonel *Mansel* in Westminster, he made up a bundle of seditious letters, with the assistance of Mrs. *Cellier*, and having laid them in a dark corner of *Mansel's* room behind the bed, he sent for officers from the Custom-house, to search for prohibited goods while he was out of town, but none were found, except the bundle of letters, which, upon examination of the parties concerned, before the king and council, were proved to be counterfeit; upon which the court disowned the plot, and having taken away *Dangerfield's* pension, sent him to Newgate. Search being made into Mrs. *Cellier's* house, there was found a little book in a *meal-tub*, written very fair, and tied up with ribbands, which contained the whole scheme of the fiction. It was dictated by lady *Powis*, and proved by her maid to be laid there by her order, from whence it obtained the name of the *meal-tub plot*. *Dangerfield*, who was a notorious liar, finding himself undone if he persisted in what he could not support, made an ample confession, and published a narrative, wherein he declared that *he was employed by the popish party; and chiefly by the popish lords in the Tower, with the countess of Powis, to invent the MEAL-TUB PLOT, which was to have thrown the POPISH PLOT wholly upon the presbyterians.* It was printed by order of the house of commons in the year 1680. *Dangerfield* being pardoned, went out of the way into Flanders; but returning

returning to England in king *James's* reign, he was tried for it, and sentenced to be whipt at the cart's tail from Newgate to Tyburn; in his return from whence he was murdered by one *Frances* in the coach. Mrs. *Cellier* was tried June 11, 1680, before lord chief justice *Scroggs*, and acquitted for want of evidence. But the discovery, instead of relieving the papists from the charge of the popish plot, turned very much to their disadvantage; for when the next parliament met, the house of commons resolved, that Sir *Robert Can* be expelled the house, and sent to the Tower, for declaring publickly in the city of Bristol, that there was no *popish* but a *presbyterian* plot.* Sir *Robert Feomans* was sent for into custody on the same account; and Mr. *Richard Thompson*, a clergyman, was impeached for decrying the popish plot in his sermon, Jan. 30, 1679, and for turning the same upon the *protestants*; for which, and for preaching against the liberty and property of the subject, and the privileges of parliament, the house declared him a *scandal and reproach to his profession*.

This year [1679] died the reverend and learned Mr. *Matt. Pool*, M. A. the ejected minister of St. Michael's Querne; he was born in the city of York, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, a divine of great piety, charity, and literature. He was indefatigable in his labours, and left behind him (says the Oxford historian) the character of a most celebrated critick and casuist. After ten years close application, he published his *Synopsis Criticorum*,† in five folios. He

* State Tracts, vol. ii. p. 217.

† “The plan of this work,” says Mr. *Granger*, “was judicious, and the execution more free from errors than seems consistent with so great a work, finished in so short a time, by one man.” It includes not only an abridgement of the “*Critici Sacri*,” and other expositors, but extracts from a great number of treatises and pamphlets, that would have been otherwise lost. It was undertaken by the advice of the learned bishop *Lloyd*; it was encouraged and patronized by *Tillotson*, and the king granted a patent for the privilege of printing it. Mr. *Pool* formed and compleated a scheme for maintaining young men of eminent parts at the university of Cambridge, for the study of divinity; and by his solicitations, in a short time, raised 900l. a year for that purpose. The scheme sunk at the Restoration; but to it the world is said, in some measure, to owe Dr. *Sherlock*, afterwards dean of St. Paul's. While he was drawing up his *Synopsis*, it

He afterwards entered on a commentary upon the whole bible, but proceeded no further than the fifty-eighth chapter of *Isaiah*: however, the design, being valuable, was carried on, and compleated by other hands. Mr. *Pool* published several excellent treatises, as *The nullity of the Romish faith*, &c. for which he was threatened to be assassinated;* his name being in Dr. *Oates*'s list; he therefore retired to Holland, but died (as it is thought) by poison at Amsterdam, in the month of October, 1679, *etat.* fifty-six.

Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, born at Rolisby in Norfolk, and educated in Catherine-hall, Cambridge. He was a great admirer of Dr. *Preston*, and afterwards himself a famous preacher in Cambridge. In 1634, he left the university, being dissatisfied with the terms of conformity. In 1639, he went into Holland, and became pastor of an *independent congregation at Arnheim*. He returned to London about the beginning of the long parliament, and was one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly of divines. After the king's death, he was made president of Magdalen college, and one of the tryers of ministers. He was in high esteem with *Oliver Cromwell*, and attended him on his death-bed.† In the common

was his custom to rise at three or four o'clock, and take a raw egg about eight or nine, and another about twelve; then to continue his studies till the afternoon was far advanced. He spent the evening at some friend's house, particularly alderman *Ashurst*'s, and would be exceedingly but innocently merry; when it was nearly time to go home, he would give the conversation a serious turn, saying, "Let us now call for a reckoning." His "Annotations" were completed by other hands; the 59th and 60th chapters of *Isaiah* by Mr. *Jackson* of Moulsey. Dr. *Collinges* wrote the notes on the remainder of that prophet, on *Jeremiah*, *Lamentations*, the four *Evangelists*, the Epistles to the *Corinthians* and *Galatians*, to *Timothy*, *Titus*, and *Philemon*, and on the book of *Revelations*. The Annotations on *Ezekiel* and the *minor prophets* were drawn up by Mr. *Hurst*, and on *Daniel*, by Mr. *Wm. Cooper*. Mr. *Vinke* commented on the *Acts*, Mr. *Mayo* on the *Romans*. The notes on the *Ephesians*, and the epistles of *James*, *Peter* and *Jude*, were composed by Mr. *Viel*; on *Philippians* and *Colossians*, by Mr. *Thomas Adams*; on the *Thessalonians* by Mr. *Barker*; on the *Hebrews* by Mr. *Obad. Hughes*. Mr. *Howe* undertook the three Epistles of *John*. Calamy and Palmer, ut supra. Granger's History, vol. iii. p. 311, and Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 36. Ed.

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 14. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 135.

† On which occasion he was overheard by Dr. *Tillotson* to express himself, boldly and enthusiastically confident of the *Protector*'s recovery; and when

common register of the university he is said to be, *in scriptis theologicis quam plurimis orbi notus*, i. e. well known to the world by many theological writings. After the Restoration he resigned his presidency, and retired to London, where he continued the exercise of his ministry till his death, which happened Feb. 23, 1679-80, in the eightieth year of his age. He was a good scholar, an eminent divine and textuary. His works are since printed in five folios.†

The last parliament being dissolved abruptly, a new one was convened for Oct. 17, 1680, in which the elections went pretty much as in the last, the cry of the people being, *No popery, no pensioners, no arbitrary government*. But the king prorogued them from time to time for above a twelvemonth, without permitting them to finish any business. His majesty falling sick in the summer, the duke of York returned immediately to court without the king's leave,‡ which alarmed the people, and made them eager for the sitting of the parliament to regulate the succession.§ This gave rise to sundry petitions,|| signed by a great number of hands both in city and

when he found himself mistaken, to exclaim, in a subsequent address to God, "Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived." He was a man much addicted to retirement and deep contemplation, which dispose the mind to enthusiastical confidence. He and Dr. Owen are called by Wood, "the two Atlases and Patriarchs of Independency." In the fire of London he lost half of his library, to the value of 500l. but he was thankful that the loss fell on the books of human learning only, those on divinity being preserved. He is supposed to be the independent minister and head of a college described by the "Spectator," No. 494. Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 16. Grey, vol. i. p. 185. Granger, vol. iii. p. 303. ED.

† Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 61. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. i. p. 183.

‡ If we may credit Sir John Reresby, who says he had the whole story from Feversham, to whose intervention the revocation of the duke was principally owing; the king's illness was pretended, and the duke was sent for with his privy, though not above four persons knew any thing of the matter. The duke of Monmouth, who thought he had the king to himself, knew nothing of it, till his highness actually arrived at Windsor: "So close and reserved," says Sir John, "could the king be, when he conceived it to be necessary." Memoirs, p. 97, 8. ED.

§ Eachard, p. 982, 987.

|| Dr. Grey, by a quotation from Hornby's "Caveat against the Whigs," brings a charge against these petitions, that the signatures were obtained by bribes and impositions. Such practices, if truly stated in this instance, have not

and country, which the king received with the utmost displeasure, telling the petitioners, that *he was sole Judge of what was fit to be done: you would not take it well (says he) if I should meddle with your affairs, and I desire you will not meddle with mine.* After this the king issued out his proclamation, declaring them to be illegal, and forbidding his subjects to promote any *subscriptions*, or to join in any petitions of this kind, upon peril of the utmost rigour of the law. Warrants were issued against several of the *petitioners*, and indictments preferred against others. But at the next sessions of the common-council of London, Jan. 21, the court agreed that no such *petition* should be presented from them; and the king returned them thanks for it.* Upon which addresses were procured from divers parts of the nation, expressing their *detestation* and *abhorrence* of the seditious practice of the late PETITIONERS, and referring the *sitting of the parliament* absolutely to the king's sovereign pleasure, from whence they obtained the name of ABHORRERS. In these addresses, they offer their lives and fortunes for the preservation of his majesty's person and government, and for the *succession of the duke of York*. They renounce the right of the subjects petitioning, or intermeddling in affairs of state, and lay their liberties at the feet of the prerogative, promising to stand by it, and to be *obedient without reserve* to his majesty's commands; which addresses were printed in the *Gazettes*, and dispersed over the kingdom. These proceedings threw the people into a ferment; several of the privy-council deserted their stations, and desired to be excused their attendance at council; some in the admiralty resigned, and because they might not petition, an ASSOCIATION was formed by sundry persons, and copied after the example of that in queen Elizabeth's time, *for the defence of his majesty's person, and the security of the protestant religion, and to revenge his majesty's death upon the papists, if he should come to any violent death.* A model of which was said to be found among the

not been confined to that occasion, or those times; but it is not easy to conceive, that a man of integrity, in any party, can have recourse to them. The proposal of adopting them ought to be rejected with contempt and indignation. Ed.

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 276.

earl of *Shaftesbury's* papers. This was resented very highly at court, as done without the royal authority, and produced the next year another set of *ranting addressees* from all parts of the kingdom, in which their lives and fortunes were given up to the king, and the *association* branded with the names of *damnable, cursed, execrable, traiterous, seditious*, and a *bond of rebellion*, which they *detest* and *abhor* from their very souls; in most of which the non-conformists are marked as enemies of the king and his government, and their conventicles as the encouragement and life of the *associations*. They promise to stand by the *duke's succession*, and to choose such members for the next parliament as shall do the king's business according to his mind. But notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the court, the near approach of a popish successor awakened men's fears, and kept them upon their guard.

The PETITIONERS for the sitting of the parliament, and their adversaries, the ABHORRERS of such petitions, gave rise to the two grand parties which have since divided the nation, under the distinguishing names of WHIG and TORY.

The WHIGS or LOW CHURCHMEN were the more zealous protestants, declared enemies of popery, and willing to remove to a farther distance from their superstitions; they were firm to the constitution and liberties of their country; and for an union, or at least a toleration, of dissenting protestants. The clergy of this persuasion were generally men of larger principles, and therefore were distinguished by the name of *Latitudinarian Divines*; their laity were remarkable for their zeal in promoting the *bill of exclusion*, as the only expedient to secure the protestant establishment in this kingdom. They were for confining the royal prerogative within the limits of the law, for which reason their adversaries charged them with *republican principles*, and gave them the reproachful name of WHIGS or *sour milk*, a name first given to the most rigid Scots covenanters.

The TORIES or HIGH CHURCHMEN stood on the side of the prerogative, and were for advancing the king above law; they went into all the arbitrary court measures, and adopted into our religion, (says Dr. *Welwood**) a *Mahometan*

* *Memoirs*, p. 125.

principle,

principle, under the names of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance*, which since the times of that impostor, who first broached it, has been the means to enslave a great part of the world. These gentlemen leaned more to a coalition with the papists, than with the presbyterians.* They cried up the name and authority of the church, and were for forcing the dissenters to conformity, by all kinds of coercive methods: but with all their zeal, they were many of them persons of lax and dissolute morals, and would risk the whole protestant religion rather than go into any measures of exclusion, or limitation of a popish successor. Most of the clergy (says a member of parliament) are infected with the *Laudean* principles of raising money without parliament; one or two bishops give measures to the rest, and they to their clergy, so that all derive their politicks from one or two, and are under the influence of an over-awing power. No men did more to enslave the nation, and introduce popery into the establishment than they: their adversaries therefore gave them the name of **TORIES**, a title first given to *Irish robbers*, who lived upon plunder, and were prepared for any daring or villainous enterprize.

The non-conformists fell in unanimously with the *whigs* or *low churchmen*, in all points relating to liberty and the civil constitution, as they must always do if they are consistent with themselves; but these with their allies were not a sufficient balance for the *tories*, the road to preferment lying through the territories of power; but they were kept in heart with some secret hopes, that *by a steady adherence to the constitution* they should one time or other obtain a *legal toleration*. But the superior influence of the *tories* above the *whigs*, was the occasion of the severities which befel the non-conformists in the latter part of this reign.

When the parliament met Oct. 21, 1680, the commons were very warm in maintaining the protestant religion and the privileges of parliament.† They asserted the rights of the people to *petition* for the sitting of parliaments, and voted the **ABHORRERS** betrayers of the liberties of the nation. Among other grievances they complained, that the edge of

* Burnet, Collect. Debates, p. 163.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 714. Eachard, p. 995.

the penal laws was turned against *protestant dissenters*, while the papists remained in a manner untouched—That the *test act* had little effect, because the papists, either by dispensations obtained from Rome, submitted to those tests, and held their offices themselves; or those put in their places were so favourable to the same interest, that popery itself had rather gained than lost ground by that act. They declared for that very ASSOCIATION, to revenge the king's death upon the papists, if his majesty should happen to be assassinated, which the tories had *abhorred*; and in the month of November revived the bill to *disable the duke of York from inheriting the imperial crown of these realms*. It was introduced by lord *Russel*, and passed the commons by a great majority, but was thrown out of the house of lords by a majority of thirty voices,* no's 63, yea's 33, the *bench of bishops* being in the negative, and the king present during the whole debate. It has been said, king *Charles* came into the bill at first, the favourite mistress having prevailed with him to abandon his brother, for a large sum of money, and for an act of parliament to enable him to dispose of the crown by will, under certain restrictions; but a foreign popish court offering more money, he opposed it to the last.†

The parliament being inclined to relieve the non-conformists, appointed a committee Nov. 18, who agreed upon a *comprehension with the dissenters*, upon much the same terms with those already mentioned; they were to subscribe the doctrinal articles of the church; the *surplice* was to be omitted, except in cathedrals and the king's chapel; the *ceremonies* to be left indifferent. And as for such protestants as could not be comprehended within these terms, they were to have a toleration, and freedom from the penal statutes, upon condition of subscribing a declaration of allegiance, &c. and

* Lord *Halifax*, a man of the clearest head, finest wit, and fairest eloquence, who was in judgment against the bill, appeared as leader in opposition to it, and made so powerful a defence, that he alone, by the confession of all, influenced the house, and persuaded them to throw out the bill. "One would have thought," says Sir *John Reresby*, "that so signal a piece of service had been of a degree and nature never to be forgotten." But when the duke afterwards came to be king, he removed lord *Halifax* from the privy seal to the presidency of the council, purely to make room for another, and in the end quite laid him aside. *Memoirs*, p. 104, 5. ED.

† *Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 127.

of assembling with open doors. Bishop *Burnet* says, the bill for a comprehension was offered by the episcopal party in the house of commons, but that the friends of the dissenters did not seem forward to promote it, because (as Mr. *Baxter* observes) they found the bill would not go; or if it had passed the commons, it would have been thrown out by the bishops in the house of lords; *the Clergy (says Kennet) being no further in earnest than as they apprehended the knife of the papists at their throats.*

When the above-mentioned bill was brought into the house December 21, entituled *An act for uniting his majesty's protestant subjects*, the first gentleman of the court party who spoke against it observed, "that there were a sort of men
" who would neither be advised nor over-ruled, but under
" the pretence of conscience break violently through all laws
" whatsoever, to the great disturbance both of church and
" state; therefore he thought it more convenient to have a
" law for forcing the dissenters to yield to the church, and
" not to force the church to yield to them—" Another said,
" he was afraid, that if once the government should begin to
" yield to the dissenters, it would be as in *forty-one*, nothing
" would serve but an utter subversion; the receiving of one
" thing would give occasion for demanding more; and it
" would be impossible to give them any satisfaction without
" laying all open, and running into confusion."* This was the common language of the tories. And there has been a loud cry against the dissenters, for their obstinacy and perverseness, though not a single concession had been offered since the Restoration, to let the world see how far they would yield; or by receiving a denial, to get an opportunity to reproach them with greater advantage. But in favour of the bill it was urged by others, "that it was intended for the prefer-
" vation of the church, and the best bill that could be made
" in order thereto, all circumstances considered—If we are
" to deal with a stubborn sort of people, who in many things
" prefer their humour before reason, or their own safety, or
" the publick good, this is a very good time to see whe-
" ther they will be drawn by the cords of love or no. The
" bill will be very agreeable to the christian charity which

* Eachard, p. 999.

“our church professes; and it may be hoped, that in the
 “time of this imminent danger, they will consider their own
 “safety, and the safety of the protestant religion, and no
 “longer keep a-foot the unhappy divisions among us, on
 “which the papists ground their hopes; but when they see
 “the church so far condescend, as to dispense with the *sur-*
 “*plice, and those other things they scruple*, that they will sub-
 “mit to the rest which are enjoined by law, that so we may
 “unite against the common enemy. But if this bill should
 “not have the desired effect, but on the contrary, the dis-
 “senter should continue their animosities and disobedience
 “to the church, I think still the church will gain very much
 “hereby, and leave the party without excuse—” This
 seems agreeable to reason.

Although the bill for a comprehension was committed, it did not pass the house, being changed for another, entituled, *An act to exempt his majesty's protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties imposed upon the papists by the act of 35th Eliz.** By which act non-conformists were adjudged to perpetual imprisonment, or obliged to abjure (that is, depart) the realm never to return. This terrible law had lain dormant almost eighty years, but was now revived, and threatened to be put in execution by the *tories*. The *repeal* passed the house of commons with a high hand, but went heavily through the house of lords; the *bishops* apprehending that the terror of the law might be of some use; but when it should have been offered to the king for the royal assent at the close of the session, it was missing, and never heard of any more, the clerk of the crown having withdrawn it from the table by the king's particular order. The king (says *Burnet*†) had no mind openly to deny the bill, but less mind to pass it, and therefore this illegal method was taken, which was an high offence in the officer of the house, and would have been severely punished in the next session, if the parliament had not been abruptly dissolved. Thus the *non-conformists* were sawn to pieces between the king, the bishops, and the parliament; when one party was willing to give them relief, the other always stood in the way. The *parliament* was their enemy for about twelve

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 300. † Ibid.

years, and now *they* are softened, *the king* and the *court bishops* are inflexible; and his majesty will rather sacrifice the constitution to his despotick will, than exempt them from an old law which subjected them to banishment and death.

However, the morning before the house was prorogued, January 10, two votes were passed of a very extraordinary nature. “1. Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That it is the opinion of this house, *that the acts of parliament made in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and king James against popish recusants ought not to be extended against protestant dissenters.* 2. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this house, *that the prosecution of protestant dissenters upon the penal laws is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening the protestant interest, an encouragement to popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.*” Bishop Burnet* says, these resolutions were thought an invasion of the legislature, when one house pretended to suspend the execution of the laws, which was to act like dictators in the state. But with all due submission I should think that this cannot be construed a suspension of those laws, and that a house of commons, which is not suffered to sit and repeal laws, or when they have repealed them have their bills withdrawn illegally by the crown, may have liberty to declare their judgment that the continuance of those laws is burthensome to the state. They must do so, (says Mr. Coke†) in order to a repeal. If the bill for the repeal of the old popish act *de hæretico comburendo*, for *burning hereticks*, which the parliament were afraid might be revived in a popish reign, had been lost in this manner, might not the parliament have declared the execution of that law a weakening to the protestant interest, or dangerous to the peace of the kingdom?

While the parliament was endeavouring to relieve the dissenters, and charging the miseries of the kingdom upon the papists, many of the bishops and clergy of the church of England were pleased to see the *court* inclined to prosecute the non-conformists. The clergy in general, (says Rapin‡) were attached to the court; men of doubtful religion were promoted, and there was reason to charge them with leaning to popery. Even some able champions against po-

* Burnet 301.

† Page 561.

‡ Page 711.

pery went so far into the court measures as to impute the calamities of the times to the non-conformists, and to raise the cry of the populace against them. Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet*, who had written an *Irenicum* in favour of liberty, and against *impositions*, in his sermon before the lord-mayor, May 2 this year, intituled, *the Mischief of Separation*, condemned all the dissenters as *schismaticks*; and very gravely advised them not to complain of persecution. When the sermon was published, it brought upon the doctor several learned adversaries, as Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Alsop*, Mr. *Howe*, Mr. *Barret*, and Dr. *Owen*; from which last divine, who wrote with great temper and seriousness, I will venture to transcribe the following passage, without entering into the argument:* “ After so many of the non-conformists have
 “ died in common gaols, (says the doctor) so many have en-
 “ dured long imprisonments, not a few being at this day in
 “ the same durance; so many driven from their habitations
 “ into a wandering condition, to preserve for a while the li-
 “ berty of their persons; so many have been reduced to
 “ want and penury, by the taking away their goods, and
 “ from some the very instruments of their livelihood. After
 “ the prosecution that has been against them in all courts of
 “ justice in this nation, on informations, indictments, and
 “ suits, to the great charge of all who have been so perse-
 “ cuted, and the ruin of some. After so many ministers and
 “ their families have been brought into the utmost outward
 “ straits which nature can subsist under; after all their pe-
 “ petual fears and dangers wherewith they have been exer-
 “ cised and disquieted, they think it hard to be censured for
 “ *complaining*, by them who are at ease.” The doctor en-
 deavoured to support his charge by the suffrage of the French presbyterians; and *Compton* bishop of London applied to monsieur *Le Moyne*, and several others,† for their opinions; as if truth were to be determined by numbers; or as if the English presbyterians could pay a vast deference to *their* judgments, who had so deceived them at the Restoration. The ministers, bred up in French complaisance and under French slavery, after high strains of compliment to the English bishops, declared, that they were of opinion,

* Page 53, 54. † Collyer, p. 900.

their brethren might comply;* and that *they were not for pushing things to extremity only for a different form of government.* Which the doctor and his friends interpreted as a decision in their favour. But did not the bishops exasperate the spirits of their dissenting brethren, by enforcing the sanguinary laws? Were these protestant methods of conversion, or likely to bring them to temper? The French ministers complained sufficiently of this about five years after, at the revocation of the edict of Nantz. Bishop *Burnet* remarks of Dr. *Stillingfleet* on this occasion,† that he not only retracted his *Irenicum*, but went into the humours of the high sort of people beyond what became him, perhaps *beyond his own sense of things.*

This year [1680] died Mr. *Stephen Charnock*, B. D. first of Emanuel college, Cambridge; and afterwards fellow of New college, Oxford. He was chaplain to *Henry Cromwell*, lieutenant of Ireland, and was much respected by persons of the best quality in the city of Dublin for his polite behaviour. After the Restoration he returned into England, and became pastor of a separate congregation in London, where he was admired by the more judicious part of his hearers, though not popular, because of his disadvantageous way of reading with a glass: he was an eminent divine, and had a good

* Mr. *Neal*, it seems, has fallen into a mistake, by supposing that the French *presbyterians* favoured English episcopacy. Their answers were complaisant, but wary. Yet *Stillingfleet* published their letters as suffrages for episcopacy, and annexed them to his Treatise on Schism. Mr. *Claude*, one of those written to, complained of this treatment; but the letters which contained these complaints were concealed till his death, when his son printed them. In one of them to bishop *Compton*, April 1681, he freely told him, that the bishops were blamed for their eagerness to persecute others by penal laws, for their arbitrary and despotick government; for their rigid attachment to offensive ceremonies; for requiring foreign protestant ministers to be re-ordained; and for not admitting any to the ministry without making an oath that episcopacy is of divine right, which Mr. *Claude* called a cruel rack for conscience. He solemnly called on the bishops, in the name of God, to remove these grounds of complaints, to give no cause, no pretext for separation, to do all in their power to prevent it, and instead of chafing and irritating people's minds, by all gentle methods to conciliate them. This was excellent advice: but the publick were not informed, that it had been given by those to whom it was addressed. Robinson's Life of *Claude*, prefixed to his translation of an Essay on the Composition of Sermons, p. 65—67. Ed.

† Vol. i. p. 276.

judge.

judgement, a curious imagination, and a strong manner of reasoning, as appears by his works printed since his death in two volumes folio, which were no other than his common sermons transcribed from his notes;* his stile is manly and lofty, and his thoughts sublime: his love and charity were very extensive, and there was no part of learning to which he was a stranger.† He died July 26, 1680, aged 52.

[On December 26th, 1680, died, at London, where he came to be cut for the stone, with which he was many years afflicted, Mr. *John Corbet*, ejected from Bramshot in Hants; a man every way great. He was a native of the city of Gloucester, and a student in Magdalen-hall, Oxon. He began his ministry in the place of his nativity, and lived many years there, and during the civil wars, of which he was a spectator. He wrote the history of the siege of the city, and is thought to have given as good an insight into the rise and springs of the civil war as can be met with in so narrow a compass. He removed from thence to Chichester, and then to the living from which he was ejected. After this he lived privately in and about London, till king *Charles's* indulgence in 1671, when part of his flock invited him to return to Chichester, where he continued his ministrations with great assiduity and success. It was during his residence there that bishop *Gunning* gave a publick challenge to the *Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers*. (See chapter viii. p. 449 of this volume.) Mr. *Corbet* accepted it on behalf of the first; but, after the bishop had fired his own volley of invectives, Mr. *Corbet* was not permitted to enter into a defence; nor, though he proposed to do it at any other time, and waited on the bishop at his palace, could he, afterwards, obtain an hearing. He was a man of great moderation, a lover of peace, an advocate for catholick communion and union of saints, and of blameless conversation. He saw some things to approve, and some

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 56. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. i. p. 159.

† Mr. *Johnson*, who preached his funeral sermon, says, "he never knew a man in all his life, who had attained near to that skill Mr. *Charnock* had, in the originals of the Old and New Testament, except Mr. *Thomas Cawton*." Granger, vol. iii. p. 308. Ed.

things to dislike in all parties, and valued not the interest of a party or faction. True to his conscience, he had no worldly designs to carry on, but was eminent in self-denial, and managed his ministry with faithfulness and prudence. He was tender of the reputation of his brethren, and rejoiced in the success of their labours as well as of his own. Nor was he apt to speak against those by whom he suffered. He was very free in acknowledging by whom he profited, and preferring others before himself. He was much in the study of his own heart, had the comfort of sensible improvements in faith and holiness, humility and heavenly-mindedness, and died at last in great serenity and peace. He had a considerable hand in compiling Mr. *Rusworth's* first volume of *Collections*, which is reckoned by good judges a master-piece of the kind. His "Self-employment in Secret," an excellent small piece, recommended lately by Mr. *Bulkley* in his "Christian Minister," has gone through various editions. Mr. *Howe* wrote a preface to it. Dr. *Wright* reprinted it in 1741, and the Rev. *William Unwin*, rector of Stock cum Ramsden-Belhouse, Essex, published it again in 1773, with the encomiums of a celebrated minister of the church of England upon it, as "the best manual he knew for a christian or a minister, furnishing excellent materials for addressing conscience, and directing men to judge of their spiritual state." Calamy, vol. ii. p. 333; Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 4. Ed.]

The king having parted with his last parliament in displeasure, without being able to obtain any money, resolved once more to try a new one;* and apprehending that the malecontents were encouraged by the neighbourhood of the city of London, he summoned them to meet at Oxford; the same representatives being rechosen for London, had a paper put into their hands by four merchants, in the name of all the citizens then assembled in the common hall, containing a return of their most hearty thanks for their faithful and unwearied endeavours in the two last parliaments, to search into the depth of the popish plot, to preserve the protestant religion, to promote an union among his majesty's protestant subjects, to repeal the 35th of *Eliz.* and the *corporation act*,

* Eachard, p. 1002. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 720.

and

and to promote the *bill of exclusion*, and to request their continuance of the same. The members being afraid of violence, were attended to Oxford with a numerous body of horse, having ribbons in their hats, with this motto, *No popery; no slavery*; the citizens having promised to stand by them with their lives and fortunes. Many other papers of the like nature were presented to the members in the several counties. The king, in his speech at the opening the sessions, March 21, reflected severely on the last parliament, and said, *he was resolved to maintain the succession of the crown in the right line*, and for quieting people's fears, he was willing to put the administration into the hands of a *protestant regent*; but the commons rejected the proposal, to the inexpressible joy of the duke's party, and ordered the *bill of exclusion* to be brought in again. In the mean time a motion was made to consider of the loss of the bill in favour of the *dissenters* last parliament. Sir *William Jones* said, "the bill was of great moment and service to the country, and might be to their lives, in the time of a popish successor; but be the bill what it will, the precedent was of the highest consequence; the king has a *negative* to all bills, but surely the clerk of the parliament has not.—If this way be found out, that bills shall be thrown by, it may hereafter be said, they were forgot and laid by, and so we shall never know whether the king would pass them or no: if this be suffered, 'tis in vain to spend time here—" In conclusion this affair was referred to a conference with the house of lords, which was frustrated by the hasty dissolution of the parliament.

They next went upon the libel of one *Fitz-Harris*, an Irish *papist*, which was a second *meal-tub plot*, promoted in the name of the non-conformists;* the libel was to be sent by penny-post letters to the lords who had protested in favour of the bill of exclusion, and to the leading men in the house of commons, who were immediately to be apprehended and searched. *Everard*, who was *Fitz-Harris's* confidant, and betrayed the secret, affirmed that the king himself was privy to it, as *Fitz-Harris's* wife averred to a person of worth many years after; that his majesty had given *Fitz-Harris* money, and promised him more if it met with success.

* Burnet, p. 303, 4.

The *libel* was to traduce the king and the royal family as papists, and arbitrarily affected from the beginning, and says, that king *Charles I.* had a hand in the Irish rebellion; —that the act forbidding to call the king a papist, was only to stop men's mouths, and that it was as much in the power of the people to depose a *popish possessor* as a *popish successor*. It was intituled *The True Englishman speaking plain English*; and adds, “If *JAMES* be conscious and guilty, *CHARLES* is so too; believe me these two brothers in iniquity are in confederacy with the pope and the French, to introduce popery and arbitrary government, and to cast off parliaments, *magna charta*, and the liberty of the subject, as heavy yokes, and to be as arbitrary as the king of France —Let the English move and rise as one man to self-defence; blow the trumpet, stand on your guard, and withstand them as bears and tygers—Trust to your swords in defence of your lives, liberties and religion, like the stout earl of old, who told his king, if he could not be defended by *magna charta*, he would be relieved by *longa spada*.” He goes on to reproach the king with the breach of his *Scots oaths*, *Breda promises*, *protestant profession*, *liberty of conscience*; as designed only to delude protestants; and puts him in mind of all his political and moral vices, as intended to debauch the nation, to promote the popish religion and arbitrary government, &c. Thus were the non-conformists to be exposed again to the resentments of the nation; but when the sham was discovered to the house of commons by Sir *William Waller*, he received the thanks of the house, and *Fitz-Harris*, though impeached in parliament, was tried by a jury, and executed with *Dr. Plunket*, the titular primate of Ireland. The whigs would have saved *Fitz-Harris*, though a papist, in hopes of his being an evidence in the popish plot; but the court was resolved to dispatch him out of the way, that he might tell no more tales.

His majesty, hearing that the *bill of exclusion* was to be brought into the house again, went suddenly, and not very decently, (says *Burnet**) to the house of lords in a *sedan*, with the crown between his feet, and having put on his robes in haste, called up the commons, and dissolved his fifth

* *Burnet*, p. 306.

and last parliament, after they had sat only seven days. As soon as his majesty got out of the house, he posted away in all haste to Windsor, as one that was glad he had got rid of his parliament, which was the last that he ever convened; though he lived three or four years after. And here was an end of the constitution and liberties of England for the present; all that followed to the king's death was no more than the convulsions and struggles of a dying man. The king raised what money he wanted without parliaments; he took away all the charters of England, and governed absolutely by dint of prerogative. April the 8th, the king published a *declaration* * to all his loving subjects, touching the causes and reasons that moved him to dissolve the two last parliaments; and ordered it to be read in all the churches and chapels throughout England. It contains a recital of his majesty's condescensions for the security of the protestant religion, *as far as was consistent with the succession of the crown in the lineal descent*; and a large rehearsal of the unsuitable returns of the commons. "But notwithstanding all this, (says his majesty) let not these men, who are labouring to poison our people with *commonwealth principles*, persuade any of our subjects that we intend to lay aside the use of parliaments, for we still declare, that no irregularities in parliaments shall make us out of love with them; and we are resolved by the blessing of God, to have frequent parliaments;" although he never called another. Several anonymous remarks were made upon *this declaration*, to weaken its influence. But the court used all its interest among the people to support its credit: addresses were sent from all parts, thanking his majesty for his *declaration*, promising to support his person and government with their lives and fortunes. Most of them declared against the *bill of exclusion*, and for the duke's succession† (as has been observed.) Some ventured to arraign the late parliament as guilty of sedition and treason, and to

* It was observed, Dr. Calamy says, that "this declaration was known by M. Barillon, the French ambassador, and by the duchess of Mazarine, sooner than by the king's council, and that it was evidenced to be of French extraction by the gallicisms in it; and withal it had no broad seal to it, and was signed only by a clerk of the council." Own Life, MS. p. 74. ED.

† Burnet, vol. ii. 308, 9.

pray his majesty to put in execution the statute of 35 *Eliz.* against the non-conformists. The grand juries, the justices at their session, divers boroughs and corporations, the companies in towns, and at last the very apprentices, sent up addresses. Those who presented or procured them were well treated at court, and some of them knighted. Many zealous healths were drank, and in their cups the swaggerings of the old cavaliers seemed to be revived. One of the most celebrated addresses was from the university of Cambridge, presented by Dr. Gower master of St. John's, which I shall give the reader as a specimen of the rest. It begins thus: "Sacred
" Sir! We your majesty's most faithful and obedient sub-
" jects have long, with the greatest and sincerest joy, beheld
" the generous emulation of our fellow-subjects, contending
" who should best express their duty to their sovereign at this
" time, when the seditious endeavours of unreasonable men
" have made it necessary to assert the ancient loyalty of the
" English nation.—It is at present the great honour of this
" your university, not only to be steadfast and constant in our
" duty, but to be eminently so, and to suffer for it as much
" as the calumnies and reproaches of factious and ma-
" licious men can inflict upon us. And that they have not
" proceeded to sequestration and plunder, as heretofore,
" next to the over-ruling providence of almighty God, is
" only due to the royal care and prudence of your most sacred
" majesty, who gave so seasonable a check to their arbitrary
" and insolent undertakings.—*We still believe and maintain,*
" *that our kings derive not their power from the people, but*
" *from God; that to him only they are accountable; that it be-*
" *longs not to subjects either to create or censure, but to honour*
" *and obey their sovereign, who comes to be so by a fundamental,*
" *hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no*
" *fault or forfeiture can alter or diminish;* nor will we abate of
" our well-instructed zeal for the Church of England as by
" law established.—Thus we have learned our own, and thus
" we teach others their duty to God and the king."—His
majesty discovered an unusual satisfaction on this occasion,
and after having returned them thanks, was pleased to add,
that no other church in the world taught and practised loyalty so
conscientiously as they did.

As

As such abject and servile flattery could not fail of pleasing the king, it must necessarily draw down vengeance on the non-conformists, who joined in none of their addresses, but were doomed to suffer under a double character, as *whigs*, and as *dissenters*. “This (says bishop *Burnet**) was set on “by the papists, and it was wisely done of them, for they “knew how much the *non-conformists* were set against them. “They made use also of the indiscreet zeal of the *high church clergymen* to ruin them, which they knew would “render the clergy odious, and give the papists great advantage when opportunity offered.” The times were boisterous and stormy; sham plots were contrived, and warrants issued against the leaders of the whig party for seditious language; *Shaftesbury*, now called the *protestant earl*, was sent to the *Tower*, and *Stephen College*, the *protestant joiner*, was carried to Oxford, and hanged, after the grand jury in London had brought in a bill of indictment against him *ignoramus*. Witnesses were imported from Ireland, and employed to swear away men’s lives. “The court intended to set them to “swear against all the hot party, which was plainly murder “in them who believed them false witnesses, (says *Burnet*†) “and yet made use of them to destroy others.” Spies were planted in all coffee-houses, to furnish out evidence for the witnesses. Mercenary justices were put into commission all over the kingdom; juries were packed; and with regard to the non-conformists, informers of the vilest of the people were countenanced to a shameful degree, insomuch that the gaols were quickly filled with prisoners, and large sums of money extorted from the industrious and conscientious, and played into the hands of the most profligate wretches in the nation.

The justices of Middlesex shewed great forwardness, and represented to his majesty in December, “that an intimation “of his pleasure was necessary at this time, to the putting “the laws in execution against conventicles, because when “a charge was lately given at the council-board to put the “laws in execution against popish recusants, no mention was “made of suppressing conventicles.” Upon this his majesty commanded the lord-mayor, aldermen, and justices, to use

* Page 306. † P. 315.

their utmost endeavour to suppress all conventicles and unlawful meetings, upon pretence of religious worship, for it was his express pleasure, that the laws be effectually put in execution against them, both in city and country. Accordingly the justices of peace at their sessions at Hickes's-hall, Jan. 13, ordered, "that whereas the constables and church-wardens, &c. of every parish and precinct within the said county, had been enjoined last sessions to make a return the first day of this, of the names of the preachers in conventicles, and the most considerable frequenters of the same within their several limits; which order not being obeyed, but contemned by some, it was therefore by the justices then assembled desired, that the lord bishop of London will please to direct those officers which are under his jurisdiction, to use their utmost diligence, that all such persons may be excommunicated, who commit crimes deserving the ecclesiastical censure; and that the said excommunications may be published in the parishes where the persons live, that they may be taken notice of, and be obvious to the penalties that belong to persons excommunicate, (*viz.*) *not to be admitted for a witness, or returned upon juries, or capable of suing for any debt.*" They further ordered at the same time, "that the statute of the first of *Eliz.* and third of king *James*, be put in due execution, for the levying twelve-pence *per* Sunday upon such persons who repaired not to divine service and sermons at their parish or some other publick church." All which (says Mr. *Eachard*) made way for all sorts of prosecutions both in city and country, which in many places were carried on with great spight and severity, where there never wanted busy agents and informers, of which a few were sufficient to put the laws in execution; so that *the dissenters this year and much longer*, (says he) *met with cruel and unchristian usage*; which occasioned great complaints among the people, and some severe reflections on the king himself.

It was not in the power of the *church-wigs* to relieve the *non-conformists*, nor screen them from the edge of the penal laws, which were in the hands of their enemies. All that could be done was to encourage their constancy, and to write some compassionate treatises to move the people in their favour, by

shewing them, that while they were plundering and destroying their protestant dissenting neighbours, they were cutting the throat of the reformed religion, and making way for the triumphs of popery upon its ruins. Among other writings of this sort, the most famous was, *the Conformists Plea for the Non-conformists*, in four parts, *by a beneficed minister and a regular son of the church of England*. In which the author undertakes to shew, 1. The greatness of their sufferings. 2. The hardships of their case. 3. The reasonableness and equity of their proposals for union. 4. The qualifications and worth of their ministers. 5. Their peaceable behaviour. 6. Their agreement with the church of England in the articles of her faith. 7. The prejudice to the church by their exclusion; and then concludes, with an account of the infamous lives, and lamentable deaths, of several of the informers. It was a sensible and moving performance, but had no influence on the tory justices, and tribe of informers. There was no stemming the tide; every one who was not a furious tory (says *Rapin*) was reputed a presbyterian.

Most of the clergy were with the court, and distinguished themselves on the side of persecution. The pulpits every where resounded with the doctrines of *passive-obedience* and *non-resistance*, which were carried to all the heights of king *Charles I.* No eastern monarch (according to them) was more absolute than the king of England.* They expressed such a zeal for the duke's succession, as if a popish king over a protestant country had been a special blessing from heaven. They likewise gave themselves such a loose against *protestant non-conformists*, as if nothing was so formidable as that party. In all their sermons, *popery* was quite forgot, (says *Burnet*) and the force of their zeal was turned almost wholly against *protestant dissenters*. In many country places the *parson of the parish*, who could bully, and drink and swear, was put into the commission of the peace, and made a *confiding justice*, by which means he was both judge and party in his own cause. If any of his sober parishioners did not appear at church, they were sure to be summoned, and instead of the mildness and gentleness of a christian clergyman, they usually met with haughty and abusive language, and the utmost ri-

* *Rapin*, p. 725. *Burnet*, p. 309.

gour the law could inflict. There was also a great change made in the *commissions* throughout England. A set of *confiding magistrates* was appointed; and none were left on the bench, or in the militia, that did not declare for the arbitrary measures of the court: and such of the clergy as were averse to this fury were declaimed against as *betrayers of the church*, and secret favourers of the dissenters; but the truth is, (says the bishop) *the number of sober honest clergyman was not great*, for where the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together. The scent of preferment will draw aspiring men after it. Upon the whole, the present times were very lowring, and the prospect under a popish successor still more threatening.

It would fill a volume, to enter into all the particulars of these unchristian proceedings, which even the black registers of the spiritual courts cannot fully unfold. The reverend Mr. *Edward Bury*, assisting at a private fast, on account of the extraordinary drought, was apprehended June 14, and fined twenty pounds; and refusing to pay it, because he did not preach, they took away his goods, books, and even the bed he lay upon. The reverend Mr. *Philip Henry* was apprehended at the same time, and fined forty pounds, and for non-payment they carried away thirty-three loads of corn which lay cut upon the ground, together with hay, coals, and other chattels. The *informers* took the names of one hundred and fifty more, who were at the meeting: they fined the master of the house twenty pounds, and five pounds more as being constable that year, and exacted five shillings a head from all who were present. Examples of this usage in London, Middlesex, and most of the counties of England, are innumerable.

The quakers published a narrative of the sufferings of their friends since the restoration, by which it appeared, that great numbers had been fined by the bishop's courts, robbed of their substance, and perished in prison.* Many had been so beaten and wounded for attending *their meetings*, that they died of their wounds. An account was also published, of the unjust proceedings of the *informers*, shewing, that at their instance many had been plundered without a juridical

* Sewel, p. 574, 581.

process; that seven hundred of them were now in prison in several parts of England, and especially about Bristol; but remonstrances and complaints availed nothing.

In the midst of this furious persecution, the famous Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, son of Dr. *Gouge* of Black-friars, and the ejected minister of St. Sepulchre's, was taken out of this world: he was born at Bow near Stratford, 1605, bred at Eaton school, and educated in King's college, Cambridge.* He settled at St. Sepulchre's in the year 1638, and for twenty-four years discharged all the parts of a vigilant and faithful pastor. He was a wonder of piety, charity, humility, and moderation, making it his study to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and man. Mr. *Baxter* says, he never heard any man speak to his dishonour, except that he did not conform. He was possessed of a good estate, and devoted the chief of it to charity. He settled schools to the number of three or four hundred, and gave money to teach children to read in the mountainous parts of Wales, where he travelled annually, and preached, till he was forbid by the bishops, and excommunicated, though he still went as a hearer to the parish churches. He printed eight thousand Welsh Bibles,† a thousand of which were given to the poor, and the rest sent to the principal towns of Wales, to be sold at an under rate. He printed five hundred of the *Whole Duty of Man* in Welsh, and gave them away; two hundred and forty *New Testaments*; and kept almost two thousand Welsh children at school to learn English. Archbishop *Tillotson*, in his funeral sermon, says, that, all things

* *Tillotson's Works*, vol. i. p. 265.

† In these charitable works, as we have seen before, he was assisted by his friends. The great BUSINESS OF HIS LIFE was to do good. He annually travelled over Wales, inspecting the schools and instructing the people both in publick and private, till he was between sixty and seventy years of age. He sustained great loss by the fire of London, and after the death of his wife and the settlement of his children, his fortune was reduced to 150l. per annum; out of which he constantly expended 100l. in works of charity. He had a singular sagacity and prudence in devising the most effectual ways of doing good: and his example gave the first hint to Mr. *T. Firmin* of that plan of furnishing the poor with employment, which he so extensively and generously pursued. His funeral sermon was preached by Doctor, afterwards Archbishop *Tillotson*. Palmer. Ed.

considered,

considered, there has not since the primitive times of christianity been many among the sons of men, to whom that glorious character of the Son of God might be better applied, that *he went about doing good*.* He was a divine of a cheerful spirit, and went away quietly, in his sleep, October 29, 1681, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.†

While the tories and high-church clergy were ravaging the dissenters, the court was intent upon subverting the constitution, and getting the government of the city into their hands. June 24, 1682, there was a contest about the election of sheriffs, which occasioned a considerable tumult. And when the election of a lord-mayor came on at Michaelmas, the citizens were again in an uproar, the *lord-mayor* pretending a right to adjourn the court, while the *sheriffs*, to whom the right belonged, continued the poll till night; when the books were cast up, each party claimed the majority according to their respective books. The contest rose so high, that Sir *William Pritchard*, lord-mayor, was afterwards arrested at the suit of Mr. *Papillon* and *Dubois*, and detained prisoner in Skinner's-hall till midnight. But when the affair came to a trial, the election was vacated, *Papillon* and *Dubois* were imprisoned, and the leading men of the whig party, who had distinguished themselves in the contest, were fined in large sums of money, which made way for the loss of the charter.

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 8.

† The learned and excellent Dr. *William Lloyd*, then bishop of St. Asaph, who endeavoured by argument to remove the scruples of the dissenters, and to bring them back into the church by mild and christian methods, after some private conferences, called on Mr. *James Owen*, to produce his reasons for preaching without ordination by diocesan bishops, at the publick hall of Oswestree, on the 27th of September, of the year 1681. The bishop was attended by the learned Mr. *Henry Dodwell*; Mr. *Owen's* supporters were, Mr. *Philip Henry*, Mr. *Jonathan Roberts* of Slainvair, in Denbighshire, an excellent scholar and warm disputant. The dispute began at two in the afternoon, and ended between eight and nine. Several points, connected with the main question, “concerning the necessity of ordination by diocesan bishops, in uninterrupted succession from the apostles,” were debated. The effects of this discussion were various; but no converts were made by it. The bishop procured respect by his exemplary candour; and Mr. *Philip Henry*, by his prudent and primitive temper, and the mildness of his manner, recommended himself to the high esteem of the prelate and the company. Mr. *James Owen's* Life, p. 29—35. ED.

The

The court would have persuaded the *common-council* to make a voluntary surrender of it to the crown, to put an end to all contests for the future;* but not being able to prevail, they resolved to condemn it by law; accordingly a *quo warranto* was issued out of the court of King's-bench, to see whether its charter had been duly observed, because the common-council, in one of their addresses, had petitioned for the sitting of the parliament, and had taxed the prorogation as a delay of justice; and because they had laid taxes on their wharfs and markets contrary to law. After trial upon these two points, the chief justice delivered it as the unanimous opinion of the court, *that the liberties and franchises of the city of London had been forfeited, and might be seized into the king's hands*, but judgment was not to be entered till the king's pleasure was further known. In the mean time the lord-mayor and common-council, who are the representatives of the city, agreed to submit to the king's mercy, and sent a deputation to Windsor, June 18, 1683, to beg pardon; which the king was pleased to grant on condition *that his majesty might have a negative in the choice of all the chief magistrates—that if his majesty disapproved of their choice of a lord-mayor they should choose another within a week—and that if his majesty disapproved their second choice he should himself nominate a mayor for the year ensuing*; and the like as to sheriffs, aldermen, &c.† When this was reported to the common-council, it was put to the vote, and upon a division, one hundred and four were for accepting the king's regulation, and eighty-six against it; but even these *concessions* continued no longer than a year. The charter of London being lost, the cities and corporations in general were prevailed with to deliver up their charters, and accept of such new ones as the court would grant, which was the highest degree of perfidy and baseness in those who were entrusted with them, especially when they knew, that the design was to pack a parliament, in order to make way for a popish successor.

Thus the liberties of England were delivered up to the crown; and though the forms of law remained, men's lives

* Burnet, p. 354—357. Rapin, p. 727. † Burnet, vol. ii. p. 403. Gazette, No. 1835.

and estates were at the mercy of a set of profligate creatures, who would swear any thing for hire. *Juries* (says *Burnet**) were a shame to the nation, and a reproach to religion, for they were packed and prepared to bring in verdicts as they were directed, and not as matters appeared upon the evidence. Zeal against popery was decried as the voice of a faction, who were enemies to the king and his government. All rejoicings on the fifth of November were forbid, and strict orders given to all constables and other officers to keep the peace; but the populace not being so orderly as they should have been, several London apprentices were fined twenty marks for a riot, and set in the pillory. These were the triumphs of a tory and popish administration.

A little before this died old Mr. *Thomas Case*, M. A. educated in Christ-church, Oxford, and one of the assembly of divines; he was peculiarly zealous in promoting the *morning exercises*, but was turned out of his living of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-street, for refusing the engagement, and imprisoned for Mr. *Love*'s plot; he was afterwards rector of St. Giles's, and waited on the king at Breda.† He was one of the commissioners at the Savoy, and silenced with his brethren in 1662. He was an open plain-hearted man, an excellent preacher, of a warm spirit, and a hearty lover of all good men. He died May 30, 1682, aged 84.‡

Mr. *Samuel Clarke*, the ejected minister of St. Bene't Fink, was an indefatigable student, as appears by his *Martyrology*, his *Lives of eminent Divines*, and other historical works; he was a good scholar, and had been an useful preacher in

* Page 359. † Calamy, vol. ii. p. 13. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. i. p. 124.

‡ He survived every one of the dissenters that sat in the assembly of divines. Mr. *Baxter* styles him "a holy, faithful servant of God." It is painful, however, to reflect, that a man whose character appears, in general, to have been venerable and amiable, should be so transported by the heat of the times, as, in a sermon preached before the "court-martial" in 1644, to say; "Noble Sirs, imitate God, and be merciful to none that have sinned of *malicious* wickedness;" meaning the royalists, who were frequently styled *malignants*. This, as Mr. *Granger* observes, is sanguinary. It may be added, that it conveyed also a false idea of the divine clemency, which extends its exercise, on repentance, to all characters; to sins of malignity as well as of infirmity.

Granger's History of England, vol. iii. p. 317, 18. Ed. Cheshire

Cheshire and Warwickshire, before he came to London; he was one of the commissioners at the Savoy, and presented the presbyterian minister's address of thanks to the king for his declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs; and though he could not conform as a preacher, he frequently attended the service of the church as a hearer and communicant. He died December 25, 1682, *ætatis* eighty.*

While the liberties of England lay bleeding, the fury of the court raged higher than ever against the *non-conformists*, as inflexible enemies of their arbitrary measures.† Mr. *Baxter* was surprized in his own house, by a company of constables and other *peace-officers*, who arrested him for coming within five miles of a corporation, and brought warrants to distrain upon him for five sermons, amounting to 195l. They took him out of his bed, to which he had been confined for some time, and were carrying him to gaol; but Dr. *Cox* the physician, meeting him in the way, went and made oath before a justice of peace, that he could not be removed to prison without danger of his life, so he was permitted to go home again to bed; but the officers rifled his house, took away such books as he had, and sold even the bed from under him. Dr. *Annesley*, and several other ministers, had their goods distrained for *latent convictions*; that is, upon the oaths of persons they never

* When Mr. *Clarke* was ejected, he had been forty years in the ministry, during which time he had been seven or eight years a governor, and two years a president of Sion college. The most valuable of his numerous works are reckoned to be “Lives of the Puritan Divines and other persons of note.” “The author and the bookseller,” says Mr. *Granger*, “seem to have been thoroughly informed of this secret, that a *taking title-page* becomes much more taking, with an engraved frontispiece before it; and that little *pictures*, in the body of the book, are great embellishments to style and matter.” He was more a compiler than an author. His name was anagrammatized to *Su (c) kall Cream*, alluding to his taking the best parts of those books from which he collected. One is sorry to find, in the list of his publications, “A Discourse against Toleration.” He enjoyed about nine years the living of Alcester in Warwickshire, where his preaching was very useful, and the town became exemplary for sobriety, which had borne the character of drunken *Alcester*. He met death with a lively sense of eternity upon his mind, and a comfortable assurance of his own title to future blessedness. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 88, &c. Granger's History, vol. iii. p. 321. Ed.

Mr. Clarke was the great-grandfather of Dr. Samuel Clarke of St. Alban's, the patron of Dr. Doddridge's youthful studies. Ed.

* Part iii. p. 191.

saw,

saw, nor received summons to answer for themselves before a justice of peace. This was stabbing men in the dark. Some were imprisoned on the corporation act. The reverend Mr. *Vincent* was tried and convicted at the Surry assizes on the 35th of queen *Elizabeth*, already mentioned: he lay in prison many months, but was at last released by the intercession of some great men. The dissenting laity were harassed every where in the *spiritual courts*, warrants were signed for *distresses* in the village of Hackney alone, to the sum of fourteen hundred pounds; one of which was five hundred. The reader will then judge what must have been the case of the interest in general.*

But in the midst of this oppression and violence, the court found that the spirit of English liberty was not easily to be subdued: there were a set of patriots who stood in their way, and were determined to hazard their lives and fortunes for the constitution; these were therefore to be removed or cut off, by bringing them within the compass of some pretended plot against the government. Some, who were more zealous than prudent, met together in clubs at the taverns and other places, to talk over the common danger, and what might be done to secure their religion and liberties in case of the king's death; but there was no formed design in any of them against the king or the present government. The court however laid hold of this occasion, and, as Mr. *Coke* says, set on foot three plots, one to assassinate the king and duke as they came from Newmarket; another to seize the guards; and a third was called the *Blackheath plot*; in all which, for ought I can find, (says he) *the fox was the finder.* Dr. *Wel-*

* The temper of the court and church at this time inclined Mr. *John Shower*, to attend the nephew of Sir *Samuel Barnardiston* on his travels, in compliance with the earnest request of his uncle, in company with several other gentlemen, which we mention here to introduce the following passage. When they were at Geneva, where they continued for some time, they contracted an acquaintance with *Turretin* the younger. On their first conversation they found this learned divine and the rest of the city possessed with very unfavourable sentiments concerning the English Non-conformists. But when Mr. *Shower* and his companions had stated their case, and the terms required of them, *Turretin* and the others declared themselves well satisfied with the grounds of their dissent, and treated them, during the remainder of their residence in the city, with a very particular respect. Tong's Life of Shower, p. 48. Ed.

wood adds,* that the shattered remains of English liberty were attacked on every side, and some of the noblest blood in the nation offered up a sacrifice to the *manes* of popish martyrs. *Swearing* came into fashion, and an evidence office was set up at Whitehall; the witnesses were highly encouraged, and, instead of judges and juries that might boggle at half evidence, care was taken to pick out such as should stick at nothing to serve a turn. The plot which the court made use of was called the *Rye-house plot*,† from the name of the house where the two royal brothers were to be shot; it was within two miles of Hodsdon in Hertfordshire, and was first discovered by one *Keeling* an *anabaptist*; after him *Good-enough*, *Rumsey* and *West*, made themselves witnesses, and framed a story out of their own heads, of *lopping off the two brothers*, as they came from Newmarket; and having heard of conferences between the duke of *Monmouth*, lord *Russel*, and others, concerning securing the protestant religion upon the king's decease, they impeached them to the council, upon which lord *Russel*, *Algernon Sidney*, the earl of *Essex*, and Mr. *Houblon*, were apprehended and sent to the Tower. Warrants were issued out for several others, who, knowing that innocence was in these times no sufficient protection, absconded, and went out of the way; but several were tried, and executed upon the *court-evidence*; as Mr. *Rumbold*, the master of the house where the plot was to take place, who declared at his execution in king *James's* reign, that he never knew of any design against the king; as did Captain *Walcot* and Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, *Rouse*, and the rest. Lord *Russel* was condemned, and beheaded, for being within the hearing of some treasonable words at Mr. *Shepherd's*, a wine-cooper in Abchurch-lane.‡ The earl of *Essex's* throat was cut in the Tower § during lord *Russel's* trial;

* *Memoirs*, p. 132. † *Burnet*, vol. ii. p. 368—373. ‡ P. 382.

§ Dr. *Grey* censures Mr. *Neal's* account of the *Rye-house* plot as very faulty, if not false; “as appears,” he says, “from the very best of our historians; and the confession of several that suffered for it.” The historians to whom the doctor refers are *Eachard*, *Kennet*, &c. and principally bishop *Sprat's* “*History of the Rye-house Plot*.” As to this work, the most partial to it must own it detracts greatly from its credit; that it was drawn up to please the court, by one that was wholly in that interest; and the author, it

trial;* and *Algernon Sidney* was executed for having a *sedition libel in his study*;† of the injustice of which the parliament at the revolution was so sensible, that they reversed the judgments. A proclamation was issued out against the duke of *Monmouth*, though the king knew where he was; and after the ferment brought him to court. Mr. *Eachard* observes, that some have called this the *fanatick*, the *protestant*, the *whiggish*, or *presbyterian plot*; others have called it, with more justice, a piece of state policy, and no better than an imposture, for it had no other foundation than the rash and imprudent discourse of some warm whigs, which, in so critical a conjuncture, was very hazardous; but no scheme of a plot had been agreed upon, no preparations made, no arms nor horses purchased, nor persons appointed to execute any design against the king or government.‡ However, the court had their ends in striking terror into the whole party.

Great

it seems, acknowledges, “that king *James II.* called for his papers, and “having read them, altered divers passages, and caused them to be printed “by his own authority.” Calamy’s Letter to archdeacon *Eachard*, p. 55. Dr. *Grey* ironically calls Mr. *Neal*’s account of the earl of *Essex*’s death, a *candid* remark; and then refers to, and quotes largely, *Carte*’s and *Eachard*’s representations of that event, to shew that the earl was *felo de se*. This is not the place to discuss the question concerning his lordship’s death, whether he committed an act of suicide, or was murdered by others? Dr. *Harris* has fully and impartially stated the arguments on both sides. History of Charles II. vol. ii. p. 371—376. The same judicious writer has also investigated the evidence concerning the *Rye-house* plot, p. 355—370. Ed.

* Welwood’s Memoirs, p. 161.

† This was an answer to *Filmer*’s book, written to prove the absolute and unlimited power of kings. The leading principle of this MS. was, “that power is delegated from the people to the prince, and that he is accountable to them for the abuse of it.” It was urged that he was not proved to have written the piece; that if he were the author, it contained only his private speculations; that it could not be admitted as a proof of the plot, for it was written years before; and that, as it was not a finished piece, it could not be known how it would end; and no general conclusion ought to be drawn from any particular chapter of a work. The book was, however, considered by *Jefferies* as an overt-act, on this principle, *scribere est agere*. It is remarkable, that within a few years, the energy and truth of the above principle removed *James II.* from the throne, and placed on it the prince of Orange. So vain is it to fight against just principles! Ed.

‡ “Mr. *Neal* must think his readers,” says Dr. *Grey*, “very easy of “belief to swallow down such gross untruths as these, which the smallest “dabbler in the history of those times can easily confute.” The reader,

who

Great industry was used by the court to bring the body of non-conformists into this plot: it was given out that Dr. Owen, Mr. Mead, and Mr. Griffith, were acquainted with it;* Mr. Mead was summoned before the council, and gave such satisfactory answers to all questions, that the king himself ordered him to be discharged. The reverend Mr. Castaires, a Scots divine, was put to the torture of the *thummikins* in Scotland, to extort a confession; both his thumbs being bruised between two irons till the marrow was almost forced out of the bones: this he bore for an hour and half without making any confession. Next day they brought

who is not a dabbler in the history of those times, is referred to Dr. Harris, as before quoted, for materials on which to form his judgment of the truth of this remark. In the mean time he may not be displeased with the following plain lines on the death of *Sidney*.

“ ALGERNON SIDNEY fills this tomb,
 “ An atheist for disclaiming Rome;
 “ A rebel bold for striving still
 “ To keep the laws above the will:
 “ Crimes damn’d by church and government,
 “ Alas! where must his ghost be sent?
 “ Of heav’n it cannot but despair,
 “ If holy Pope be turnkey there;
 “ And hell it ne’er must entertain,
 “ For there is all tyrannick reign.
 “ Where goes it then? Where ’t ought to go,
 “ Where pope nor devil have to do.

Bennet’s Memorial, p. 359. Note. Ed.

* Dr. Grey refers to “copies of informations,” in the appendix to *Sprat’s* account for a deposition signed by Mr. *Carstaires*, saying; “the deponent did communicate the design on foot to Dr. Owen, Mr. Griffith, and Mr. Mead, at Stepney, who all concurred in promoting of it, and desired it might take effect.”—Dr. Grey, by this quotation, means to implicate those gentlemen in the most atrocious part of this plot. But the question returns, what was the design on foot? what was the nature and extent of it?—Mr. *Neal* immediately informs us in his report of the amount of *Carstaires’s* confession, that it did not go to any assassination, but only to preserving their liberties and the protestant religion. As to Mr. Mead, in particular, he went into Holland on this occasion: and after his return to England, he was summoned to appear before king *Charles* at the privy-council, where he very fully vindicated his innocence, and was perfectly discharged. *Pierce’s Vindication of the Dissenters*, part i. p. 258. Mr. Mead carried with him into Holland the son, (the eleventh of thirteen children) whom he placed under an excellent master, who afterwards rose to the first eminence as a scholar and physician. *Granger’s History*, vol. iii. p. 333. Ed.

him

him to undergo the torture of the *boot*, but his arms being swelled with the late torture, and he already in a fever, made a declaration of all that he knew, which amounted to no more than some loose discourse of what might be fit to be done, to preserve their liberties and the protestant religion, if there should be a *crisis*;^{*} but he vindicated himself and his brethren in England from all assassinating designs, which, he said, they abhorred. Dr. *South* was desired to write the history of this plot; but Dr. *Sprat*, afterwards bishop of Rochester, performed it, though at the revolution he disowned it so far as to declare, that king *James* had altered several passages in it before it was published. Bishop *Burnet* adds, that when the congratulatory addresses for the discovery of this plot had gone all round England, the *grand juries* made high presentments against all who were accounted whigs and non-conformists. Great pains were taken to find out more witnesses; pardons and rewards were offered very freely to the guilty, but none came in, which made it evident, (says his lordship) that nothing was so well laid, or brought so near execution, as the witnesses had deposed, otherwise the people would have crowded in for pardons. Bishop *Kennet* says,[†] that the *dissenters* bore all the odium, and were not only branded for express *rebels* and *villains*, in multitudes of congratulatory and tory addresses from all parts of the kingdom, but were severely arraigned by the king himself, in a declaration to all his loving subjects, read in all the churches on Sunday September 9, which was appointed as a day of thanksgiving, and solemnized, after an extraordinary manner, with mighty pomp and magnificence. There was hardly a parish in England that was not at a considerable expence to testify their joy and satisfaction: nay, the papists celebrated in all their chapels in London an extraordinary service on that account; so that *these* had their places of publick worship, though the protestant dissenters were denied them.

The *quakers* avowed their innocence of the plot in an address to the king at Windsor,[‡] presented by *G. Whitehead*, *Parker*, and two more, wherein they appeal to the Searcher of all hearts, that “their principles do not allow them to

^{*} Burnet, vol. ii. p. 426—430. [†] P. 402. [‡] Sewel, p. 585.

“take

“take up defensive arms, much less to avenge themselves for
 “the injuries they receive from others. That they conti-
 “nually pray for the king’s safety and preservation, and
 “therefore take this occasion humbly to beseech his majesty,
 “to compassionate their suffering friends, with whom the
 “gaols are so filled, that they want air, to the apparent
 “hazard of their lives, and to the endangering an infection
 “in divers places. Besides, many houses, shops, barns and
 “fields, are ransacked, and the goods, corn and cattle swept
 “away, to the discouraging of trade and husbandry, and im-
 “poverishing great numbers of quiet and industrious people;
 “and this for no other cause but for the exercise of a tender
 “conscience, in the worship of Almighty God, who is
 “sovereign lord and king in men’s consciences——.”

But this address made no impression;* all things proceeding triumphantly on the side of the prerogative;† the court did what they pleased; the king assumed the government of the city of London into his own hands, and appointed a mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, without the election of the people; sermons were filled with the principles of absolute obedience and non-resistance, which were carried higher than ever their forefathers had thought of or practised. The university of Oxford passed a *decree* ‡ in full convocation, July 21, 1683,

* The king was touched, for the moment, with the exhibition it gave of the unreasonable and unmerited sufferings of the *quakers*, and said to one of his courtiers standing by, “What shall we do for this people? the prisons
 “are full of them?” The party to whom this query was put, to divert his attention, drew him into conversation upon some other topick, so that little or no relaxation of the oppressive measures resulted from this address, nor during the remainder of the king’s reign. Gough’s History of the Quakers, vol. iii. p. 8, 9. Ed.

† Kennet, p. 410.

‡ This decree was drawn up by Dr. *Jane*, dean of Gloucester, and the king’s professor of divinity, and subscribed by the whole convocation. It was presented to the king with great solemnity on the 24th of July following, and very graciously received. It was ordered, in perpetual memory of it, to be entered in the registry of the convocation, and to be stuck up in the different colleges and halls. Further to counteract the spread and influence of the propositions against which it was levelled, all readers, tutors, catechists and others, to whom the instruction and care of youth were committed, were commanded, to instruct and ground their scholars in “that most necessary doctrine, which in a manner is the *badge and cha-
 “racter*

1683, against certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines, destructive to the sacred persons of princes, their state and government, and all human society.* It consists of twenty-seven propositions, extracted from the writings of Buchanan, Baxter, Owen, Milton, J. Goodwin, Hobbs, Cartwright, Travers, and others, who had maintained that there was an original contract between king and people; and that when kings subvert the constitution of their country, and become absolute tyrants, they forfeit their right to the government, and may be resisted: these and other propositions of a like nature, they declare to be impious, seditious, scandalous, damnable, heretical, blasphemous, and infamous to the christian religion. They forbid their students to read those writers, and ordered their books to be burnt. But how well they practised their own doctrines at the revolution, will be seen in its proper place; and one of queen Anne's parliaments ordered the decree itself to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

Dr. Benjamin Calamy, rector of St. Lawrence Jewry, in one of his printed sermons, intituled *a Scrupulous Conscience*, invited the *non-conformists* to examine what each party had to

“rafter of the church of England, of submitting to every ordinance of
 “man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto
 “governors, as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil
 “doers, and for the praise of them that do well; teaching that this sub-
 “mission is to be clear, absolute, and without any exception of any state
 “or order of men.” High-church Politicks, p. 89.

* Another proof of the intolerant spirit which dictated the decrees of the university at this time, offers in its treatment of Dr. Whitby, præcentor of the church of Sarum. This learned writer published in this year, 1683, without his name, his “Protestant Reconciler,” *humbly pleading for condensation to dissenting brethren, in things indifferent and unnecessary, for the sake of peace; and shewing how unreasonable it is to make such things the necessary conditions of communion.* This book gave such high offence, that it was condemned by the university on the above-mentioned day, and burnt by the hands of the marshal in the schools quadrangle. The author was also obliged by Dr. Seth Ward; to whom he was chaplain, to make a publick retraction of it on the 9th of the ensuing October. And in the same year, to remove the clamour his piece had raised, he published a second part, “earnestly persuading the dissenting laity to join in full
 “communion with the church of England, and answering all the objections
 “of the Non-conformists against the lawfulness of the submission to the rites
 “and constitutions of that church.” Birch's Life of archbishop Tillotson, p. 103—105. — Ed.

† Collyer, 902.

lay

say for themselves with respect to the ceremonies imposed by the church, and enforced by the penal laws, calling upon them modestly to propose their doubts, and meekly to hearken to, and receive instruction. In compliance with this invitation, Mr. *Thomas Delaune*, an anabaptist schoolmaster, and a learned man,* printed a *Plea for the Non-conformists*, shewing the true state of their case, and justifying their separation. But before it was published, he was apprehended by a messenger from the press, and shut up close prisoner in Newgate, by warrant from the recorder *Jenner*, dated Nov. 30, 1683. Mr. *Delaune* wrote to Dr. *Calamy* to endeavour his enlargement: “ My confinement
 “ (says he) is for accepting your invitation; I look upon
 “ you obliged in honour to procure my sheets, yet unfinished,
 “ a publick passport, and to me my liberty—there is nothing
 “ in them but a fair examination of those things your sermon
 “ invited to, and I cannot find that *Christ* and his disciples
 “ ever forced *scrupulous consciences* to conformity, by such
 “ methods as sending them to Newgate; I beseech you
 “ therefore in the fear of God, as you will answer it to our
 “ great Lord and Master Jesus Christ, that you would en-
 “ deavour to convince a stranger by something more like
 “ reason and divinity, than a prison.” The *doctor* at first

* Mr *Delaune* was born at Brini in Ireland, about three miles from Riggsdale. His parents were papists and very poor, and rented part of the estate of — *Riggs*, esq. This gentleman, observing the early and forward parts of the young *Delaune*, placed him in a friary at Kilcrash, seven miles from Cork, where he received his education; when he was about fifteen or sixteen years of age, he removed to Kinsale, and met with Mr. *Bampfild*, who, discovering his genius and learning, made him clerk of his pilchard fishery there. and was the means of giving his mind a pious and virtuous turn. After some years, during which he enjoyed the high esteem and friendship of major *Riggs* and Mr. *Bampfild*, persecution and troubles induced him to leave Ireland, and come over into England, where he married the daughter of Mr. *Edward Hutchinson*, who had been pastor of a congregation at Ormond, but was also come to England on account of the troubles of the times. After this Mr. *Delaune* went to London, kept a grammar-school there, and fell into an intimacy and strict friendship with Mr. *Benjamin Keach*, and translated the *Philologia Sacra*, prefixed to his celebrated work, entitled “ A Key to open Scripture Metaphors.” The narrative published with the subsequent editions of his “ *Plea for the Non-conformists*,” fully represents the series of sufferings under which he sunk, and the process of the iniquitous prosecution to which he, his wife and children, became a sacrifice. Ed.

said,

said, he would do him all the kindness that became him.* But in answer to a second letter, he said, he looked upon himself as unconcerned, because he was not mentioned in that sheet he saw with the recorder. Mr. *Delaune* insisted that his honour was at stake for his deliverance, and prayed him at least to perform the office of a divine, in visiting him in prison, to argue him out of his doubts; but the *doctor*, like an ungenerous adversary, deserted him. Mr. *Delaune* therefore was to be convinced by an indictment at law; for that on Nov. 30, he did by force of arms, &c. unlawfully, seditiously, and maliciously, write, print, and publish, a certain false, seditious and scandalous libel, of and concerning our lord the king; and the book of common-prayer, entituled, *A Plea for the Non-conformists*. For which offence he was fined one hundred marks, and to be kept prisoner till he paid it; to find security for his good behaviour for one year, and his books to be burnt before the Royal Exchange. The court told him, that in respect of his being a scholar, he should not be pilloryed, though he deserved it. Mr. *Delaune*, not being able to pay his fine, lay in prison fifteen months, and suffered great hardships by extreme poverty, having no subsistence but on charity. He had a wife and two small children with him, who all died in the goal, through the length and closeness of the confinement, and other incon-

* Mr. *Neal*'s account of Dr. *Calamy*'s conduct towards Mr. *Delaune*, is drawn from the injured sufferer's narrative; and it must be allowed, that it reflects on the doctor's character and memory. But though by not replying to his book, nor visiting him, he appeared to desert him; yet it appears that the behaviour which Mr. *Delaune*, in his afflicted situation, felt as a severe neglect, was tempered with more attention to his case and kindness than he seems to have known of. For Dr. *Edmund Calamy* says, "that his uncle took pains with *Jefferies* to get him released, but could not prevail, which was no small trouble to him." Dr. *Calamy* was a man greatly respected; and, though a true son of the church, averse to persecution. He was a man of great humanity, courteous and affable in his deportment, and exemplary in his life. His sermons were reckoned to possess great merit. No books in his study appeared to have been so much used as Mr. *Perkin*'s works, especially his "Cases of Consciences," which were full of marks and scores. He died when a little turned of forty years of age. The treatment which his neighbour and particular friend alderman *Cornish* received, greatly affected him, and is thought to have hastened his end. Dr. *Calamy*'s own Life, MSS. and Biographia Britannica, vol. iii. 2d ed. Ed.

veniencies they endured;* and at length Mr. *Delaune* himself sunk under his sufferings, and died in Newgate, a martyr to the challenge of this high-church champion.

Mr. *Francis Bampffield* suffered the like, or greater hardships; he had been educated in Wadham-college, Oxford, and was minister of Sherborne in Dorsetshire.† After the act of uniformity, he continued preaching as he had oppor-

* The story of Mr. *Delaune* is very affecting, and cannot but, at this distance of time, move pity and resentment. “The fate of himself and family, perishing in Newgate for want of 70l.” observes the candid editor of the *Biographia Britannica*, 2d edit. “is not only a disgrace to the general spirit of the times, but casts peculiar dishonour on the conformists of that period. Though there was probably something in his disposition which occasioned his having but few friends, a man of his knowledge, learning, and integrity, ought not to have been so fatally neglected. Perhaps the only apology which can be made for the dissenters of king *Charles II*’s reign is, that whilst so many of their ministers were in a persecuted state, it was impossible for every case of distress to be duly regarded.” To this may be added the great number of cases of distress, arising from the prosecution and sufferings of the *lay-dissenters*. Mr. *Jeremy White* told Mr. *John Waldron* of Exeter, that the computation of those who suffered for non-conformity, between the Restoration and the Revolution, amounted to seventy thousand families ruined, and eight thousand persons destroyed; and the computation was not finished, when this number was ascertained. The sources of beneficence were also diminished by the effect of the measures pursued on trade. For the customs paid in Bristol only arose, in *Charles*’s persecution, not to 30,000l. per annum; but in king *William*’s reign they advanced to near 100,000l. *Waldron*’s copy of Neal, *penes me*. ED.

† Mr. *Bampffield* was descended from an antient and honourable family in Devonshire. The first living he held was more valuable than that of Sherborne, being about 100l. per annum; and having an annuity of 80l. per annum settled on him for life, he spent all the income of his place in acts of charity, by employing the poor that could work, relieving the necessities of those who were incapable of any labour, and distributing bibles and practical books. Soon after his ejection he was imprisoned for worshipping God in his own family; and it is remarkable, that notwithstanding he was prosecuted with severity, he had been zealous against the parliament’s army and *Oliver*’s usurpation, and always a strenuous advocate for the royal cause. When he resided in London he formed a church on the principles of the *Sabbatarian Baptists* at Pinner’s-hall, of which principles he was a zealous assertor. He was a celebrated preacher, and a man of serious piety. He bore his long imprisonment with great courage and patience, and gathered a church even in the place of confinement. His fellow-prisoners lamented him, as well as his acquaintance and friends. Palmer’s *Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 468—472. Crosby’s *History of the Baptists*, vol. i. p. 363—368. Vol. ii. p. 355—361. ED.

tunity

tunity in private, till he was imprisoned for five days and nights, with twenty-five of his hearers in one room, with only one bed, where they spent their time in religious exercises; but after some time he was released.* Soon after he was apprehended again, and lay nine years in Dorchester gaol, though he was a person of unshaken loyalty to the king, and against the parliament war; but this availed nothing to his being a non-conformist. He afterwards retired to London, where, being again apprehended, he was shut up in Newgate, and there died Feb. 16, 1683-4. He was for the *seventh day sabbath*, but a person of unquestionable seriousness and piety.

With him might be mentioned Mr. *Ralphson*, a learned man, and a fellow-sufferer with Mr. *Delaune* in Newgate. On the 10th of December, a bill was found against him by the grand jury of London; on the 13th of the same month he pleaded not guilty at the Old Bailey. On the 16th of January he was called to the *sessions-house*, but other trials proving tedious, his did not come on. The next day he was brought to the outer bar; and after an attendance of divers hours in a place not very agreeable, and in the sharpest winter that had been known, he contracted a violent cold, which issued in a fever, that carried him as well as Mr. *Bampfild* beyond the reach of tyrants, or the restraint of *bail-docks* and *press-yards*, to the mansions of everlasting rest.† Mr. *Philips*, partner with Mr. *Bampfild*, suffered eleven months imprisonment in Ilchester gaol, in a nasty stinking hole, to the great hazard of his life. Mr. *French*, of Town-Maulin, was confined six months in Maidstone common gaol, in a hard winter, without fire or candle, or any private apartment.

Mr. *Salkeld*, the ejected minister of Worlington in Suffolk, was fined one hundred pounds, and committed to the common gaol of St. Edmundsbury,‡ for saying, *popery was coming into*

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 260. † Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 259—377.

‡ It aggravated the iniquity as well as severity of this sentence, that many hundreds of Mr. *Salkeld*'s hearers could testify that what he said was not said as his own language, but that of the parliament. During his confinement he was helpful to his fellow-prisoners both as a minister and a

into the nation apace, and no care taken to prevent it. He lay in prison three years, and was not discharged till the year 1686.

Mr. *Richard Stretton* suffered six months imprisonment this year, for refusing the Oxford oath, in company with ten ministers more, who were also his fellow-prisoners.* Most of the dissenting ministers were forced to shift their places of abode to avoid discovery, and travel in long nights and cold weather, from one village to another, to preach to their people. If at any time they ventured to visit their families in a dark night, they durst not stir abroad, but went away before morning. Some spent their time in woods and solitary places; others, being excommunicated, removed with their effects into other dioceses—great numbers of the common people, taken at private meetings, were convicted as rioters, and fined ten pounds a-piece; and not being able to pay, were obliged to remove into other counties, by which they lost their business, and their families were reduced to want. I forbear to mention the rudeness offered to young women, some of whom were sent to bridewell, to beat hemp among rogues and thieves: others, that were married and with child, received irreparable damages; even children were terrified with constables and halberdeers breaking open houses, of whom I myself, (says Mr. *Peirce*) being very young, was one example; and the writer of this history could mention others.

In the midst of these violent proceedings, the divines of the church of England published the London *cases* against the non-conformists, as if the danger of religion arose from that quarter; they were twenty-three in number, and have since

cheerful christian. His table was furnished by his friends at Bury, and his fine afterwards remitted by king *William*. But his estate was much weakened, and his health almost ruined by his imprisonment. After his liberation he continued his ministry at *Walsham in the Willows*, and died December 26, 1699, aged 77. *Palmer's Non. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 442, 43. Ed.

* *Calamy*, vol. ii. p. 676.

† It is to be observed, that notwithstanding all the attempts used to suppress Mr. *Delaune's* Tract, to obstruct its reception, and to prevent its effect on the publick mind, by severities against its author, and by committing the piece itself to the flames, there was a great demand for it, and before the year 1733, there had been seventeen impressions of it. Ed.
been

been abridged by Dr. *Bennet*. These champions of the church were very secure from being answered, after Mr. *Delaune* had so lately lost his life,* for accepting such a challenge.† They must therefore have the field to themselves, for if their adversaries wrote, they were sure to be rewarded with fines, and a prison; but since the return of liberty, they have been answered separately by Mr. *Nathaniel Taylor*, Mr. *James Peirce*, and others.

This year [1683] died Dr. *John Owen*, one of the most learned of the *independent* divines; he was educated in Queen's college, Oxford, but left the university in 1637, being dissatisfied with *Laud's* innovations.§ He was a strict *calvinist*, and published his *Display of Arminianism* in 1642, for which the committee of religion presented him to the living of Fordham in Essex. In 1643 he removed to Coggeshall in the same county, where he first declared himself an *independent*, and gathered a church according to the discipline of that people. He often preached before the long parliament, even about the time the king was beheaded, but always kept his sentiments in reserve upon such a subject. Soon after, lieutenant-general *Cromwell* took him into his service as a chaplain in his expedition to Ireland; and when the general marched to Scotland, he obtained an order of parliament for the doctor to attend him thither. Upon his return, he was preferred to the deanery of Christ-church, and next year to the vice-chancellorship of Oxford, where he presided with great reputation and prudence for five years. He always behaved like a gentleman and scholar, and maintained the dignity of his character. The writer of his life says, that though he was an *independent* himself, he gave most of the vacant livings in his disposal among the *presbyterians*, and obliged the episcopal party, by conniving at an assembly of about three hundred of them, almost over against his own doors. The Oxford historian,‡ after having treated his

† Peirce, p. 259.

§ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 58. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. i. p. 152—58.

‡ Mr. *Wood* represents Dr. *Owen* as a perjured person, a time-server, a hypocrite, whose godliness was gain, and a blasphemer; and, as if this were not sufficient, he has also made him a fop. "All which," observes Mr. *Granger*, with equal judgment and candour, "means no more than
" this ;

his memory with most opprobrious language, confesses, that he was well skilled in the tongues, in rabbinical learning, and in the *jewish* rites and customs, and that he was one of the most genteel and fairest writers, that appeared against the church of England. The doctor had a great reputation among foreign protestants; and when he was ejected by the act of uniformity, was invited to a professorship in the United Provinces. He was once also determined to settle in New-England, but was stopt by express order from the council. He was pastor of a considerable congregation in London, and died with great calmness and composure of mind, on Bartholomew-day 1683. His works are very numerous, and still in esteem among the dissenters; though his stile is a little intricate and perplexed.

[In this year died aged 72, Dr. *Benjamin Whichcote*, the friend of *Tillotson*. He was of an antient and honourable family in the county of Salop, and was born at Whichcote-hall in the parish of Stoke, March 11, 1609. He was admitted in Emanuel college, Cambridge, 1626, and graduated

“ this; that when Dr. *Owen* entered himself a member of the university of
 “ Oxford, he was of the established church, and took the usual oaths; that he
 “ turned *independent*, preached and acted as *independents* did, took the oath
 “ called the Engagement, and accepted of preferment from *Cromwell*;
 “ that he was a man of good person and behaviour, and liked to go well
 “ dressed.”—“ We must be extremely cautious,” adds this author, “ how
 “ we form our judgments of characters at this period; the difference of a
 “ few modes or ceremonies in religious worship, has been the source of
 “ infinite prejudice and misrepresentation. The practice of some of the
 “ splenetick writers of this period, reminds me of the painter, well known
 “ by the appellation of *hellish Brueghel*, who so accustomed himself to
 “ painting of witches, imps, and devils, that he sometimes made but little
 “ difference between his human and infernal figures.” To Mr. *Neal*’s
 delineation of Dr. *Owen*’s character may be added, that he was hospitable
 in his house, generous in his favours, and charitable to the poor, especially
 to poor scholars, some of whom he took into his own family, maintained
 at his own charge, and educated in academical learning. When he was at
 Tunbridge, the duke of *York*, several times, sent for him, and conversed
 with him concerning the dissenters. On his return to London king *Charles*
 himself sent for him, and discoursed with him two hours; assuring him of his
 favour and respect, expressing himself a friend to liberty of conscience, and
 his sense of the wrong done to the dissenters. At the same time he gave
 him a thousand guineas to distribute among those who had suffered most.
Granger’s History of England, vol. iii. p. 301, 2, note; and *Palmer’s*
Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 154, 5. ED.

bachelor

bachelor of arts 1629, master of arts 1633, and bachelor in divinity 1640. In the same year that he took his second degree, he was elected fellow of the college, and his tutor, Mr. *Thomas Hill*, leaving the university the year after, Mr. *Whichcote* took pupils, and became very considerable for his learning and worth, his prudence and temper, his wisdom and moderation, in those times of trial; nor was he less famous for the number, rank, and character of his pupils, and the care he took of them. *Wallis, Smith, Worthington, Cradock, &c.* studied under him. In 1626, he set up an afternoon lecture in Trinity church at Cambridge, which he served twenty years. In 1643, the master and fellows of his college, presented him to the living of North-Cadbury, in Somersetshire. But he was soon called back to Cambridge, and admitted provost of King's college, March 19, 1644.* In 1649, he was created doctor in divinity. Here he employed his credit, weight, and influence, to advance and spread a free and generous way of thinking, and to promote a spirit of sober piety and rational religion. Many, whose talents and learning raised them to great eminence as divines, after the restoration, were formed by him. To his predecessor in the provostship he was generous. His spirit was too noble, fervilely to follow a party. At the Restoration he was removed from this post, on accepting of which he had resigned the living of Cadbury, and he was elected and licensed to the cure of St. Anne's Blackfriars, Nov. 1662. This church was burnt down in the fire of 1665, and he retired for a while to Milton, a living given to him by his college. He was after this presented, by the *crown*, to the vicarage of St. Lawrence Jury, which was his last stage. Here he continued, in high and general esteem, preaching twice every week, till his death in 1683. One volume of his sermons, intitled "Select Discourses," was published, after his death, by the earl of *Shaftesbury*, author of the "Characteristicks," in 1698. Three others by Dr. *John Jeffery*, archdeacon of Norwich, in 1701 and 1702, and a fourth by Dr. *Samuel Clarke*. A collection of his "Apho-

* See before, vol. iii. p. 113, text and note, where we have already made respectful mention of Dr. *Whichcote*.

rifms" was printed by Dr. S. Salter, in 1753. See the second preface to which, p. 16—27.] EDITOR.

This year the king, by the assistance of the *tories* and *roman catholicks*, compleated the ruin of the constitution, and assumed the whole government into his own hands. The *whigs* and *non-conformists* were struck with terror, by the severe prosecutions of the heads of their party.* Mr. *Hampden* was fined forty thousand pounds, Sir *Samuel Barnadiston* ten thousand pounds, for defaming the evidence in the *Rye-house plot*. Mr. *Speke* two thousand, and Mr. *Braddon* one thousand pounds, for reporting that the earl of *Essex* had been murdered in the Tower. Mr. *John Dutton-colt* one hundred thousand pounds, for *scandalum magnatum* against the duke of *York*, who now ruled all at court. *Oates* was fined for the same crime one hundred thousand pounds, and never released till after the Revolution. Thirty-two others were fined or pilloried for libelling the king or the duke of *York*. In short, the greatest part of the history of this year consists of prosecutions, penalties and punishments, (says Mr. *Eachard*.) At the same time the earl of *Danby* and the *popish lords* were released out of the Tower on bail, the garrison of *Tangier* was brought over into England, and augmented to a standing army of four or five thousand resolute men, fit for any service the court should employ them in. And the corporations throughout England, having been prevailed with, by promises or threatenings, to surrender their charters,† after the example of London, the whole kingdom

* Rapin, p. 733, and note. Eachard, p. 1043, 1044.

† Among others, the charter of the city of Chester was surrendered, and a new one joyfully accepted, by which a power was reserved to the crown to put out magistrates and put in at pleasure. This is mentioned to introduced an instance of the conduct of the *dissenters* of that day, which reflects honour on their integrity, and shews how far they were from the affectation of power; as it was also a proof of a disinterested and inviolable attachment to the rights and liberties of their country. About August 1688, one Mr. *Trinder* was sent to Chester to new-model the corporation according to the power above-mentioned. He applied to Mr. *Henry*, in the king's name, and told him that "his majesty thought the government of the city needed reformation, and if he would say who should be put out, it should be done." Mr. *Henry* said, "he begged his pardon, but it was none of his business, nor would he in the least intermeddle in a thing of that nature." *Trinder*, however,

kingdom was divested of its privileges, and reduced to an absolute monarchy.* Whole peals of anathemas were rung out against those *patriots*, who stood in the gap against this inundation of power. The scriptures were tortured to prove the divine right of tyrants. The absolute government of the *jewish kings* was preached up as a pattern for *ours*.† And heaven itself was ranked on that side, by some who pretended to expound its will. Instead of dropping a tear over our expiring laws, liberties, and parliaments, fulsome panegyrics were made upon their murderers, and curses denounced on those who would have saved them from destruction.

In this melancholy situation of publick affairs, the prosecution of the *non-conformists* was continued, and egged on with an infatuation hardly to be paralleled in any protestant nation. Dr. *Barlow*, bishop of Lincoln, published a letter for spiriting up the magistrates against the dissenters, in concurrence with another drawn up by the justices of peace of Bedford, bearing date Jan. 14, 1684. Many were cited into the *spiritual courts*, excommunicated, and ruined. Two hundred warrants of distress were issued out upon private persons and families, in the town and neighbourhood of Uxbridge, for frequenting conventicles, or not resorting to church.‡ An order was made by the justices of Exeter, promising a reward of forty shillings to any one who should apprehend a non-conformist minister, which the bishop of

however, got instructions from others. The charter was cancelled, and another of the same import was made out and sent down, nominating to the government *all the dissenters of note* in the city, the seniors to be aldermen, and the juniors common-council men. When the persons named in it were called together to have notice of it, and to have the time fixed for their being sworn, like true Englishmen, they refused it, and desired that the antient charter might be re-established, though they knew that none of them would come into power by that, but many of those who were their bitter enemies would be restored. Accordingly the old charter was renewed in the same state wherein it was when the tories surrendered it.

Mr. Thompson's MSS. Collections, under the word *Chester*: ED.

* Welwood's Memoirs, p. 130.

† Mr. *Waldron*, of Exeter, has written here in his copy of Mr. *Neal*'s work the following note: "The publick orator of Cambridge, in a speech to the king at Newmarket, told him, that they hoped to see the king of England as absolute as the kings of Israel: as *Thomas Quicke*, esq; told me, who stood behind him. J. W."

‡ Howe's Life, p. 80.

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the diocese, Dr. *Lamplugh*, commanded to be published in all the churches, by his clergy on the following Sunday. The reverend Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Annesley*, and many of their brethren in the ministry, had their goods seized and confiscated. Mr. *Robert Mayot* of Oxford, a moderate conformist, having left Mr. *Baxter* six hundred pounds to distribute among sixty poor ejected ministers; the lord keeper *North* took it from him, as given to a *superstitious use*; but it lying unappropriated in the court of Chancery till after the Revolution, it was restored by the commissioners of the *great seal* under king *William*. Soon after the justices sent warrants to apprehend Mr. *Baxter*, as being one in a list of a thousand names, who were to be bound to their good behaviour upon *latent convictions*, that is, without seeing their accusers, or being made acquainted with their charge.* Mr. *Baxter* refusing to open his doors, the officers forced into his house, and finding him locked up in his study, they resolved to starve him from thence, by setting six men at the door, to whom he was obliged next day to surrender. They then carried him to the Sessions-house two or three times, and bound him in a bond of four hundred pounds, so that if his friends had not been sureties for him, contrary to his desire, he must have died in prison, as many excellent persons did about this time.

Jefferies, now lord chief justice of England, who was scandalously vicious, and drunk every day, besides a drunkenness of fury in his temper that looked like madness, was prepared for any dirty work the court should put him upon.† Sept. 23, 1684, Mr. *Thomas Rosewel*, the dissenting minister at Rotherhithe, was imprisoned in the Gatehouse Westminster, for high treason; and a bill was found against him at the quarter-sessions, upon which he was tried Nov. 8 at the King's-bench bar, by a Surry jury, before lord chief justice *Jefferies*, and his brethren, (*viz.*) *Withins*, *Holloway*, and *Walcot*. He was indicted for the following expressions in his sermon, Sept. 14. *That the king could not cure the king's evil, but that priests and prophets by their prayers could heal the griefs of the people—That we had had two wicked kings, (meaning the present king and his father) whom we can resemble to no*

* Baxter, part iii. p. 198.

† Burnet, vol. ii. p. 444, 5.

other

other person but to the most wicked Jeroboam; and that if they (meaning his hearers) would stand to their principles, he did not doubt but they should overcome their enemies, (meaning the king) as in former times, with ram's-horns, broken platters, and a stone in a sling. The witnesses were three infamous women, who swore to the words without the *inuendoes*; they were laden with the guilt of many perjuries already, and such of them as could be found afterwards were convicted, and the chief of them pilloryed before the Exchange. The trial lasted seven hours, and Mr. *Rosewell* behaved with all the decency and respect to the court that could be expected, and made a defence that was applauded by most of the hearers. He said it was impossible the witnesses should remember, and be able to pronounce so long a period, when they could not so much as tell the *text*, nor any thing else in the sermon, besides the words they had sworn: several who heard the sermon, and wrote it in short hand, declared they heard no such words. Mr. *Rosewell* offered his own notes to prove it, but no regard was had to them. The women could not prove, (says *Burnet*) by any one circumstance, that they were at the meeting; or that any person saw them there on that day; the words they swore were so gross, that it was not to be imagined that any man in his wits would express himself so, before a mixed assembly; yet *Jefferies* urged the matter with his usual vehemence. He laid it for a foundation, that all preaching at conventicles was treasonable, and that this ought to dispose the jury to believe any evidence upon that head, so the jury brought him in *guilty*;^{*} upon which (says the bishop^{*}) *there was a shameful rejoicing*;

^{*} As soon as Mr. *Rosewell* was convicted, Sir *John Talbot*, who was present at the trial, went to the king, and urged it on his majesty, that if such evidence as had appeared against Mr. *Rosewell* were admitted, no one of his subjects would be safe. Upon this, when *Jefferies* soon after came into the royal presence, with an air of exultation and triumph to congratulate his majesty on the conviction of a traitor, the king gave him a cold reception, which damped his ardour in the business. When the court met to hear Mr. *Rosewell*'s counsel, this corrupt judge, who on the trial had intermingled with the examination of the witnesses virulent invectives against him, and with his usual vehemence had endeavoured to prejudice and inflame the jury, now assumed a tone of moderation, and strongly recommended to the king's counsel caution and deliberation, where the *life* of a man was depending. See the Trial.^{*} *Ed.*

^{*} N. B. This Trial has been lately reprinted in the Protestant Dissenter's Magazine. and

and it was now thought, all conventicles must be suppressed, when such evidence could be received against such a defence. But when the words came to be examined by men learned in the law, they were found not to be treason by any statute. So Mr. *Rosewell* moved an arrest of judgment till council should be heard; and though it was doubtful, whether the motion was proper *on this foundation* after the verdict, yet the king was out of countenance at the accounts he heard of the *witneses*, that he gave orders to yield to it; and in the end he was pardoned.† The court lost a great deal of reputation by this trial, for besides that *Rosewell* made a strong defence, he proved that he had always been a loyal man even in *Cromwell's* days, that he prayed constantly for the king in his family, and that in his sermons he often insisted upon the obligations to loyalty.

Among other sufferers for non-conformity, we must not forget the reverend Mr. *William Jenkyns*, M. A. the ejected minister of Christ-church, who died this year in Newgate; he was educated in St. John's college, Cambridge; and about the year 1641 was chosen minister of this place, and lecturer of Flack-friars, both which pulpits he filled with great acceptance till the destruction of monarchy, after which he was sequestered, for refusing to comply with the orders of parliament.‡ He was sent to the Tower for *Love's plot*, but upon his humble petition, and promise of submission to

* Page 446.

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 756. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. ii. p. 512.

‡ Mr. *Jenkyn* was, by his mother, the grandson of Mr. *John Rogers*, the proto-martyr in the reign of queen *Mary*. The order of parliament, to which he refused obedience, was one that enjoined a publick thanksgiving. The brethren, with whom he was keeping a fast, when he was apprehended in 1684, were Mr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Keeling*, and Mr. *Flavel*, who made their escape, which Mr. *Jenkyn* might have done, had it not been for a piece of vanity in a lady, whose long train hindered his going down stairs; Mr. *Jenkyn*, in his great civility, having let her pass before him. At his funeral, which was attended by many eminent persons, and some scores of mourning coaches, his son gave rings with this motto, "William Jenkyn murdered in Newgate." Upon his death, a nobleman said to the king, "May it please your majesty, *Jenkyn* has got his liberty." On which he asked with eagerness, "Aye, who gave it him?" The nobleman replied, "a greater than your majesty, the King of kings;" with which the king seemed greatly struck, and remained silent. Granger, vol. iii. p. 317. Palmer, vol. i. p. 98—100, and History of the Town of Taunton, p. 157. Ed.

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the *powers in being*, he was pardoned, and his sequestration taken off, but he carefully avoided meddling in politicks afterwards. He was summoned before the council Jan. 2, 1661, and reprimanded, because he forgot to pray for the king;* and being ejected with his brethren in 1662, he retired into the country; but upon the indulgence in 1671, he had a new meeting-house erected for him in Jewin-street, where he preached to a crouded audience. He was one of the merchants' lecturers at Pinner's-hall. And when the indulgence was revoked, he continued preaching as he could till this year; but September 2, 1684, being at a private fast with some of his brethren, the soldiers broke in, and carried Mr. *Jenkyn* before two aldermen, who treated him very rudely, and, upon his refusing the Oxford oath, committed him to Newgate; while he was there, he petitioned the king for a release, his physicians declaring, that his life was in danger from his close confinement; but no security would be accepted. So that he soon declined in his health, and died in Newgate in the seventy-third year of his age, Jan. 19, 1684-5, having been a prisoner four months and one week. A little before his death he said, *a man might be as effectually murdered in Newgate as at Tyburn*. He was buried by his friends in Bunhill-fields with great honour, many eminent persons, and some scores of coaches, attending his funeral.

This was the usage the dissenters met with from the church of England at this time, which has hardly a parallel in the christian world: remarkable are the words of the earl of *Castlemain*, a *roman* catholick, on this occasion, “ ’Twas
 “ never known, (says he) that *Rome* persecuted, as the bishops
 “ do, those who adhere to the same faith with themselves;
 “ and established an inquisition against the professors of the
 “ strictest piety among themselves; and, however the prelates
 “ complain of the bloody persecution of queen *Mary*, it is
 “ manifest that their persecution exceeds it, for under her there
 “ were not more than two or three hundred put to death,
 “ whereas, under their persecution, above treble that number
 “ have been rifled, destroyed, and ruined in their estates,
 “ lives, and liberties, being (as is most remarkable) men for
 “ the most part of the same spirit with those protestants who
 “ suffered under the prelates in queen *Mary*'s time.”†

* Kenner's Chron. p. 601.

† Peirce, p. 259.

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This year died Mr. *Benjamin Woodbridge*, M. A. the ejected minister of Newbury. He was bred up in Magdalen-hall, Oxford; from thence he went to New-England, and was the first graduate of the college there. On his return to England, he succeeded Dr. *Twisse* at Newbury, where he had a mighty reputation as a scholar, a preacher, a casuist, and a christian. He was a great instrument of reducing the whole town to sobriety, and to family as well as publick religion. Upon the *restoration*, he was made one of the king's *chaplains in ordinary*, and preached once before him. He was one of the *commissioners* at the Savoy, and very desirous of an accommodation with the church party. He was offered a canonry of Windsor, but refused it, and afterwards suffered many ways for his non-conformity, though he was generally respected and beloved by all who were judges of real worth. He had a sound judgment, and was a fine preacher, having a commanding voice and aspect. His temper was chearful, and his behaviour obliging; he was exemplary for his moderation, and of considerable learning. When the five-mile act took place, he removed from Newbury to a small distance, where he preached as he had opportunity.* He was liberal to the poor, and in all respects a good and great man. He died at Inglefield, November 1, 1684, in a good old age, after he had been a minister in those parts almost forty years.

The sufferings of the presbyterians in Scotland run parallel with those of England, during the whole course of this reign, but the people were not quite so tame and submissive:† the same or greater acts of severity, than those which were made against the non-conformists in England, were enacted in Scotland. Episcopacy was restored May 8, 1662, and the *covenant* declared to be an unlawful oath. All persons in office were to sign a *declaration of the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever*. The English act against conventicles was copied, and passed almost in the same terms in Scotland. The *bishops* were some of the worst of men, and hated by the people as they deserved, for their deportment was unbe-

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 956. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. i. p. 229.

† Vol. i. p. 206—211.

coming

coming their function, (says bishop *Burnet*†;) some did not live within their dioceses, and those who did, seemed to take no care of them: they shewed no zeal against vice; the most eminently vicious in the country were their peculiar confidants; nor had they any concern to keep their clergy to their duty, but were themselves guilty of levity, and great sensuality.

The people were generally of the presbyterian persuasion, and stood firm by each other. In many places they were fierce and untractable, and generally forsook the churches;† the whole country complained of the new episcopal clergy, as immoral, stupid, ignorant, and greedy of gain; and treated them with an aversion that sometimes proceeded to violence. Many were brought before the council, and *ecclesiastical commission*, for not coming to church; but the proofs were generally defective, for the people would not give evidence one against another. However, great numbers were cast into prison, and ill used; some were fined; and the younger sort whipt publickly about the streets; so that great numbers transported their families to Ulster in Ireland, where they were well received.

The government observed no measures with this people; they exacted exorbitant fines for their not coming to church, and quartered soldiers upon them till they were ruined. The truth is, (says *Burnet*‡) the whole face of the government looked more like the proceedings of an *inquisition*, than of legal courts. At length, in the year 1666, Sir *James Turner* being sent into the West, to levy fines at *discretion*, the people rose up in arms, and published a manifesto, that they did not take arms against the king, but only *that they might be delivered from the tyranny of the bishops, and that presbytery and the covenant might be set up, and their old ministers restored*. *Turner* and all his soldiers were made prisoners, but marching out of their own country, they were dispersed by the king's forces, about forty being killed, and one hundred and thirty taken; many of whom were hanged before their own doors, and died with great firmness and joy.§ *Mr. Maccaill* their minister underwent the torture, and died with great constancy; his last words were, *Farewell sun,*

† Page 317. † P. 307. ‡ P. 309, 310. § *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 348.

moon and stars; farewell kindred and friends, world and time, and this weak and frail body; and welcome eternity, welcome angels and saints, welcome Saviour of the world, and God the judge of all! which he spoke in such a manner as struck all who heard him. The commander of the king's forces killed some in cold blood, and threatened to spit others and roast them alive.

When the indulgence was published in England the Scots had the benefit of it, but when it was taken away, the persecution revived, with inexpressible severity, under the administration of duke *Lauderdale*. Conventicles abounded in all parts of the country; the presbyterian ministers preached in their own houses, to numbers of people that stood without doors to hear them; and when they were dispersed by the magistrates, they retreated into the fields with their ministers to hear the word of God; and to prevent being disturbed, carried arms sufficient for their defence. Upon which a very severe act was passed against *house conventicles* and *field conventicles*, declaring them treasonable; and the landlords in whose grounds they were held, were to be severely fined, unless they discovered the persons present. But still this did not terrify the people, who met together in defiance of the law.* Writs were issued against many who were called *Cameronians*, who were outlawed, and therefore left their houses, and travelled about the country, till at length they collected into a body, and declared that *the king had forfeited the crown of that kingdom by renouncing the covenant*; but the duke of *Monmouth*, being sent to disperse them, routed them at *Bothwell bridge*, killing four hundred, and taking twelve hundred prisoners; two ministers were hanged, and two hundred banished to the plantations, who were all lost at sea.† *Cameron* their preacher fell in battle, but *Hackston* and *Cargil*, the two other preachers, died with invincible courage; as did all the rest, who were offered their lives if they would say, *God bless the king!* *Hackston* had both his hands cut off, which he suffered with a constancy and rapture that was truly amazing. When both his hands were cut off, he asked whether they would cut off his feet too? And notwithstanding all his loss

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 64, 155, 182, 266, 268, 269. † P. 223, 4.

of blood, after he was hanged, and his heart taken out of his body, it was alive upon the hangman's knife.

At length, (says bishop *Burnet**) things came to that extremity, that the people saw they must come to church or be undone; but they came in so aukward a manner, that it was visible they did not come to serve God, but to save their substance, for they were talking or sleeping during the whole service. This introduced a sort of atheism among the younger people. But the *inquisition* was so terrible, that numbers fled from their native country, and settled in the plantations. These methods of conversion were subversive of christianity, and a reproach to a protestant church and nation; but oppression and tyranny had overspread the English dominions; the hearts of all good men failed them for fear, and for looking after those things that were coming on the land; the clouds were gathering thick over their heads, and there was no other defence against an inundation of popery and slavery, but the thin security of the king's life.

To return to England: when the king had made way for a popish successor, by introducing an arbitrary and tyrannical government, his majesty began to think himself neglected, all the *court* being made to the rising sun; upon which he was heard to say in some passion, that *if he lived a month longer he would find a way to make himself easy for the remainder of his life.*† This was interpreted as a design to change hands, by sending abroad the duke of *York*, and recalling the duke of *Monmouth*; which struck terror into the popish party, and is thought to have hastened his death, for he was seized with a kind of apoplexy Feb. 2, and died on the Friday following, Feb. 6, 1684-5, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, not without violent suspicion of poison, either by snuff, or an infusion in broth, as bishop *Burnet* and others of undoubted credit have assured us, the body not being suffered to be thoroughly examined.‡

King CHARLES II. was a gentleman of wit and good-nature,§ till his temper was soured in the latter part of his life by his popish counsellors. His court was a scene of luxury

* P. 341. † Welwood's Mem. p. 123, 6th ed. ‡ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 460.

§ Charles the second, "as a gentleman," says Dr. *Warner*, "was liked by every body, but beloved by no-body; and as a prince, though he might be respected for his station, yet his death could not be lamented

and all kinds of lewdness, and his profuse expences upon unlawful pleasures, reduced him to the necessity of becoming a *pensioner* of France. If he had any religion, it was that of a *disguised papist*, or rather a *deist*; but he was strangely entangled, during his whole life, with the obligations he had been brought under by the *roman catholicks*. He aimed at being an absolute monarch, but would be at no farther trouble to accomplish it, than to give his corrupt ministry liberty to do what they pleased. The king had a great many vices, (says *Burnet**) but few virtues to correct them.† Religion was with him no more than an engine of state. He hated the *non-conformists*, because they appeared against the prerogative, and received the fire of all the enemies of the constitution and of the protestant religion, with an unshaken firmness. His majesty's chief concern at last was for his *brother's succession*; and when he came to die, he spoke not a word of religion, nor shewed any remorse for his ill-spent life: he expressed no tenderness for his subjects, nor any concern for his queen, but only recommended his mistresses and their children to his brother's regard. So that no Englishman, or friend of his country, could weep at his death, from any other motive, than his keeping out a successor who was worse than himself.

“ by a lover of his country, upon any other motive, but that it introduced
 “ a much worse monarch on the throne than he was himself.” There was ground, in this view, for the remark of *Dr. Gregory Sharpe*; “ that if the
 “ English were in tears, when the king died in 1685, it was more to lament
 “ the succession, than the funeral.” *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 929
Sharpe's Introduction to Universal History, p. 256. 2d ed.

† *Burnet*, vol. ii. p. 165.

* To this it may be added, that *Charles II.* was characterised, as *having never said a foolish thing, nor done a wise one*. A late writer of dramatical history, *Mr. Thomas Davis*, is supposed to have contradicted this by an anecdote he has given. *Mrs. Marshall*, the first actress on the king's theatre, and a woman of virtue, having been tricked into a sham marriage by a nobleman, king *Charles II.* obliged him to settle an annual income on her. This indicated equity of mind as well as wisdom. *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 19, 24, in the *Literary Museum*, 8vo. printed 1792. Ed.

† Long since *Mr. Neal's* history was published, it has appeared that there was a design in the reign of *Charles II.* to place a bishop in Virginia; and that the letters patent for that purpose were actually made out, and are extant. The design failed, because the whole endowment was fixed on the customs. *Secker's* letter to *Mr. Horatio Walpole*, p. 17. Ed.

SUP.

SUPPLEMENT
TO
CHAPTERS IX. *and* X.

SECT. I.

The History of the Baptists.

THE period through which the two preceding chapters lead the reader, comprehends some new circumstances in the history of the *Quakers* and the *Baptists*.

At the beginning of it a controversy arose among the latter denomination about *laying on of hands*, called by the clergy *confirmation*. It created not a little trouble. Till then, it appears that this rite was practised by them as an apostolical ordinance, and was accompanied with prayer over the newly baptized. A treatise, entitled "A Search after Schism," was published in opposition to it. This was answered by Dr. *John Griffith*, in a piece called "The Searchers after Schism searched," and it drew from Mr. *Grantham* his "Sigh for Peace; or, the Cause of Division discovered." The appearance of this piece occasioned a meeting between Mr. *Grantham* and Mr. *Ives*, when the subject was debated with temper and good-humour; and Mr. *Ives* is reported, on finding himself gravelled, to have broken up the meeting in a friendly and peaceable manner. About three years after, Mr. *Danvers* published a treatise against *laying on of hands*, which was answered by Mr. *Benjamin Keach*, and also by Mr. *Grantham*, who annexed to his answer, "A Treatise of the Successors of the Apostles."

In 1674, the *Baptists* were engaged in a controversy with the *Quakers*, which created a noise, and was conducted, as is usual, by mutual criminations. Mr. *Thomas Hicks*, a minister of the former, published several pamphlets in suc-

cession, under the title of “A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker.” The title these pieces bore was certainly invidious, and held up the *quakers* as not deserving to be ranked among christians. It was also complained of, that the design of them was not so much to investigate truth as to represent the *quaker* a deformed, ridiculous, and erroneous being. The great *Penn*, on this occasion, became the advocate of the people to whom he had joined himself, in two books; the first entitled “Reason against Railing;” and the other “The counterfeit Christian detected.” But as Mr. *Hicks* had reflected upon some particular members by name, an appeal was made to the *baptists*, in and about London, for justice against him. A meeting was accordingly appointed to hear the charges against him; but they are censured for fixing the time when the complainants, *Penn* and *Whitehead*, were absent from the city at a distance too remote to be apprized of the intended meeting. It was urged in defence of the *baptists*, that they were informed that *Penn* was not far from London several days after the notice of the meeting was sent, and even at his own house at no great distance from the town the very day preceding: and that they had invited others of the society, particularly *John Osgoods*, to be present, who declined it. The meeting took place, and Mr. *Hicks* was examined by his own friends only on the charges brought against him by the *quakers*: and he endeavoured to establish the representations he had made of their principles and doctrines, by quotations from their own writers. These were pronounced by nineteen of his own denomination to be truly recited, and the church, to which he belonged, in publick print, cleared him from the charge which the *quakers* alledged against him. This decision was deemed partial. On the face of it, though the business was said to be conducted with great fairness, it was open to objection. The *baptists* refused to defer the meeting, though solicited. No *quaker* was present to be heard on the grounds of the charges. And though the passages might be quoted with verbal exactness, which Mr. *Hicks* brought as his authorities, yet they were detached from their connection, and a meaning affixed to them which probably the writers, if they had been there to explain themselves, would not have admitted as their sense.

sense. New complaints were brought forward against the *baptists*; and justice again demanded. A meeting for a *re-hearing* was obtained; but Mr. *Hicks* would not attend it, but sent some others with Mr. *Ives*; “who” (says *Crosby*) “so managed the *quakers*, that they were obliged to break up without any further proceedings in the matter.” “By clamours and rudeness,” says *Gough*, “they diverted the complainants from prosecuting the charge against *Hicks*, and carried their point so far as to prevent its being heard, though frequent attempts were made to read it.”

The *baptists* published an account of these meetings, under the title of “A Contest for Christianity.” Mr. *Tho. Welwood*, in behalf of his friends, appealed to the publick, first in a single sheet, entitled “A fresh Pursuit;” and then, in reply to the “Contest,” which was written by Mr. *Thomas Plant*, in a piece entitled “Forgery no Christianity.” The issue of this controversy is represented, on the one hand, to be, that the *quakers* were so chafed in these disputes, that they did not only brand the *baptists* with infamy, but denounced curses and judgments upon them. On the other side, it is said, “that the aim of this unprovoked assault upon the principles and reputation of this society was remarkably frustrated; and these dialogues, with their ungenerous and unequitable method of defending them and their author, promoted what they were designed to prevent; for not a few of their members, offended at their proceedings, deserted their meetings and society, went over to the injured party, and joined them in religious fellowship.”*

In the year 1677, the *baptists* published “a Confession of their Faith, set forth by the elders and brethren of many congregations of christians, baptized upon profession of their faith, in London and the country.” Their avowed design in this publication was not only to give an account of themselves on the points wherein they differed from other christians, but also to instruct and establish others in the great principles in which there was a mutual agreement between them. They aimed to express themselves, on the former heads, with a modesty and humility that would

* *Crosby's History of the English Baptists*, vol. ii. p. 294—310.
Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. ii. p. 368—371.

render the freedom with which they declared themselves inoffensive to those whose sentiments were different from their own. The general plan of their confession was after the order and method observed in that of the assembly of Westminster, and afterwards adopted by the congregational churches; and in the margin they affixed such texts as, in their opinion, confirmed each article. Two things they earnestly desired: that full credit might be given to their declaration of contention being most remote from their design in all that they did in this matter; and that all into whose hands this piece might come “ would follow that never-
 “ enough commended example of the noble *Bereans*, who
 “ searched the scriptures daily, that they might find out
 “ whether the things preached to them, were so or not.” This Confession of Faith was reprinted in the year 1689; and was approved and recommended by the ministers and messengers of above an hundred congregations, met in London from the third to the eleventh day of the seventh month. It was signed by thirty-seven persons, in the name and behalf of the *whole assembly*. It has continued to be generally received by those congregations that hold the doctrine of personal election, and the certainty of the saints’ final perseverance.* In 1790 it was reprinted, by Dr. *John Rippon*, with a list of the thirty-seven ministers who recommended it; and to this edition were added the places where they all laboured. In 1791, there appeared a new edition of the translation of it in Welsh, revised by the reverend *Joshua Thomas*, of Leominster.† The first edition, besides an introductory advertisement to the judicious “ and impartial
 “ reader,” was accompanied by an Appendix; a judicious, candid, and conciliating piece; in which they discuss the arguments alledged against their distinguishing sentiment and practice, and give the reasons, with brevity and plainness, why they could not acquiesce in them.‡

This denomination greatly increased. Their arguments weighed with many; their exemplary lives spoke in their

* Crosby, vol. ii. p. 317; vol. iii. p. 258; and Appendix, No. ii.

† Rippon’s Baptist Annual Register, p. 124, 191.

‡ See it at length in Crosby, vol. ii. p. 317—344.

favour: but the number of their converts excited against them a spirit of jealousy and resentment, and they were the objects of clamour and defamation. Many books were published, misrepresenting them, and their chiefs were reproached, as jesuits and hereticks. This induced them to publish many confessions of faith; some in vindication of particular churches, others of particular persons. In 1678 one was agreed to, and signed by fifty ministers and messengers in the several counties of Bucks, Hertford, Bedford and Oxford, in behalf of themselves and many others, containing fifty articles. It was soon published under the title of “An Orthodox Creed; or, a Protestant Confession of Faith; being an essay to unite and confirm all true protestants in the fundamental articles of the christian religion, against the errors and heresies of the church of Rome.”* As the *baptists* consisted of two parties, distinguished by the names *general* and *particular*, when one published a declaration of their principles, the other soon after did the same.†

In this period may be placed several who made a distinguished figure as ministers among the baptists, the time of whose deaths is not ascertained.

The first was Mr. *William Dell*, A. M. famous in the time of the civil wars; he received his education at the university of Cambridge, and held the living of Yeldon in the county of Bedford, worth about 200l. a year. About the year 1645 he became chaplain to the *army*, constantly attending Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and preaching at the head-quarters. In 1649, when several were turned out of the universities for refusing to take the oaths to the government, he was made master of Caius college at Cambridge, which preferment he held with his living at Yeldon, till he was ejected by the act of uniformity. Party prejudice fixed on his memory the charge of glaring contradictions and inconsistencies of conduct, from which more candid posterity has vindicated him. The fact was, that he was at first satisfied with episcopacy and the ceremonies; but when the change in the state brought on a reformation in religion, he was one of the first and most zealous to promote it, and would have carried it

* Crosby, vol. iii. Appendix, No. i. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 344, 5.

farther

farther than was agreeable to the principles and views of many others. He was obnoxious to the rigid *presbyterians*, whose attempts to monopolize all power, in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, he opposed. A sermon at Marston occasioned him much trouble, and another on a fast-day, before the house of commons, led him into a controversy with Mr. C. Love, and who opposed him in the afternoon of the same day; they thus were made the heads and champions of the two contending parties of the nation. Mr. Love justified the punishing of hereticks and schismatics, and vindicated the authority of the civil magistrate, in imposing articles of faith and a form of worship; in a word, pleaded for *persecution*. Mr. Dell was the advocate of *liberty*: he preached against making a whole kingdom a church; he thought that no power belonged to the clergy but what is spiritual; he protested against blending the civil and the ecclesiastical power together, as the constant method of setting up a spiritual tyranny; he pleaded that all persons ought to have liberty to worship God in the manner they think most agreeable to his word; and argued, that the imposition of uniformity and all compulsion in matters of religion were antichristian. These principles created him enemies, who blackened his character by odious names. But, though he was tainted with the enthusiasm of the times, he was a man of substantial learning, of real piety, and a noble defender of the rights of conscience. Besides several sermons and a tract written in this cause, he was the author of a tract in quarto, 1648, entitled "the Doctrine of Baptism reduced from its antient and modern corruptions."*

Another person of note was Mr. Francis Cornwell, M. A. who was sometime student of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and commenced master of arts in that university. When he left it, he was preferred to a living in the established church; and, at the beginning of the civil wars, was minister at Orpington in Kent. In the reign of Charles I. he was imprisoned for non-conformity, refusing to wear the surplice, to kneel at the sacrament, and to use the sign of the cross in baptism. His companion in Maidstone gaol was Mr.

* Crosby, vol. i. p. 323—333. Palmer's Non-conformist's Memorial, vol. i. p. 201, and p. 225, note.

Wilson, of Otham near that town. Among the visitors who came to see them was a woman, who had some doubts in her mind whether the baptism of infants could be proved from scripture. Mr. *Cornwell* endeavoured, by the best scriptural arguments he could produce, to resolve her doubts, but found he could not do it so well to her or his own satisfaction as he could wish. When his visitant had left him, he conversed on the subject with his fellow-prisoner Mr. *Wilson*, who assured him he never thought that infant-baptism could be proved from scripture, but had its authority from human tradition, being handed down from primitive times as a practice generally received from the church. Mr. *Cornwell*, taking the scriptures to be the only rule of faith, and considering that on this principle only all the protestant churches vindicated their separation from the church of Rome against all her impositions, founded on pretended primitive antiquity, was induced to make a more diligent search. The result was, that infant-baptism did not appear to him to derive its authority from the scriptures, but to have had its dependence, in all ages, on the decrees, canons, and councils of the church. Entering into these views of the subject, he relinquished the doctrine of infants' baptism, and adopted the opinion of those who think that believers only, making profession of their faith and repentance, are the proper subjects of this institution.* In 1643, he publicly avowed this principle, and wrote in defence of it a tract, entitled "The Vindication of the royal Commission of "Jesus." After the publication of this book, he went on to preach and propagate his opinion. In 1644, in a visitation sermon preached at Cranbrook in Kent, from Mark vii. 7, before the ministers of those parts, he took the liberty of freely declaring his sentiments, and asserted, that *pædobaptism* was an antichristian innovation, a human tradition, and a practice for which there was neither *precept*, or *example*, or *true deduction* from the word of God. This, as might be expected, much startled the clergy who were present, but greatly offended several of them. The matter was debated between them, and the argument in support of

* Mr. Thompson's Collections, MSS. under the words STAPLEHURST and SMARDEN.

antipædobaptism was strongly pushed by Mr. *William Jeffery*, of *Sevenoaks*, who had baptized Mr. *Cornwell*, and to whom he had referred them, till Mr. *Christopher Blackwood*, one of the ministers, desired them to desist at that time, for he had taken down the sermon in short hand, and would return an answer in print, which he hoped might be to the satisfaction of them all.* His advice was adopted; it was agreed to postpone, for the present, the discussion of the question, to re-examine the point, and to bring their collections together at the next meeting, which was to be within a fortnight. In the mean time Mr. *Blackwood* studied the question with great diligence and close attention. The impression made on his mind was very different from what was anticipated. He began to suspect that infant-baptism was no more than an human tradition, and was attended with evil consequences; and, when they met, he brought in his arguments against it. As no one produced any defence, one properly observing, that they sought for truth and not victory, proposed, that Mr. *Blackwood's* papers should be left with them for examination; to this motion he acceded: but when, after waiting a long time, no answer was given to his arguments, he sent for his papers, and published them with corrections and enlargements. Thus the controversy was revived in the county of Kent, and the sentiments of the *baptists* gained ground. Mr. *Cornwell* soon after this withdrew from the *national* church, for he disapproved both of *national* and *parochial* churches; and taught that a church was to consist of such only as professed repentance from dead works, and faith in the Lord *Jesus Christ*, and were baptized according to his commands after the pattern of the first churches in *Judea*. He quickly gathered a church in Kent, formed on this plan, of which he was pastor to the day of his death, and was succeeded in that place and office by his son. It reflects honour on Mr. *Cornwell's* name and memory, that he was a zealous opposer of persecution and an imposed uniformity. He wrote against the ordinance of parliament made to silence all *lay-preachers*, that is, such as had not received *episcopal* or *presbyterian* ordination, or who should preach any thing contrary to the articles of faith and direc-

* Mr. Thompson's Collections, MSS.

tory for publick worship, set forth by the assembly. The piece which he published on this occasion was intitled, "Two Queries worthy of consideration."

Q. 1. Whether that ministry that preacheth freely the gospel-faith, that the Lord *Jesus* is the *Christ*, as the apostle *Peter* did, be not truly *orthodox*?

Q. 2. Whether it be agreeable to the word of God, contained in the sacred scriptures, to silence or inhibit any ministers of *Jesus Christ* for preaching this gospel freely?

He affirmed the *former*, and maintained it by several arguments; the *latter* he denied; and intimated, that they who were guilty of such practices acted like the Jews of old, who cast the blind man out of the temple, for confessing that *Jesus* was the *Christ*.*

In close connection with Mr. *Cornwell*'s history stands, as we have seen, that of Mr. *Blackwood*, who, in consequence of his visitation sermon, became a profelyte to believer's baptism, and with Mr. *Richard Kingsnorth*, who likewise was convinced by it, gathered a church at Staplehurst in Kent; but his sentiments being *calvinistic*, and contrary to those of the society, he afterwards left it under the pastoral care of Mr. *Kingsnorth*, who held universal redemption and final perseverance.† Mr. *Blackwood* was possessed, at the beginning of the civil wars, of a parochial church in the county of Kent; from whence, it is probable that he was educated at one of the universities. After he changed his sentiments on the questions concerning baptism, he did not continue long in the established church; for he was as zealous against *national* churches as against *infant-baptism*. He was an advocate for liberty of conscience, and opposed the establishment of *presbyterianism*. In the first piece he published, he joined together infant-baptism and compulsion of conscience, and called them "the two last and strongest garrisons of antichrist." He was reckoned among "those worthy guides, well qualified in all respects for the ministry," who voluntarily left their benefices in the establishment, by one who lived in those times. He appears, in 1653, to have gone into Ireland with the army under the

* Crosby, vol. i. p. 334—349, and vol. iii. p. 6—9.

† Thompson's Collections, MSS.

command of general *Fleetwood* and lieutenant *Ludlow*. He lived till after the Restoration, and signed the apology of the *baptists* in 1660, declaring against *Venner's* insurrection.

Another, who was reckoned among the worthies of this denomination at this period was Mr. *Benjamin Cox*, who made no mean figure in his time. He was the son of a bishop,* was a man of great learning, and a graduate in one of the universities. He was, for some time, a minister in the established church, had a parochial charge in the county of Devon, and was very zealous for the superstitious ceremonies that prevailed in bishop *Laud's* time. But when the affairs of state led men to think more freely in matters of religion, Mr. *Cox* was among the first in promoting a reformation, and had before him flattering prospects of eminence and preferment in this kingdom, when he rejected the *baptism of infants*, as it appeared to him not founded in the scriptures; but this obstructed his advancement in the established church, and prejudiced against him the divines who were at the head of ecclesiastical affairs. He preserved, however, the character of a man of abilities and great learning. After *episcopacy* and the common-prayer were laid aside, he was, for some time, minister at Bedford. In 1645 he came to London, and was one of the principal managers on the part of the *baptists* in a publick dispute concerning *infant-baptism*, at Aldermanbury church, to which a stop was afterwards put by the government. In the year 1646, when seven churches in London, called *Anabaptists*, published a confession of their faith, and presented it to parliament, his name, in behalf of one of those congregations, was subscribed to it. Though, when the act of *uniformity*, in 1662, took place, he at first conformed; yet his conscience soon after upbraiding him for that step, he obeyed its dictates by throwing up his living, and died a *non-conformist* and a *baptist*, in a very advanced age; for Mr. *Baxter*, with whom he had a dispute by word of mouth and by writing, called him at the beginning of the civil wars, *an antient minister*.

* It seems more probable that he was the grandson of one, as Dr. *Richard Cox*, bishop of Ely, who filled that see twenty years, died in 1580. Richardson de Præsulibus.

He suffered imprisonment for his opinions concerning baptism, in the city of Coventry.*

Here is a proper place for observing, that at the Restoration several parishes were found to have *baptist* ministers fixed in them. The cause of this was, that in the year 1653, when a certain number of men called *tryers* were authorised to examine and approve candidates for the ministry, Mr. *Tombes*, notwithstanding his difference in opinion from the rest, such was the estimation in which his character was held, was appointed to be one of them. Among other good effects that followed upon this, one was, that the commissioners agreed to own the *baptists* as their brethren; and that if any such applied to them for probation, and appeared in other respects duly qualified, they should not be rejected for holding their sentiments.†

* Crosby, vol. i. p. 353, 54. See also our Third Volume, p. 523, in the Supplement.

† Crosby, vol. i. p. 289.



SECT. II.

The History of the Quakers.

WHEN the king published his declaration of indulgence, the *Quakers*, who did not rank with any political party, merely to enjoy the ease and liberty to which peaceable and virtuous subjects have a right, accepted the protection it afforded. But those who were at liberty, from that spirit of sympathy and brotherly concern which pervades the society, could not enjoy their own exemption from penal statutes without exerting themselves for the relief of their brethren who had been, for several years, kept immured in uncomfortable prisons. *George Whitehead*, *Thomas Moor*, and *Thomas Green*, invited by the present disposition of government, waited on the king and council to solicit the discharge of their friends, who, convicted on transportation, or on præmunire, or for fines, confiscations or fees, were still in prison: and they were so successful as to obtain the king's letters patent, under the great seal, for their pardon and discharge. In the accomplishing of this business, a difficulty arose from the amount of the fees to be paid in the fundry offices through which the letters patent would pass, as upwards of four hundred persons would be included in them.* But when the lord keeper, *Sir Orlando Bridgeman*, generously and voluntarily remitted his fees, they applied to the king to moderate the rest, who accordingly issued his order, "that the pardon, though comprehending
 " a great number of persons, do yet pass as one pardon,
 " and pay but as one."

Their success gave them an opportunity to shew the universality of their charity to other dissenters, many of

* The patent, when made out, contained eleven skins of vellum.

whom

whom were confined in prison, and whose solicitors, observing the happy issue of the *quakers'* suit, applied to *Whitehead*, for his advice and assistance, to have the names of their own friends inserted in the same instrument. In consequence of his advice they petitioned the king, and obtained his warrant for that purpose. "This I was glad of," says *Whitehead*, "that they partook of the benefit through our industry. "And indeed I was never backward to give any of them "my advice for their help, when any of them in straits have "applied for it; our being of different judgments and societies "did not abate my sympathy or charity, even towards them "who, in some cases, had been our opposers." The *quakers* were thus freed, for a time, from the severities of persecution. The publick testimony which they continued, in the severest times, to bear to the principles they received as truth, and the firmness with which they held their meetings at the appointed times and places, or, when kept out of their places of worship by force, assembled in the streets, baffled the scheme of establishing uniformity, countenanced and assisted by the temporising conduct of other dissenters, and abated the heat of persecution, and blunted the edge of the sword before it reached the other sects; the more ingenuous of whom, therefore, esteemed their intrepidity, regarded them with gratitude as the bulwark that kept off the force of the stroke from themselves, and prayed that they might be preserved steadfast, and enabled to break the strength of the enemy. Some of the *baptists*, especially, expressed an high opinion both of the people and their principles, which sustained them in undergoing sufferings that others thought of with terror.*

When the revocation of the indulgence, and the displeasure of the court against the dissenters, let loose the whole tribe of informers, and gave fresh spirit to persecuting magistrates; prosecutions, in every mode of distress, were renewed against this people, at the capricious will of every justice. Severe proceedings against them were grounded on the statute of præmunire of *James I.* for refusing to swear; on the obsolete statute of twenty pounds per month, for absence from the parish church, which penalty, or two-thirds of a person's estate, were seized by exchequer process; and for tithes, to

* Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. ii. p. 364—368.

excommunication and procuring writs *de excommunicato capiendo* to be issued, to throw them into prison. They became a prey to idle and profligate informers, encouraged and instigated by their superiors. And, instead of obtaining durable and effectual relief, their sufferings became heavier and more aggravated during the remainder of this reign to the end of it.*

In 1675, *William Hall* of Congleton, being fined 20*l.* for a meeting at his house, had his house broken open, and two cart-loads of goods to the worth of 40*l.* besides a mare, were carried away. About the same time cattle and goods to the value of 100*l.* were taken from sundry persons in and about Nantwich; and from one person the bed on which he lay, and even the dunghill in his yard.†

In the next year, prosecutions on the conventicle act subsided in London, but the rigorous enforcing of the ecclesiastical laws was rarely or never suspended. The number plundered, excommunicated, imprisoned, and of those who died in prison, was too large to be recited.‡ But while the penal laws were suffered to lie dormant in London, they were enforced with rigorous severity in other parts of the nation. In one instance a poor man, with a wife and five children, had little to pay the fine for being at a meeting, but his bed, which the compassion of the officers would not permit them to seize: but the obdurate magistrate commanded them to take it. The wife, endeavouring afterwards to maintain her children by baking a little bread, and selling it in the market, it was seized at one time to the value of nineteen-pence, and at another to the value of fourteen-pence. From another person for a fine of 7*l.* goods to the worth of near 18*l.* were taken.§ The distresses made this year in Nottinghamshire, upon the members of this society, for their religious assemblies only, amounted to 712*l.* and upwards. In the city of Hereford, as prosecutions on the law were ineffectual to suppress their meetings, lawless violence and gross abuse were offered by the populace; the windows of their meeting-houses were broken by stones, and sometimes the roof was untiled, their assemblies were interrupted by the sound of the horn,

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 392—97. † Ibid. p. 406. ‡ P. 414.

§ Vol. ii. p. 416, 17.

shouting and casting stones and filth, and their persons assaulted. The mob, instead of being restrained and punished for these outrages, were, if not stimulated to them, abetted and encouraged in them by the magistrates and clergy. Appeals to the quarter-sessions for redress against exorbitant exactions were unsuccessful; as the juries were overawed, or their verdicts for the appellants rejected.*

In the year 1677, the officers, encouraged by the magistrate, who acted the part of an informer, took away from six friends in Cheshire, for one meeting, 200*l*. In Gloucestershire a justice of the peace, besides indicting at the sessions twenty-seven for absence from the national worship, who had suffered deeply before on the conventicle act, and levying heavy fines, unmercifully beat some with his own hands, plucked two out of the meeting by the hair of their heads, and drew his knife, if he had not been prevented by his servants, to wound others. At Plymouth, their meetings were forcibly interrupted and dispersed: their property suffered by fines and distresses, and their persons were abused by the rabble, and by the officers and soldiers of the garrison, who, among other insults, threw squibs of fire and hot burning coals upon them. In many other parts they were treated with no less severity. The parish officers were sometimes instigated by menacing letters, or impelled to act against their inclinations by the clergy exciting the justices to punish by fines and imprisonment, for neglect of duty, such, whose moderation and humanity rendered them reluctant to prosecute or plunder their conscientious neighbours.*

Through the succeeding years they continued to be harassed with prosecutions on all the variety of penal laws; which were rigorously enforced on great numbers of this society; who suffered all the hardships imposed on them by unreasonable men, with pious fortitude and resignation. In 1682, the persecution of this people broke out and was carried on with uncommon outrage and cruelty at Bristol. The damage done to their meeting-houses was computed at 150*l*. A rabble of rude boys was encouraged to insult and abuse the female part of the assembly, even women of repute and consideration, and to tear their dresses. The signal for this attack

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 420—424.

§ Id. p. 426—29, 438.

was, "Have a care of your hoods and scarfs." Many of them were thrown into prison, where their health was endangered for want of room; many beds being crowded into one small apartment, and some were obliged to lie on the ground, in a filthy place which had been a dog-kennel. The remonstrances of the prisoners to the magistrates on the straits and noisomeness of their prison, and the certificates of physicians on the subject, were treated with equal disregard. "As their constancy in the great duty of assembling to worship God, while at liberty, was invincible; so a prison could not confine the freedom of their spirits, or the impulse of their consciences: they continued the practice of this duty in their imprisonment." This drew on them gross abuse, even from the sheriff, who fell furiously on several, threw one headlong down to the great hazard of his life, and commanded another to be ironed and put down into the condemned felon's place. Many suffered, as in former years, and other places, by heavy fines and grievous distrainments: goods to the value of 155*l.* being seized to discharge a fine of 79*l.* When most or all of the men were imprisoned, the women kept up the religious meeting, till they also were cast into gaol. When their parents were in confinement, the children, after their example, regularly held their meetings, behaving on those occasions with much gravity and composure, and undergoing many abuses with patience. Their age exempted them from the lash of the law, but their minority could not screen them from furious assaults; some were put in the stocks, others were unmercifully beaten with twisted whalebone-sticks. Persecution was not at this period peculiar to Bristol; but carried on, in most parts, with great animosity: and many families were ruined in their circumstances. In 1683, about eighty persons were, at one time, committed to Chester castle; where they could find neither rooms nor lodgings for such a number, so that they were obliged for two nights, some of them to walk about, others to lie on tables and benches, and some on flags spread on the floor. At length thirty of them were put into a filthy dungeon, out of which the felons were then removed. In Somersetshire, informers were encouraged against them, and protected in perjury; their meeting-houses were defaced, and they

they were, in great numbers, imprisoned, fined, distrained, and excommunicated. When shut out of their meeting-houses for divers years, in and about the city of London, they assembled in the streets in all weather; this they did in the year 1683, for three months together, when the river Thames was so frozen that horses, coaches, and carts, could pass to and fro upon it, and a street be erected and stand over it.* There was computed to be upwards of seven hundred members of this society in the different prisons of England, this year. Sir *Christopher Musgrave*, though a zealous churchman, expressed his utter dislike of the severe usage of this people, saying, “the prisons were filled with “them, that many of them had been excommunicated and “imprisoned for small matters, and that it was a shame and “scandal for their church to use the quakers so hardly on “very trivial occasions.”† Severe prosecutions, similar acts of injustice, oppression, violence and cruelty, against this society, marked the year 1684, which were the disgrace of the preceding years.‡

Among those who suffered from bigotry armed with power, the name of *George Fox* takes the lead. After his return from America, in 1673, as he was on the road to visit his mother on her death-bed, *Fox* and *Thomas Lower* who was his wife's son-in-law, were seized, as they were in conversation in a friend's parlour at Tredington in Worcestershire, and sent to the county goal. They applied, by letter, to the lord lieutenant and deputy lieutenants of the county, for the interposition of their authority for their release; stating their case, the illegality of their commitment, and *Fox's* solicitude for liberty to pay the last debt of affection and duty to his dying parent. But the application was ineffectual. *Lower*, by the interposition of his brother, who was the king's physician, might have obtained his liberty; as a letter to lord *Windsor* for his release was procured: but, bearing too great a respect to his father-in-law, to leave him in prison alone, he suppressed the letter, and voluntarily continued his companion there. At the quarter-sessions they were produced in court, when, on the examination, it ap-

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 522—25. 528—532, 547, 8. † Id. p. 536, 508.

‡ Gough, vol. iii. p. 24—30.

pearing that they had been causelessly imprisoned, and had a right to an immediate release, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to *Fox*, and on his refusing to take them, he was remanded. But *Lower*, on account of his powerful connections, was discharged. Soon after *Fox* was removed by an *habeas corpus* to the King's-bench bar at Westminster. The judges, influenced by the reports and representation which *Parker*, the justice who first apprehended him, had dispersed, remanded him to Worcester goal; only indulging him with liberty to go down his own way, and at his leisure, provided he would not fail to be there by the following assizes, in April 1674. He accordingly appeared, when the judge *Turner*, who had before passed sentence of præmunire against him at Lancaster, referred the matter back again to the sessions. He was then charged with holding a meeting at Tredington from *all parts of the nation, to the terrifying of the king's subjects*. Though *Fox* vindicated himself from this misrepresentation, yet, as he again refused the oaths, an indictment was drawn up and delivered to the jury; who, under the instruction of the chairman, found the bill against him. This he determined to traverse: and on refusing to give bail, or any other security for his appearance but his promise, he was sent back to prison. By the interposition of some moderate justices, however, in about two hours after he had liberty given him to go at large till the next quarter-sessions. In the mean time he attended the yearly meeting in London, and delivered before some of the justices of the King's-Bench a declaration of his fidelity to the king, and denial of the pope's supremacy and power: but as his case was under cognizance of the quarter-sessions at Worcester, the judges were unwilling to meddle with it, not being regularly before them. At the next sessions he appeared to traverse the indictment: but when he proceeded to shew the errors which were sufficient to quash it, the oath was again required of him, and upon his refusal to take it, the jury found him guilty. An admonition of the consequence of a præmunire being given him in court, this was, after he was sent out of court, clandestinely recorded in his absence, for the sentence thereof; and under it he was remanded to prison. Here he was
seized

seized with a great sickness, which reduced him to great weakness, and made his recovery doubtful. His wife came from the North to attend him, and solicit his discharge: after continuing with him three or four months, and her endeavours to procure his release proving unsuccessful, she went to London, and solicited the king in person, who would have released him by a pardon; but *Fox* declined obtaining his liberty in this mode, as he conceived that it would be a tacit acknowledgment of guilt; and he declared, “ he had rather “ lie in prison all his days, than come out in any way dishonourable to the truth he made profession of.” He preferred having the validity of his indictment tried before the judges, and with this view procured an *habeas corpus* to remove him to the king’s-bench bar. On his appearing before four judges, his counsellor, Mr. *Thomas Corbet*, advanced a new plea in his favour, and gained himself great credit, by ably urging, “ that by law they could not imprison a man “ upon *præmunire*.” The judges required time to consult their books and statutes on this plea; and postponed the hearing until next day. They then proceeded, though they found the advocate’s opinion well-founded, to examine the indictment, in which the errors were so many and so gross, that they were unanimous in judgment, “ that the indictment was quashed and void, and that *George Fox* ought to “ be set at liberty.” Thus he honourably obtained his discharge, after an unjust imprisonment of a year and almost two months. Some of his enemies, insinuating “ he was a “ dangerous man to be at liberty,” moved the judges, that the oaths might be tendered to him: but Sir *Matthew Hale* would not consent to it; saying, “ he had indeed heard “ some such reports of *George Fox*, but he had also heard “ more good reports of him.”*

He appears to have been unmolested after, till the year 1681, when he and his wife were sued in small tithes in the exchequer, although they had in their answer to the plaintiff’s bill proved, that no such tithe had been demanded or paid off her estate during forty-three years she had lived there: yet because they could not answer upon oath, they were run up to a writ of rebellion, and an order of court was issued to take them both into custody. *Fox*, understand-

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 377—391.

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ing this, laid the case before the barons of the exchequer. On the hearing of the cause a sequestration was earnestly pleaded for, on the ground of his being a *publick man*, as if that affected the merits and justice of the cause; and was obtained, though, at first, two of the barons declared that he was not liable to tithes: but one of them was afterwards brought over to decide with the adverse barons: the sequestration was, however, limited to the sum proved due, to the great disappointment of the prosecutor's aim, who wanted it without limitation, that they might be their own carvers in making distrain. In the course of this trial was produced an engagement under the hand and seal of *George Fox*, that he would never meddle with his wife's estate: this raised the admiration of the judges, as an instance of self-denial rarely to be met with in these ages.†

In 1680, *George Whitehead* and *Thomas Burr*, as they were on a journey from different quarters to pay a religious visit to their friends, happened to meet at Norwich. As the former was preaching on the succeeding first day of the week, a rude company, chiefly of informers, rushed into the meeting with tumult and violence, and pulled him down; to the requisition to shew some legal authority for their proceedings, they returned abusive language, only with an insinuation to the people, "That he might be a Jesuit." The sheriff, coming afterwards, took them prisoners, and carried them before the recorder, *Francis Bacon*, esq; who was a justice. He examined them of their names, habitations, and trades; "if they were in orders, or had orders from Rome." A fine of 20*l.* each was demanded of them; on refusing to pay this, the oath of allegiance was proposed. While the examination was going on, the informer, with the sanction of the justice, went to seize their horses, but was disappointed in his attempt, as they had been removed without the knowledge of the prisoners. The recorder poured out his bitter invectives, and threatened to have them hanged, if they did not abjure the realm, and if the king would by his orders enforce the execution of a statute made in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*. They were then committed to goal till the ensuing sessions. Then, after the recorder had, by taunting reflections and partial proceedings, expressed his aversion

† Gough, vol. ii. p. 514, 515.

to them, they were discharged by the court from the charges exhibited in the mittimus; but as they refused again the oath, which he insisted upon administering to them, they were recommitted to prison till the following sessions. In the mean time he was deprived of his office; in consequence of which change and the interposition of friends, they were, at the sessions, cleared by proclamation, and discharged from their imprisonment, after a confinement of sixteen weeks. It shewed the prejudice and enmity of this man, that he first insinuated that they were probably papists; and when they procured certificates to the contrary, he would not permit them to be read in the court.*

In the next and succeeding year, *George Whitehead* was fined three or four times: and the loss he sustained by distrains and by the expences of inefficacious appeals, besides the damage done to his house and goods, amounted to 61l. 7s. The evil of those seizures was aggravated by a particular instance of injustice in the distrainers; who would not suffer an inventory to be taken, or the goods, chiefly in grocery ware, to be weighed or appraised. On one occasion two friends, for persuading the constables to moderation and to suffer an inventory to be taken, were apprehended and prosecuted for a riot, on the evidence of one constable; for which they were fined, committed to Newgate, and confined there ten weeks.†

The fines levied on this people, on the statute of 20l. for absence from the national worship, amounted in the year 1683, to the enormous sum of 16,400l. for which several were distrained; but how much of these fines was actually levied, is not certainly known.

In this year the case of *Richard Vickris* deserves particular notice. He was the son of Mr. *Robert Vickris*, a merchant and alderman of Bristol; he embraced the sentiments of the *quakers* in his youth: but to divert him from joining them, his father sent him abroad to travel in France. Here he was a witness to the superstitions of the ceremonious religion of that country; which created a disgust, and confirmed him in the adoption of one that rejected ceremony and vain show. His father's views were disappointed, and on his return home, he openly professed himself a quaker,

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 501—505.

† Id. p. 520, 21.

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at the risk of a variety of sufferings and hardships. In 1680 he was imprisoned upon an excommunication: he was afterwards, for attending meetings, subject to frequent fines and distraints, and at last he was proceeded against on the statute of the 35 *Elizabeth*. At the sessions before Easter, in 1683, he was indicted on that statute; demurring to the jurisdiction of the court, and refusing to plead, he was committed to prison. At a following sessions he was admitted to bail: and at the Midsummer sessions procured an *habeas corpus*. His trial was hastily brought on in August, though he solicited time to prepare his defence. He found means, however, to retain counsel, who ably pleaded his cause, assigned a variety of errors in his indictment, and shewed that the witnesses had not established the charge against him. The court over-ruled every plea, and the jury (selected from men of mean occupation) found their verdict *guilty*; and sentence was passed on him to conform, or abjure the realm in three months; or suffer death as a felon without benefit of clergy. He lay in prison under this sentence till the next year; when the time for his abjuring the realm being expired, he was liable to the execution of it, to which his enemies seemed determined to proceed. That they might give some colour to their design, they blackened and calumniated his character; representing him as a person disaffected to government; and endeavouring, before they took away his life, to despoil him of his good name. His wife, in her distress, determined on a personal application to government; with this view, she took a journey to London, and by the assistance of her friends got admission to the duke of *York*, who bore the chief sway at court, and laid her husband's hard case before him. When he had heard it, he replied, "that neither his royal brother nor himself desired that any of his subjects should suffer for the exercise of their consciences, who were of peaceable behaviour under his government." Accordingly, effectual directions for his discharge were given. He was removed by *habeas corpus* from Newgate in Bristol to London, and brought to the king's-bench bar: there, upon the errors in the indictment assigned by counsellor *Pollexfen*, he was legally discharged by Sir *George Jefferies*. His father survived his return only three days, by whose will he succeeded

to his estate and seat at Chew-Magna; in which he fixed his residence, and lived in honour, conspicuous for his virtue and benevolence, and an ornament to his place and station.*

The *quakers*, under the severe sufferings to which their body in general, and some individual members of their society in particular, were exposed, were not wanting in lawful and commendable measures to procure an exemption from these grievous evils. In the year 1674, application was made to the judges, before they went their several circuits, for their compassionate attention to the hard cases of several of the sufferers, and to interpose their authority to secure them relief, in the following address:

“ To the king’s justices appointed for the several circuits
“ throughout England.

“ Many of our friends, called *Quakers*, being continued
“ prisoners, many prosecuted to great spoil by informers,
“ and on *qui-tam* writs, and by presentments and indict-
“ ments for 20*l.* per mensem, in divers counties throughout
“ England, only on the account of religion and tender con-
“ science towards Almighty God, we esteem it our duty to
“ remind you of their suffering condition, as we have done
“ from time to time, humbly intreating you in the circuits
“ to enquire into the several causes of their commitments,
“ and other sufferings, which they lie under, and to extend
“ what favour you can for their ease and relief; praying
“ the Almighty to preserve and direct you.”†

But little redress could be obtained. In 1677, an account being taken, at the yearly meeting, of sufferings by confiscation to two-thirds of the estates of those who had been prosecuted on the 23d of *Elizabeth*, a specification of this grievance was drawn up and laid before the parliament then sitting, with a petition for relief, but without effect.‡ Towards the close of this year *George Fox*, having returned from Holland, and visited the meetings of his friends in various parts of England, on coming to London, found them engaged in fresh solicitations for relief from prosecutions on the laws made against popish recusants only; and he joined them in these applications; but a sudden prorogation of parliament put a stop to their proceedings. When it met again, he, *Wm. Penn*, *George Whitehead*, and others, renewed

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 539—544. † Id. p. 394. ‡ Id. p. 425. their

their suit, and they conceived some hopes of relief, as many of the members, convinced that they suffered grievously and unjustly, and were much misrepresented by their adversaries, manifested a tender and compassionate regard towards them. But the attention of parliament was soon called off by the discovery of what was called the popish plot; an advantage was taken of the alarm this occasioned, to increase the rigorous persecution of a people of opposite principles and conduct, under the pretext of the necessity, at this season of danger, to exert additional vigilance in guarding against seditious assemblies; and some members, whose residence, occupation, and manner of life, were well known, were imprisoned under a pretended suspicion of being papists or concealed jesuits.* *Penn* had, several years before this, been happily successful in his solicitations for friends suffering by heavy fines and imprisonments in Ireland: for at an half-yearly meeting held at his house in 1670, an account of their sufferings was drawn up in an address to the lord-lieutenant, which was presented to him, and an order of council obtained for the release of those who were imprisoned.† In Scotland the persecuted members of this society met with an advocate in *Barclay*, and owed some relief to his powerful exertions. In 1676, the magistrates of Aberdeen made an handle of the declaration issued by the council at Edinburgh, reinforcing former acts of parliament against conventicles, to oppress the *quakers*, many of whom were seized, committed to prison, detained near three months without being called before the commissioners, and, notwithstanding the able defence they set up, were fined in different sums, but in general to an heavy amount, and remanded to prison till the fines were paid. *Robert Barclay*, being then in London, gained admittance to the king, delivered to him a narrative of the severe and irregular proceedings of the magistrates, and interceded with him to recommend their case to the favourable notice of the council of Scotland. On this the king ordered the earl of *Lauderdale* to recommend the narrative to their consideration. The matter was referred to the former commissioners in conjunction with three others; but their liberty was not obtained, till the fines were discharged by exorbitant and oppressive distraints!‡

* Id. p. 433—35. † Id. p. 479 ‡ Id. p. 460—470. When,

When, in 1680, the *quakers* were maliciously represented as concerned in the popish plot, *George Fox* published a declaration, addressed to the parliament, in defence of himself and friends, to remove such suspicions, professing it to be
 “ their principle and testimony to deny and renounce all
 “ plots and plotters against the king or any of his subjects;
 “ that in tenderneſs of conſcience they could not ſwear or
 “ fight, but that they would uſe every endeavour in their
 “ power to ſave the king and his ſubjects, by diſcovering all
 “ plots and plotters that ſhould come to their knowledge:
 “ and praying not to be put on doing thoſe things, which
 “ they had ſuffered ſo much and ſo long for not doing.”†

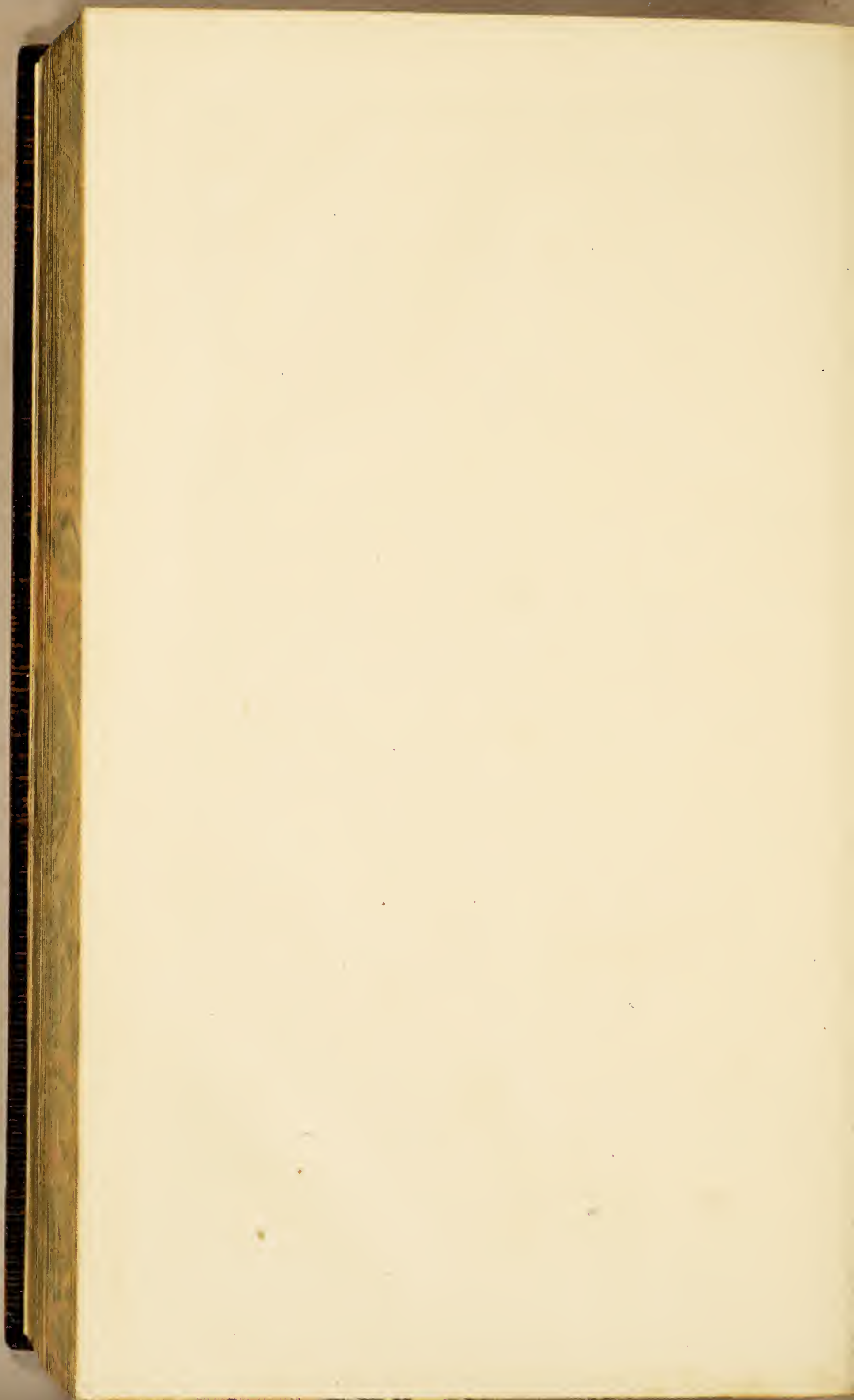
When in the ſame year a bill was brought into parliament to exempt his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects, diſſenting from the church of England, from the penalties of the act of the 35th of *Elizabeth*, the *quakers*, with a laudable attention to their own eaſe, and from a generous ſympathy with their friends under perſecution, improved the favourable opportunity for promoting liberty of conſcience. Divers of them attended the committee, when the bill was committed, early and late, in order to ſolicit the inſertion of ſuch clauſes as might give eaſe to the tender conſciences of their friends, whoſe religious diſſent was ſcrupulous in ſome matters beyond other diſſenters; and they obtained a clauſe to be inſerted for accepting a declaration of fidelity inſtead of the oath of allegiance. Although this deſign failed, by the bill being loſt, yet a foundation was laid for reviving and completing it in the ſucceeding reign of king *William III*. But in the following year an event took place, which muſt be conſidered as giving a turn to the fortunes of this ſociety, and advancing them, in the event, to a peculiar degree of reſpectability and influence. Sir *William Penn* had, at the time of his death, a conſiderable debt due to him from the crown, either for arrears or advances made to government in the ſundry expeditions in which he was engaged, while he was employed as an admiral, both under *Oliver Cromwell* and king *Charles the ſecond*. To diſcharge this debt the king, by letters patent bearing date the 4th of March 1680-1, granted to his ſon *William Penn*, and his heirs, that province lying on the weſt of the river of Delaware, in North-America,

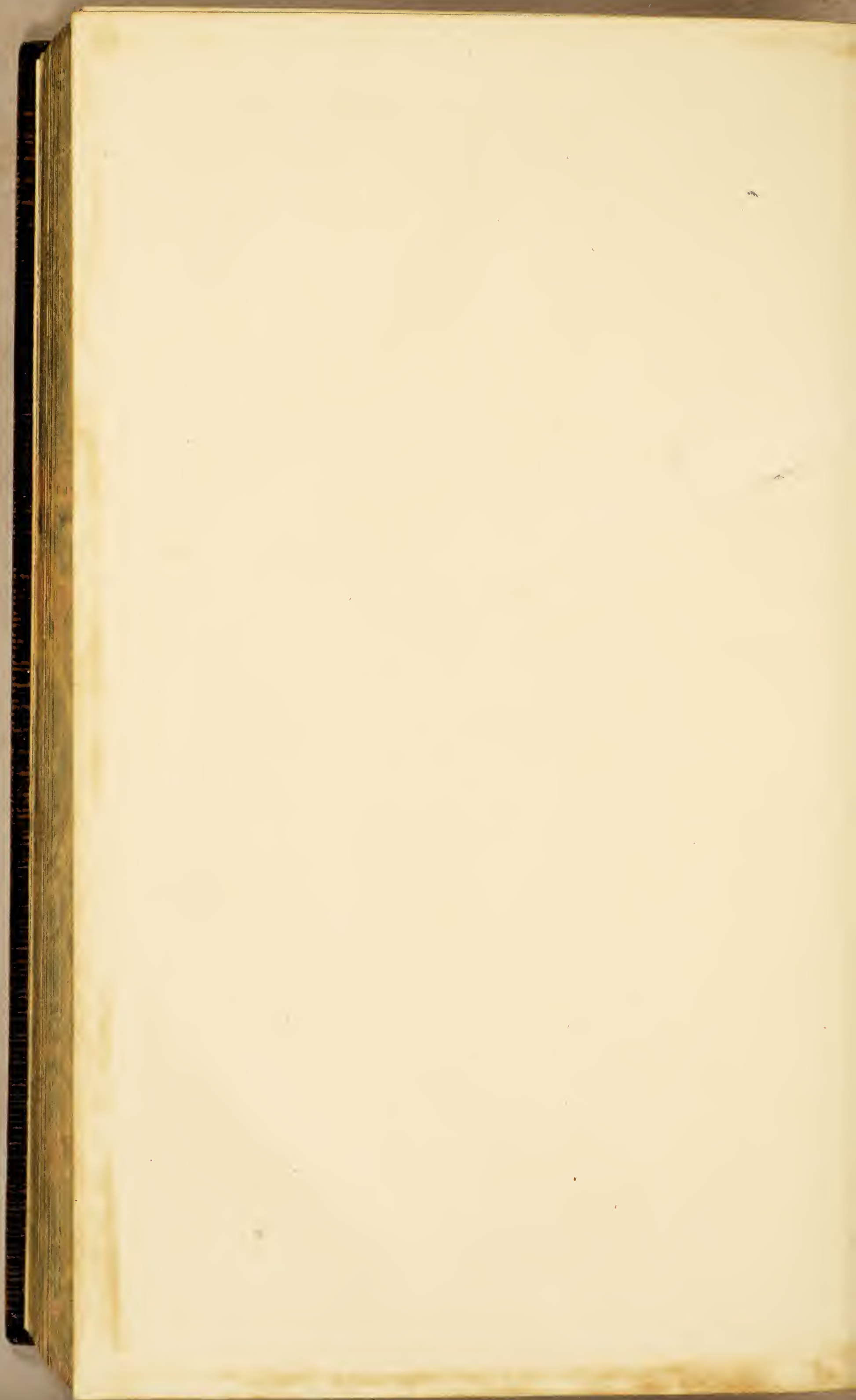
† Gough, vol. ii. p. 506.

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formerly belonging to the Dutch, and then called the New Netherlands. This grant, by which *Penn* and his heirs were made governors and absolute proprietors of that tract of land, was owing to the influence of the duke of *York*, with whom admiral *Penn* was a peculiar favourite. In the summer of 1682, *Penn* took possession of this province, and he formed a government in it on the most liberal principles, with respect to the rights of conscience. The leading article of his new constitution was this: “That all persons living
 “in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one
 “Almighty and eternal God, to be the creator, upholder,
 “and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged
 “in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society,
 “shall in no wise be molested or prejudiced for their religious
 “persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship;
 “nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or
 “maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatso-
 “ever.” This settlement, in the first instance, afforded an asylum to many of his friends, who were glad to remove to a government formed on principles of humanity, and with a religious regard to justice and equity.* When the system of legislation was matured and completed, it excited the admiration of the universe. This oppressed society, in a few years, had the happiness and honour of seeing its tenets fixed on the other side of the Atlantic in security and peace, and itself extending through a wide territory, which enlarged the domains of their native country, and made a principal figure in the new world. The wisdom and virtues of the founder of this government, the excellent principles on which it was formed, and the prosperity to which it rose, reflected credit on the *quakers*, and gave them weight in the political scale. Civil society has felt its obligations to them. And from this time their religious profession became more and more secure and respectable. The prognostications of *William Penn*, it hath been observed, have been remarkably verified. “If friends here keep to God, and in the justice,
 “mercy, equity, and fear of the Lord, their enemies will
 “be their footstool.”

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 515, and vol. iii. p. 131—147.





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